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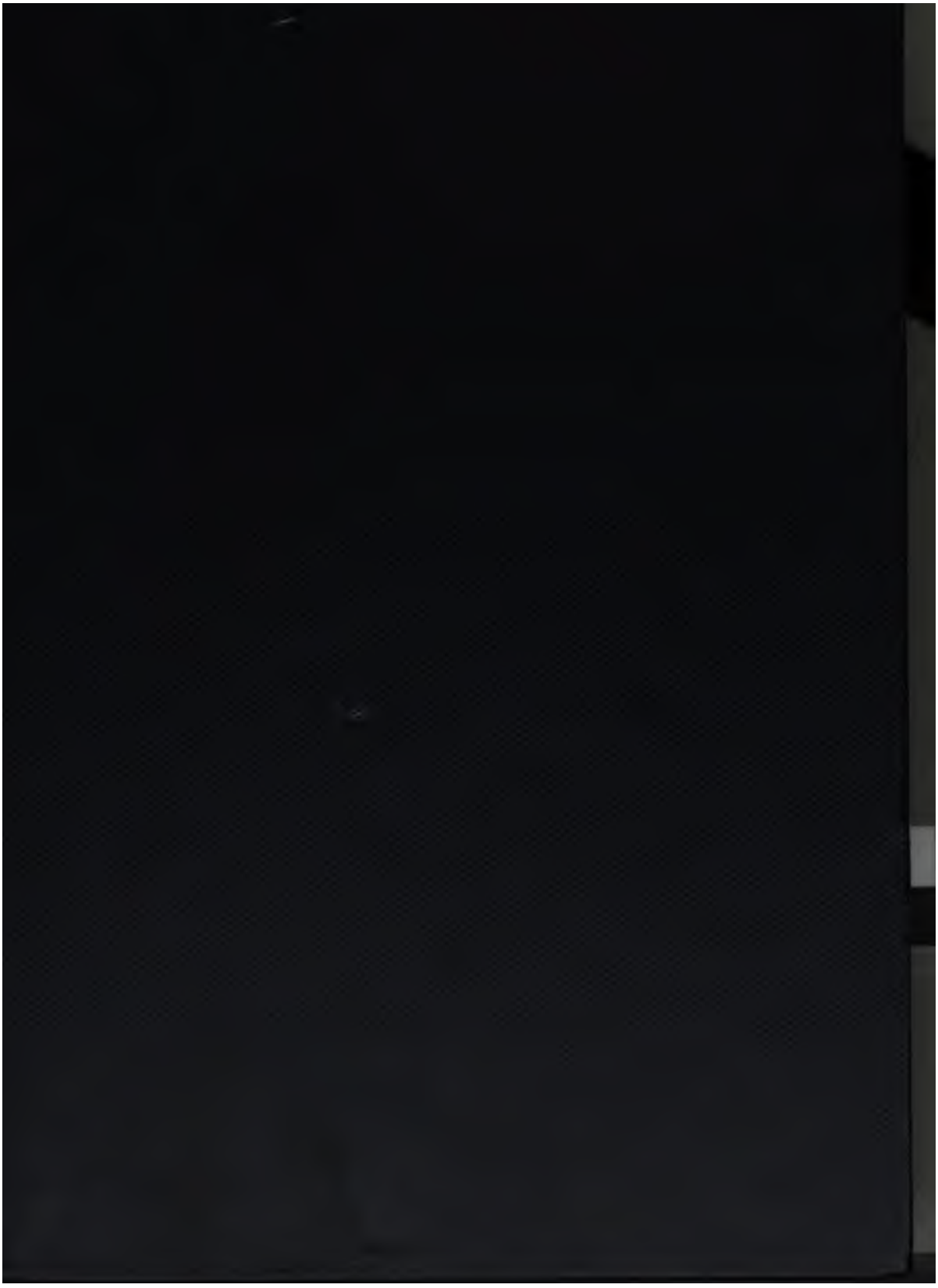

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THE

CHRONICLES OF FROISSART

THE

CHRONICLES OF FROISSART

The Globe Edition

THE CHRONICLES OF FROISSART

TRANSLATED BY

JOHN BOURCHIER, LORD BERNERS

EDITED AND REDUCED INTO ONE VOLUME

BY

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FORMERLY FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

πλέον ἥμισυ παντός

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PREFACE

THE present volume is intended to supply what can hardly be said to exist already, a popular Froissart for English readers. This is an aim which needs no apology. Every one ought to read Froissart, but nevertheless, considering the difficulties which stand in the way, it is hardly surprising that a very large number of educated persons should be in the position of Henry Morton in *Old Mortality*, obliged by sincerity to say 'No,' if the question, 'Did you ever read Froissart?' should be put to them. And yet he is recommended to the reader on so many grounds besides the rather doubtful one suggested by Claverhouse. Not to mention the charm of the narrative as narrative, we must admit that there is no school of history like reading the record of chroniclers contemporary with the events which they relate, and of all such chroniclers Froissart is surely the most readable. It has been the fashion with some historians to depreciate his authority, and it is possible, doubtless, to convict him of numberless inaccuracies and of some serious misrepresentations; but the good faith of the writer is unquestionable, and if we consider the extent of his narrative, embracing, as he says, England, France, Spain, Portugal, Scotland, Flanders, and the adjoining countries, and the difficulty of obtaining news, which compelled the chronicler himself to travel far and wide and to collect information from the mouths of those who had taken part in the events, we shall be rather surprised at the general trustworthiness of the Chronicles than at their particular errors. Their authority for a student of history in regard to this or that series of events depends upon a variety of circumstances which it would not be proper to discuss in this volume. For some parts the chronicler is dependent on his predecessor, Jean le Bel, for others he is himself a contemporary authority; and naturally far greater weight attaches to his narrative of events in France, Flanders and Hainault, than in England, Spain and the East. But the real value of the work is as a picture of manners, a drama in which the personages are living characters and not mere historical names, and the chronicler himself moves among them, not the least real and living. Let it be admitted that the narrative of events is full of inaccuracies in detail, yet how characteristic it is of the times. Take for example the story of the first campaign against the Scots (due originally to Jean le Bel). What a chronicle of mismanagement and helplessness: and yet it is told as the most natural thing in the world, and we cannot doubt that whatever inaccuracies it may contain are mere mistakes of 'topography,' as Fielding might say, and that the narrative is thoroughly typical of fourteenth century warfare in a

difficult country. They go up hills and down dales, not knowing whither they go nor where the enemy is, and this not in an enemy's country but in their own. They leave all the baggage and provisions behind them at midnight in a wood, to be picked up by any one who may chance to find them. When they at length discover the enemy, they cannot bring him to an engagement, and he comes and goes as he pleases. Finally he departs unfought with, and they consider the campaign at an end, having suffered terribly for weeks from hunger, wet and weariness. All this is told in the most graphic manner and without a word of blame to any one. Or again, as characteristic of that combination of pitiless cruelty with knightly sport, of which the most chivalrous characters were capable in that age, take the story told by Froissart of the sack of Limoges. 'It was great pity to see the men, women and children that kneeled down on their knees before the prince for mercy, but he was so inflamed with ire that he took no heed to them, so that none was heard, but all put to death as they were met withal, and such as were nothing culpable: there was no pity taken of the poor people, who wrought never no manner of treason, yet they bought it dearer than the great personages, such as had done the evil and trespass'; and then shortly afterwards it is related how the prince passing by in his litter stayed to see the gallant defence made by three French knights, 'and beheld them gladly and appeased himself in beholding them,' and granted them their lives when they surrendered. There is pity expressed by the chronicler for the poor people who had done nothing and made no resistance, but the prince is still for him 'the flower of chivalry.' These examples are types of his representation of war, and we cannot doubt that they are true types. And it is the same with every other department of human action. His pages breathe the spirit of the times to which they belong, and let them contain what inaccuracies they may, they are a truer picture of the period than any modern historian with all his researches, or any modern historical novelist with all his genius and imagination could present to us. In reading Froissart we are reading the true history of the fourteenth century and breathing the very air of that age of infinite variety, in which the knight errant appears side by side with the plundering adventurer, and in which the popular movements in Flanders, France and England sounded the first notes of alarm to feudal oppressors, while the schism of the papacy prepared the way for religious revolution.

The difficulties which stand in the way of the reader of Froissart are, first, the vast extent of the Chronicles and their rambling and disconnected character, and secondly, so far as the English reader is concerned, the want of a satisfactory translation; for though the language of the original is by no means difficult, yet it is not every one who is prepared to face the unfamiliar forms and spelling of fourteenth-century French. The existing English versions are two in number, one of the early sixteenth and the other of the early nineteenth century. The first is vigorous and spirited, but full of inaccuracies of text and translation and of irregularities of style, and also disfigured by many misprints and by the utter corruption of many proper names; the other is respectable and commonplace, with far fewer blunders, though by no means faultless in this respect, but certainly not in any sense alive with the spirit of the original. A new translation is evidently desirable; but on the whole it seems safer to attempt the task of editing a portion of the older of the existing versions, which can hardly be said as yet to have been even corrected for the press.

The translation of Froissart by Lord Berners is established as an English classic, and many generations of Englishmen have made their acquaintance with the Chronicles through it. At the same time, though it has been reprinted in the present century, it is only to be obtained at a rather high price and in a somewhat inconvenient form. An edition of the whole translation would require far more space than the single volume to which I am limited would afford, but there is some consolation for the omissions which the plan of this work renders necessary. Froissart is one of those authors of whom it may be said in a certain sense that the half is more than the whole. The student of history indeed would not willingly spare a single page, but the effect of the whole narrative will often gain considerably by the omission of the less important gests of arms, which interfere with the flow of the main current of the story, and we may perhaps also consent to spare from a popular edition the history of some of the events that lay remote from the chronicler's own field of observation, as the chapters relating to the English expedition to Portugal and Galicia, which are called by a good authority 'les plus confus et les plus inexacts de toute l'œuvre historique de Froissart,' and the events in England in the latter years of Richard II., in relating which he is admittedly very inaccurate. By such omissions as these the exuberant bulk of the Chronicles may be reduced, and the more interesting and important parts of them may be more satisfactorily presented to the reader. In many cases the omissions are such as to give greater continuity to the story; but in order to indicate clearly what has been omitted, as well as to supply any links that may be required for the understanding of the narrative, summaries have been inserted of that which is left out, varying in length according to the importance of the matter dealt with and its more or less direct bearing upon that which is given in full. Notwithstanding therefore the very considerable extent of the omissions, the result is not a series of extracts, but a continuous history. The fact that a larger proportion is omitted of the second volume than of the first is due to the greater diffuseness of the Chronicles in the later period: the first volume includes the events of more than fifty years, the second those of only fifteen.

The portion of Lord Berners' translation which is here edited is given as in the text originally printed, with the following exceptions:—First, the spelling has been modernised. Secondly, the misprints, errors of punctuation and such mistakes as seem likely to be mere slips of the pen or oversights havé been corrected, a matter which is naturally made much easier by the possibility of referring to the original French text that was used by the translator. Mention has been made of these numerous corrections only where they are at all doubtful or raise any point of special interest, but where additional words are inserted they are enclosed in square brackets. Thirdly, proper names have been brought to an intelligible and tolerably consistent form. What this means can only be appreciated by those who are familiar with the mass of corruption and confusion which is exhibited by the manuscripts and early editions of Froissart in regard to this point, and with the considerable addition to the chaos for which our translator and his printers are responsible: but a task which would otherwise have been hopeless has been rendered comparatively easy by the labours of modern French editors, and above all by the invaluable index of proper names appended to Kervyn de Lettenhove's edition. In many cases proper names have been given in their correct forms, so far as that can be ascertained, but those which appear in an English dress, such

[illegible] Walter Map's [illegible] Lancelot, have an accurate text from French again, and [illegible] has been brought out in a more well-known [illegible] number and a handier [illegible] Lotte, Paris, 1868, 8vo, than in a [illegible] or less rare modern [illegible].

With the exception of the [illegible] above mentioned, no attempt has been made in the text of the translation. The text, with all its [illegible] and inconsistencies, remains unchanged, the numbers of [illegible] are retained, as in previous use in the notes. Where the [illegible] [illegible] and the [illegible] and readings of [illegible] are in the [illegible] have been [illegible] from the very [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible] is a certain [illegible] of [illegible]. In the notes, where reference is made to the original or the French text, what is meant is the text which the translator had before him, and whenever in the notes a reading is [illegible] but of the translator without further remark, it is meant as a more exact rendering of that particular text. In cases where a difference of reading [illegible] in that text is carefully noted, and the expressions "the text," "better text," refer to the readings of modern critical editions based on the best [illegible]. The notes are for the most part confined to such points as have been but slightly [illegible], and much upon the substance of the poem may very reasonably [illegible] where points of special interest arise. As regards the French text from which the translation was made, all that need be required will be found in the Introduction treating with Gaut Vernes and his translation.

The readings of the pages and the notes will serve to indicate sufficiently, and the glossary is intended not only to explain such words as may [illegible], but also to set forth as a convenient form the chief characteristics of the translator's diction. Gaut Vernes' French is an important English [illegible] text, and whenever in the use which has been made of it in the notes of the "New English Dictionary," it is presumed that even they may gain something from the new edition. In that part of the great edition which has already been published the glossary might have supplied them with the new words "adam, [illegible] and [illegible], and with the phrase "a la bonne" in the sense of "a la [illegible]," with new meanings of [illegible] and [illegible], with earlier instances than any which they have quoted of the use of [illegible] in the sense of "[illegible]," and with various additional quotations for [illegible] "[illegible]," [illegible] and [illegible].

In regard to obligations in other matters, the chief acknowledgment is due to Kervyn de Lettenhove, whose magnificent edition of Froissart, with its notes on minor personages, on proper names and [illegible], I have had [illegible] by my side. For a large part of the first book I have also used the valuable edition of Luce. For the facts connected with the life and [illegible] of Jean Froissart I am indebted chiefly to Longnon's Introduction to the volume of the reprint of 1872, and to the introduction prefixed to the edition of Froissart, edited for the Early English Text Society, by the [illegible].

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INTRODUCTION

ON LORD BERNERS AND HIS TRANSLATION

THE translation of the Chronicles of sir John Froissart 'out of French into our maternal English tongue,' made by John Bourchier, lord Berners, at the command of king Henry the eighth, is undoubtedly an English classic. It is not only one of the most extensive and important texts of English literature during the period of the formation and development of a native prose style, but it has been also the means by which Englishmen have chiefly become acquainted with the former exploits of their countrymen and the 'noble adventures of feats of arms done and achieved in the wars of France and England,' as registered in the Chronicles of Froissart. As a translator he was first in the field and held his ground unchallenged until the present century. His version is full of faults, and the author of it was neither a sound French scholar nor sufficiently master of his literary tools to write lucid or grammatical English; but it has merits which go far to atone for its defects. It was made by a man who could enter into the spirit of the original, though often at fault in the letter, a man who had himself taken a part both in war and in politics, and who, though capable when left to himself of the worst kind of style, was content when translating to reproduce to the best of his power the simplicity and vigour of his author, and this at a time when the ideals of the middle ages had not wholly passed away and before the pure well of fourteenth-century English had been very seriously defiled. For these reasons his version has been by many regarded as representing Froissart better than a more accurate translation in the modern style. As is observed by a French critic, 'la traduction de lord Berners présente, pour les Anglais, à raison de la naïveté de son vieux langage, un charme presqu' égal à celui du texte original de Froissart.'

I

Before entering upon the criticism of this translation it is proper to state shortly what is known of its author. John Bourchier, or Bourgchier, lord Berners, or (as it was often written) Barnes, belonged to a family which was of great distinction and importance. The founder of its fortunes had been Robert Bourchier, Chancellor of England in the year 1340, and the first layman who held that office. This Robert Bourchier accompanied Robert d'Artois into Brittany in 1342, was with Edward III. in the campaign of 1346, and was present at the battle of Crécy (vol. i. chs. 91 and 128 of this translation). His son, John Bourchier, fills a certain place in the Chronicles of Froissart. He is mentioned as distinguishing himself at the siege of Dinan in 1342, he was present at the battle of Auray (i. 226), he accompanied the prince of Wales to Spain, he was shipwrecked with Arundel (i. 356), and he was in the expedition of Thomas of Woodstock, then earl of Buckingham, in 1380 (i. 361). Afterwards, when in the year 1384 the burgesses of Ghent requested the king of England to appoint a governor for them, John Bourchier was sent with the title of 'reward (rewaert) of Flanders,' the

same style which had been used by Philip van Arteveld (i. 447 and ii. 1, etc.). This post he held for rather more than a year, and then returned in consequence of the reconciliation of Ghent with the duke of Burgundy (ii. 18-20). His son Bartholomew is mentioned by Froissart as made knight before Saint-Omer by the earl of Buckingham in 1380 (i. 361).

This Bartholomew died without male issue and the barony of Bourchier passed eventually to the descendants of his younger brother. William Bourchier, son of this younger brother, married in 1419 Anne, daughter of Thomas of Woodstock, youngest son of Edward III., and in the same year was created earl of Eu in Normandy. This William earl of Eu had four sons and a daughter. The sons were—(1) Henry earl of Eu, afterwards viscount Bourchier, and finally earl of Essex; in 1449 associated with others in a commission to govern Calais for five years, and in 1454 lord Treasurer of England: (2) William lord Fitzwarren: (3) Thomas, who became archbishop of Canterbury and a cardinal, Chancellor of England in 1486: (4) John, who married Margery, widow of John Ferreby and heiress of sir Richard Berners of West Horsley, Sussex, was summoned to parliament as a baron in 1455 by the designation of John Bourchier de Berners, chevalier, and was commonly called lord Berners, though before this time there was perhaps no barony of Berners. This John Bourchier fought for Henry VI. at the first battle of St. Albans in 1455, but afterwards with the rest of his family he became attached to the house of York, and was appointed by Edward IV. constable of Windsor Castle. His eldest son, Humphrey, married Elizabeth Tylney, and was killed fighting for Edward IV. at the battle of Barnet in 1471, leaving one son, the subject of this notice, then a child not more than four years old, and two daughters, Margaret and Anne. Three years later, on the death of his grandfather, the boy succeeded to the title and estates.

John Bourchier, lord Berners, the future translator of Froissart, was born either in 1467 or 1469, and probably grew up under the guardianship of Thomas Howard, afterwards duke of Norfolk, to whom his mother was married some few years after his father's death.[1] He was made a knight of the Bath in 1477, being then at most ten years old, on the occasion of the betrothal of the king's second son, the young duke of York (afterwards murdered in the Tower), to Anne, daughter and heiress of John Mowbray, duke of Norfolk. He was educated at Oxford, probably at Balliol College, and afterwards travelled abroad, where he may probably have been during the troubles of the reign of Richard III., which took place while he was still quite young. Whatever line he individually might have taken owing to his connexion with the Howards, it is evident that the behaviour of Richard III. had alienated the rest of the Bourchier family from his cause; and we find that several members of it gave assistance to the earl of Richmond. One, if not two, of lord Berners' uncles had taken part in the insurrection of Buckingham; one of them, Thomas Bourchier, fought for Richmond at Bosworth field; and finally the ceremony of coronation on the accession of Henry VII. was performed by cardinal Bourchier, then archbishop of Canterbury, the great-uncle of lord Berners.

The services thus rendered were requited by the favour of Henry VII., in which naturally lord Berners shared. He was first summoned to parliament by the style of 'John Bourgchier lord of Berners' in the 11th year of Henry VII., having been previously employed at the siege of Boulogne in 1492. Some authorities say that he distinguished himself in putting down the insurrection of 1497, but this is perhaps a mistake, arising from confusion between lord Berners and his uncle Thomas Bourchier. On the accession of Henry VIII. he became a favourite with the king and was employed in various military enterprises. In 1513 we find him as captain of the pioneers at the siege of Terouenne, where he did good service, especially in the recovery of a gun, which had been left behind on the road by negligence and had nearly fallen into the hands of the

[1] Besides the connexion formed by the marriage of his mother with Thomas Howard, who succeeded to the dukedom, there was an earlier kinship by the marriage of John Mowbray, third duke of Norfolk, with the great-aunt of Lord Berners. He himself afterwards married a Howard.

French. In 1514, on the occasion of the marriage of the king's sister Mary with Louis XII., lord Berners was one of those who gave attendance upon her to Abbeville. Shortly afterwards he was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer for life.

In 1518 a special embassy was sent to the Spanish court to congratulate Charles V. on his accession and to endeavour secretly to detach him from the interests of France. For this important mission the archbishop of Armagh and lord Berners were selected. Several of the original despatches sent by the ambassadors are extant among the Cotton MSS. in the British Museum. The first report was favourable, but changes took place in the views of Wolsey as regards the French alliance, and from some of the despatches it is evident that he was dissatisfied with the doings of the envoys. In the month of August lord Berners fell seriously ill, and did not recover his health during his stay in Spain. For this reason they would have desired to return by land, but they were so ill supplied with money for their expenses, that they were compelled to come back by the nearest way. They took leave of the Spanish court in January 1519 and took ship at Saint Sebastian.[1]

Lord Berners with his wife attended the king at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, and on July 2nd 1520 he was thanked by the Privy Council for an account of that ceremonial which he had forwarded to them. Towards the end of the year 1520 he was appointed to the post of deputy of Calais, one of the most important offices of trust under the crown. Here he seems to have remained for the rest of his life, busying himself partly in strengthening the fortifications, as we learn from his letters to Wolsey, and here it was that he chiefly found leisure for literary pursuits, being debarred, it seems, by the state of his health from active military service. In the latter part of his life he must have been somewhat embarrassed in money matters, partly perhaps owing to some law-suits in which he had been involved, and he was a debtor to the crown at the time of his death to the extent of at least £500. Henry VIII. was anxious to secure payment out of his estate, and when the deputy lay on his death-bed, the king set agents at Calais to watch over his personal effects. Lord Berners died on the 16th of March 1532-33, and was buried in the church of Saint Mary at Calais. All his goods were immediately placed under arrest, and an inventory taken, which exists still in the Record office. Among his effects were eighty books, chiefly French and Latin, but the titles unfortunately are not given.

He was married to Catherine, daughter of John Howard, duke of Norfolk, apparently the sister-in-law of his mother, by whom he had two daughters, Mary and Jane. He left also several illegitimate children.

Besides the translation of Froissart he made several other translations: as 'The Hystorye of the moost noble and valiaunt Knyght Arthur of lytell Brytayne,' translated from the French. No copy of the early editions of this is known to exist. It was republished in 1814 by Utterson from a seventeenth-century edition.

'The Castel of Love,' translated from the Spanish at the instance of the lady Elizabeth Carew. Of this there is a copy in the British Museum supposed to have been printed about 1540, but probably this was not the first edition.

'The ancient, honorable, famous and delightful Historie of Huon of Bourdeux, enterlaced with the Love of many Ladies,' translated from the French at the desire of the earl of Huntingdon. One copy only exists of an early edition and that without date (being imperfect at the beginning and the end), but supposed to be of the year 1534. It has been edited by Mr. S. L. Lee for the Early English Text Society.

'The Golden boke of Marcus Aurelius,' translated from the French at the desire of his nephew, sir Francis Bryan. This is a translation from a French version of the well-known work by Guevara. The first edition bears the date 1534. It became very

[1] In one of the despatches the ambassadors report that at Saragossa the king joined in the national exercise of 'casting canes,' that is, hurling javelins and galloping away in Parthian fashion, whereof the French ambassador said it was a good game to teach men to fly. My lord Berners answered that the Frenchmen learnt it well beside Guingate at the journey of Spurs.' These despatches will be found summarised in Brewer's 'Letters and Papers of the reign of Henry VIII.'

popular and went through many editions before North published his 'Dial of Princes,' from the same original slightly expanded, in 1557.

Lord Berners is said also to have composed a treatise 'of the duties of the inhabitants of Calais,' which has been perhaps rightly identified with 'Ordenances for Watch and Ward of Calais,' printed with other documents relating to Calais for the Camden Society in 1846; and a comedy called 'Ite in vineam meam,' which was sometimes acted in the great church at Calais after vespers. This last is not extant.

Some remarks may be here made on this list of works before passing on to the main subject of this Introduction. The translator's prologue to the romance of 'Arthur of Little Britain' closely resembles in some respects the preface to the translation of Froissart, but it is written in a much simpler style and is more humble in its pretensions. The writer declares that he cannot render the work into 'fresh, ornate, polished English,' because of his insufficiency in 'the facundious art of rhetoric,' and that he is but a learner of the language of French. The style of the preface to Froissart is much more formed and testifies to a terrible progress in the art of rhetoric, as it was then conceived, nor does the translator any longer speak of himself as ignorant of French. On the whole we may perhaps assume that 'Arthur of Little Britain' was his first considerable work in literature.

The Froissart may probably have come next, and then the 'Castle of Love' and 'Huon of Bordeaux.' The 'Golden Book of Marcus Aurelius' was the work of his last years, though he was not apparently occupied upon it, as has been sometimes stated, during the very last week of his life. The colophon of this book states that it was 'ended at Calais the tenth day of March[1] in the yere of the reigne of our soveraygne lorde kyng Henry the VIII. the xxiii.,' that is 1531-32, a full year before the translator's death. I have not seen a copy of the first edition, nor do I know where one is to be found, and it is possible that it may contain the reading xxiiii. (as stated by Mr. Lee), though Dibdin reports otherwise; but certainly in the edition of 1535, and in subsequent editions so far as I know, it is xxiii. In any case, however, the book does not seem to have been printed in the translator's lifetime, and no doubt it was published by sir Francis Bryan, himself afterwards a translator of Guevara. At least twelve editions of this book are recorded between 1534 and 1560, and there can be no doubt that the credit of making Guevara known in England must be assigned to lord Berners rather than to North. It has been suggested therefore that the 'Golden Book' and not the 'Dial of Princes' was the real father of what is called Euphuism in England: but it is vain to attempt to trace Euphuism, except in a very restricted sense, to the influence of any single book, and it will soon be acknowledged that the translators of Guevara were no more really responsible than Lyly for a style which had developed simultaneously in all the neighbouring countries. If nothing else could be adduced to shew that the tendency existed already in English literature, the prefaces to lord Berners' Froissart, written before he could possibly have read Guevara, would be enough to prove it.

II

In his translation of Froissart's Chronicles, lord Berners no doubt found a truer satisfaction than in any of his other works. His delight was in history rather than in fiction: it is history which alone in his judgment 'complecteth all profit,' moving us to emulate the example of those who have been before us, with the prospect of ourselves becoming an example to those that shall come after. There is a real enthusiasm, visible through the artificiality of the rhetoric, in his praise of history, and he evidently desired that the narratives with which he dealt should have at least the semblance of truth. In the prologue to 'Arthur of Little Britain' he naïvely lets his readers into the secret that he undertook to translate the book before he had read it, and declares that as he advanced with his task he had been so staggered by the 'unpossibilities' of the story, that he had thought to have left and given up his labour. However, he had

[1] It is a curious coincidence that the translation of Froissart also was finished on the 10th of March.

consoled himself with the reflection that divers other 'noble histories' in which the deeds of famous knights of old were related, seemed to our understanding not less incredible, and that the first author of the book had probably devised it 'not without some measure of truth or virtuous intent.' Just so we may conceive that he was enticed into attempting 'Huon of Bordeaux' by the specious semblance of history which the first part of that romance presents, and that 'the instant desires of his nephew, Francis Bryan, knight,' that he would translate the 'Golden Book of Marcus Aurelius,' may have been powerfully seconded by the pretence, which the author made and long maintained, that it was all genuine history.

Be this as it may, the translation of Froissart's Chronicles was undertaken, as already stated, at the command of the king. The first volume was 'Imprinted at London, in Fletestrete, by Richard Pynson, printer to the kynges noble grace, and ended the xxviii. day of January, the yere of our lorde MDXXIII.' (that is 1523-24): the second volume was finished at Calais the 10th day of March in the 16th year of the reign of king Henry VIII., and printed as before by Richard Pynson, the printing being ended on the last day of August in the year 1525. Pynson issued at least two editions of the book, but with the same date and imprint. It was also printed by William Myddylton, 'in Fletestrete, at the signe of the George,' without date, but the title-page and imprint of this (probably unauthorised) edition have the words 'of the church of England and also of Irelande in earth the supreme heade' added to the king's title, proving its date to have been at least as late as 1533. Of this edition I have seen only one volume, the copy in the British Museum being made up with the second volume of one of Pynson's, but a note in the Grenville copy of Pynson's edition states that there exists an issue of the whole book printed by Myddylton. Myddylton's edition, so far as I know it, is a line for line reprint of Pynson's, but executed in a very much inferior style. Finally the book was republished in 1812, under the superintendence of E. V. Utterson, in the form of a tolerably accurate reprint of Pynson's first edition, with a few notes on mistranslated passages and many emendations of proper names, given on the authority of the lately published translation by Johnes. Of these last many are not to be relied upon, and it should be remarked that by an oversight the black-letter title-page printed for the first volume is that of Myddylton's edition and not Pynson's.

With the exception of some correction of the punctuation, which remains, however, exceedingly defective, this last publication reproduces designedly all the errors of the original edition. These, which are sufficiently numerous to leave the reader often in doubt about the true 'sentence of the matter,' consist of two classes, those which proceed from the translator himself or the French text which he used, and those for which he is indebted to his printers. It is pretty clear that the translator did not take the trouble to revise his own proofs, indeed such mechanical work would no doubt in that age be considered as belonging solely to the printer. Many of the errors are obviously due to misreading of the translator's handwriting, as 'Beamon' for 'Beaulieu' (vol. i. ch. 3), 'creylles' for 'oreylles' (i. 17), 'Issodnii' for 'Issodun' (i. 21), 'drewe' for 'drove' (i. 44), 'their grefe' for 'them grace' (i. 56), 'the kyng harde noyse' for 'the kyng harde masse' (i. 124), 'Muquateners' for 'Cinquanteners' (i. 349), 'Dunce' for 'Dunoe' (ii. 206), 'mylke' for 'myllet' (ii. 215), and very many more, including a curious case where, the translator having written no doubt, 'as at that tyme sir Johan Warnes was capitayne of Calays' (Warnes being a corruption in the French text of d'Ewrues, *i.e.* d'Evreux), the printer has substituted the name most familiar to himself in connexion with that office, and we read 'as at that tyme sir Johan Bernes was capitayne of Calays,' that is, no other than our translator himself, translated for the occasion into the fourteenth century (ii. 157). The mistakes of punctuation are still more numerous, and are often such as to destroy the whole sense of the passage. Of these various errors very few have as yet received any correction, so that the present may be said to be the first attempt to give a thoroughly readable text of any considerable portion of the book.

Lord Berners had certainly some qualifications which might have been expected to

fit him for his task as translator of Froissart. In such families as his, if in any, the tradition of the age of chivalry was likely to be still alive. The Chronicles which he translated are full of the deeds of his ancestors, for we must remember that he was descended not only from the Bourchiers, but also from Edward the third and from his son Thomas duke of Gloucester, whose grandson was the grandfather of our translator; so that it may fairly be said of him, 'les gloires de son pays étaient aussi pour lui des gloires domestiques' (Lettenhove, i. 3, 457). He was a man of the world quite as much as a man of letters: he had travelled in various countries and had been engaged in important service both of war and of diplomacy. Finally he had found leisure for his literary task in a post which of all others carried with it most associations of the period of which the Chronicles give us so living a picture. Calais was the prize won on the field of Crecy, the gate by which the English entered France, the vital point on which negotiations for peace so often turned, the town of the world which the English loved best, 'for as long as they be lords of Calais, they said, they bare the keys of France under their girdle' (ii. 179). In the position of captain of Calais, a post which had been also to some extent associated with his family in former times, he could hardly fail to have a sense of the living reality of the conflicts of which Froissart wrote the chronicle and in which his ancestors had taken a leading part. Add to this finally that his lifetime began within seventy years of the latest events chronicled by Froissart, and that the English language of his day was not yet very much altered from that of the fourteenth century.

Against these considerations must be set several disadvantages, of which some arise from defects personal to the translator, others belong to the times in which he lived. The absence of the means for anything like a critical study of Froissart's Chronicles reduced the translator to a text of his author which in many respects is very unsatisfactory; and this corruption of the French text is really responsible for many of the apparent blunders of translation, as will be sufficiently pointed out in the notes to this edition. Then again, the undeveloped state of English prose style at the beginning of the sixteenth century threw unusual difficulties in the way of so extensive a work, difficulties with which the literary ability of the translator was hardly competent to grapple successfully. In fact it is evident that he had not a sufficient literary training for his task, and he shews a certain gentlemanly indifference to accuracy both in his rendering of the French and in his style of expressing himself in English. It is of these disadvantages and defects and of the manner in which they appear in the translation that I propose now to speak, and first of the French text from which the version was made.

At the time when the work of translation was being done there existed at least five printed editions of the Chronicles—(1) the *editio princeps*, printed at Paris for Antoine Vérard, without date, probably about 1495; (2) another edition published by the same, probably about 1497; (3) an edition printed by Michel Lenoir, Paris, 1505; (4) an edition published by G. Eustace and F. Regnault,[1] Paris, 1513; (5) an edition by A. Vérard, F. Regnault and J. Petit, Paris, 1518: all are in 4 volumes, small folio, and are printed in Gothic letters, and they not only all represent the same text, but the later editions are printed page by page from the earlier, with only the most trifling alterations or corrections, so that Denis Sauvage was justified in saying that for critical purposes they are equivalent to a single edition.[2] As regards the first book, where alone the

[1] That is, some copies bear the name of Regnault.

[2] It may be of some interest to determine by means of the slight variations that exist, which particular one of these editions was used by the translator. The evidence chiefly depends upon variations in the form of proper names: for example, the edition used by the translator had the reading 'dongport' for 'ung port' in vol. i. fol. 5 (vol. i. ch. 10 of the translation), a reading exhibited only by the early editions of Vérard and by that of Lenoir: in vol. i. ch. 112 the translator has 'Mauleon,' which is given by the two early editions of Vérard but not by Lenoir or the rest: in i. 221 Vérard's editions have 'Haneskerly,' which is reproduced by the translator, while Lenoir has 'Kanerly': and finally for the distinction between the two editions of Vérard we may quote vol. i. ch. 125, where all the other editions, including Vérard's first, have 'larsin' or 'larcin,' while Vérard's second has 'darsin,' on which the translator has founded an absurd mistake. Such evidence as this tends to shew that the translator used Vérard's second edition, but the variations in these early issues are so trifling that they may be regarded for most purposes as the same.

difference of redactions is of serious importance, the text represented by these editions belongs to that which is called by Kervyn de Lettenhove the second redaction, that is the class to which by far the greater number of existing MSS. are referred; but of this it is a considerably abridged copy.

The text is of course not a critical one, that is, it was printed apparently from a single manuscript without comparison with others, and the result is that it contains a considerable number of corruptions, especially of proper names. That lord Berners should exercise much criticism upon it was perhaps not reasonably to be expected, but it is certainly surprising that he should have let pass without correction so many mistakes about the names of places which must have been perfectly familiar to him, and that he sometimes even introduces corruptions of such names, which were not in his French text. For example, he has not only acquiesced in the reading 'Poictou,' or as he calls it 'Poyters,' for 'Ponthieu' in the letters patent of vol. i. ch. 24, where he must surely have known that Ponthieu and Montreuil were the places spoken of, but he has actually changed 'Ponthieu' into Poictou in some other places, *e.g.* i. 247, where the name occurs in connexion with the towns of Abbeville, Saint-Valéry and Crotoy, with the position of which the captain of Calais must certainly have been well acquainted. The case is much the same with the English names. In a few cases he has made corrections: he rightly gives 'Shene' for 'Renes' (i. 314), 'Brendwode' (Brentwood) for 'Brehoude' (ii. 200), and 'Edenborowe' for 'Haindebourg,' and he has sometimes given the names of well-known English families in a more correct form; but these cases are rather the exception. 'Mombray' for 'Mowbray' must surely be a misprint, but 'Pennefort' and 'Penbruges' for 'Pembroke,' 'Canoll' for 'Knolles,' 'Caurell' for 'Calverley,' 'Quenfort' for 'Oxford,' 'Volengy' and 'Bouligney' for 'Buckingham' (a bad case, for the person in question is Thomas of Woodstock, the translator's ancestor) and many others, are forms which an Englishman who had any knowledge of the history might be expected to correct; and such names as 'Ile of Vbyque' for 'Isle of Wight,' 'Brendpest' for 'Kent, Essex,' 'Aude' for 'Tweed,' 'Germeney' for 'Yarmouth,' need not have been left unreformed. There are also cases in which the translator has made matters worse by unfortunate attempts at correction, as where he writes 'Hull' for 'Heulle' (ii. 239), the correction required being 'Henley.' His attempts to correct the text where proper names are not involved are even less successful, as will be seen in the notes to this edition.

As the copyists of the manuscripts often thought themselves at liberty to abridge the French text, so the translator still further abridges in his version. As an example of the extent to which this double process is sometimes carried we may take the description of the English order before the battle of Poitiers. The full text of the second redaction as given from the best MSS. in Lettenhove's edition (vol. v. p. 411) is as follows:—

En ces parolles que li rois de France disoit et monstroit à ses gens pour yaus encoragier, revinrent li iiii chevalier dessus nommet, et fendirent le presse et s'arrestèrent devant le roy. Là estoient li connestable de France et li doi marescal et grant fuison de bonne chevalerie, tout venu et arresté pour savoir comment on se combateroit. Li rois demanda as dessus dis tout en hault: 'Signeur, queles de vos nouvelles?' Il respondirent: 'Sire, bonnes; si arés hui, se il plaist à Dieu, une belle journée sus vos ennemis.' 'Tele l'espérons-nous à avoir par le grasce de Dieu,' ce respondi li rois. 'Or nous dittes le manière de leur convenant et comment nous les porons combatre.' Adont respondi messires Eustasses de Ribeumont, sicom je fui enformés, pour tous; car il l'en avoient pryet et cargiet, et dist ensi: 'Sire, nous avons veu et considéré vos ennemis: si poeent estre par estimation ii^{m} hommes d'armes, iiii^{m} arciers et xv^{c} brigans.' 'Et comment gisent-il?' dist li rois. 'Sire,' respondi messires Eustasses, 'il sont en très-fort liu, et ne poons veoir, ne imaginer qu'il n'aient fait que une bataille; mès trop bellement et trop sagement l'ont il ordonné, et ont pris le lonc d'un chemin fortefyet malement de haies et de buissons, et ont vesti celle haie, d'une part et d'aultre, de leurs arciers, telement que on ne poet entrer, ne chevaucier en leur chemin, fors que parmi yaus: si convient-il aler celle voie, se on les

voet combatre. En celle haie n'a que une seule entrée et issue, où espoir iiii hommes d'armes, ensi que ou chemin, poroient chevaucier de fronch. Au coron de celle haie, entre vignes et espines, où on ne poet aler, ne chevaucier, sont leurs gens d'armes, tout à piet, et ont mis leurs gens d'armes tout devant yaus, leurs arciers à manière d'une herce: dont c'est trop sagement ouvré, ce nous samble, car qui vodra ou pora venir par fait d'armes jusques à yaus, il n'i entera nullement, fors que parmi ces arciers, qui ne seront mies légier à desconfire.'

The text of the above passage in Vérard's edition, from which the translation was made, is this:—

En ce point revindrent les trois *nobles* chevaliers *dessus nommez, lesquels fendirent la presse* et approchèrent le roy, qui leur demanda des nouvelles. Messire Eustace de Ribaumont si respondit pour tous, *car ses compaignons l'en avoient prié*, et dist: 'Sire, nous avons regardé les Anglois, si peuvent bien estre par estimacion deux mille hommes d'armes, quatre mille archiers et quinze cens brigans. Si sont en ung tres fort lieu, et ne povons ymaginer quilz ayent fait que une bataille. Mais moult saigement l'ont ordonnée, et *ont prins* le long du chemin fortiffié durement de haye et de buyssons, et ont vestue celle haye d'une partie de leurs archiers tellement qu'on ne peut entrer ne chevaucher en leur chemin fors que parmy eulx. Si convient-il aller celle voye qui les veult combatre. En celle haye n'a que une seulle entrée ne yssue, où espoir quatre hommes d'armes ainsi que au chemin pourroyent chevaucher de front. Au bout de celle haye, *entre vignes et espines*, où l'on ne peut aller ne chevaucher, sont *leurs* gens d'armes tout à pied, et *ont mis tout* devant eulx leurs archiers en manière d'une herse, qui ne seroit mye legière chose à desconfire.'

The words in italics are those which are omitted by the translator. Altogether it will be seen the passage is reduced to about half its original length, but it must be noticed that it is only in the first book (that is, vol. i. chs. 1-317 in the English version) that the French text had been abridged to this extent. In the remainder of the Chronicles the text which the translator followed was one which had been but very slightly shortened by omissions.

As regards the accuracy of the translation we must not expect a very high standard. The translator has not, he says, followed his author word by word, and it is not part of the plan of the present edition to correct the translation like a schoolboy's exercise. But setting aside the cases where a deviation from the true sense is due to corruption of the French text,[1] there remain a considerable number of downright mistranslations, the result either of carelessness or blundering. For example, he translates 'despecer les chaussées' into 'cut short their kirtles' (i. 80); 'povres gens l'amontèrent premièrement, et meschans gens le tuèrent en le parfin,' 'poor men first mounteth up, and unhappy men slayeth them at the end' (i. 115); 'le roy de France les avoit advancez,' 'the French king followed him' (i. 159); 'depuis cent ans,' 'in a hundred year after' (i. 270); 's'il est qui fait, il est qui dit,' 'if it be as he doth, it is as he saith' (i. 387); 'se fist sire et roy du pays dont elle se clamoit dame,' 'was lord and king of the country called Daure' (ii. 42); 'il la garda d'estre prinse,' 'he kept himself sure enough from taking' (ii. 167); 'qu'on l'oublia en France,' 'that he forgat France' (ii. 174); 'pourtant qu'il les avoit avancez,' 'because he was advanced by their means' (ii. 229). In most of these cases, as in others which might be quoted, the blunders arise simply from ignorance of French: but there are also mistakes which are due to mere carelessness, as when he renders 'unze fils' 'a son' (i. 307), and repeatedly mistranslates the names of the days of the week, making 'jeudi' 'Tuesday' and 'mardi' 'Wednesday' (*e.g.* i. 152, 220, 222). That he had no special knowledge of older French words and forms is clear from his not understanding such words and expressions as 'esclistre,' 'juper,' 'se

[1] Without reference to the translator's French text it is impossible to say for certain in any single instance whether the mistake is that of the translation or not. To take a single example: the reader, having found in vol. i. ch. 381 the words 'bien les trois pars' translated 'the third part,' would naturally suppose that 'the fourth part' in ch. 382 (where the true reading of the French is 'les quatre pars') must be a mistake of the same kind. In this instance, however, he would be wrong, for the translator's French text gave here 'la quarte part.'

deviser,' 'jangle,' 'se délivrer de' (ii. 153), 'se clore' (ii. 197). On the whole it must be concluded that lord Berners had an insufficient knowledge of the language which he undertook to translate and was not a sound French scholar even judged by the standard of his own time, and we have already noticed the humility with which he speaks of his own attainments. At the same time it may be observed that in several passages he has given a more correct rendering than his modern competitor. For example in i. 325, where Johnes says: 'The queen was not very far advanced in pregnancy; but the doctors had forbidden her bathing,' etc., Berners more rightly gives: 'The queen being in childbed was not well at ease, and her physicians had defended her in any wise that she should not enter into no bain.' Again, in i. 403 Johnes has this: 'But some imagine the king would not have interfered in the matter, if it had not been for the intrigues of the duke of Burgundy; for if nothing had been done, he would have annexed Flanders to the crown of France by some means or other; for the earl of Flanders was not enough in his favour to induce him to exert himself in his aid.' Nothing could be much worse than this either as regards correctness or style, while Berners is both accurate and spirited: 'But some thought that if king Charles had lived still till that time, that he would have done nothing, and if he had, men supposed that he would thereby [have] annexed the county of Flanders to the crown of France: for the earl of Flanders was not so well in his grace that he would have done anything for him, without he had well known why.' Finally: 'If the Turks and Tartars have frequently hurt Christendom, the Genoese felt it not,' where Berners correctly gives: 'The Turks and Tartars should do much damage to Christendom, if the Genoways were not' (ii. 40). A few more passages might be added, but certainly not enough to justify the remark which has been made, that the older version is the more accurate as well as the more spirited of the two.

The English style of lord Berners is partly correspondent to the looseness of translation which has been noticed. It has no claim whatever to purity or accuracy, and the manner of expression is often intolerably careless. Sentences are begun, broken off, begun again, and after all never ended; verbs are left without subjects and relatives without antecedents: grammatically the style is often hopeless; it is the style of a man who has not sufficient command over the language in which he writes to express clearly that which he means to say, who struggles with a material of which he is not master. Let us take a few examples out of many of this formlessness of style, to justify that which has been said, and the sentences quoted may serve also as specimens of the spelling used in the original edition:—

'And whan these knightes and other men of armes knewe the wyll and answere of king Dãpeter, wherby they reputed hym right orgulus and presumptuous, and made all the hast they myght to auaunce, to do hym all the hurte they coulde. So they all passed,' etc. (i. 229).

'Ye haue harde right well here before, howe the kyng of Nauer, who hadde to his wyfe the frenche kynges suster, for the loue of the one and of the other, it was sayd and purposed, that the herytage of the chyldren of the kyng of Nauer, the whiche was fallen to them by the ryght of their mother, y^{t} the french kyng their vncle, by the succession of his suster, ought to haue power therof in name of the chyldren, seyng the chyldren were in his kepynge, wherby all the lande that the kynge of Naver held in Normandy shulde be in y^{e} french kynges hand, as long as his nephewes were within age. Of all these maters,' etc. (i. 327).

'For ye knowe howe the puissaunce of the prince of Wales and of Acquitayne put kynge don Peter, your cosyn, into possession of all these herytages and landes closed within Spayne, and afterwarde by a journey of batayle y^{t} don Henry had at Nauntuell agaynst don Peter, who there loste all agayne, and don Henry put in possession as he was before' (ii. 33).

'It can nat be said but that the knightes of Fraunce, of Bretayne, of Burgoyne and of Byerne, but that[1] right valiantly fought' (ii. 34).

'Ye haue well herde here before how sir Peter of Craon, who was a knyght of great

[1] The omission of 'they' is not an accident or a misprint, but a regular feature of the style, in imitation perhaps of old French.

lygnage; but he was farre out of the frenche kynges grace and the duke of Thourayns: if he dyd so moche to cause them to be displeased with him, he dyd yvell. Ye have herde also howe he was gone into Bretayne,' etc. (ii. 181).

For these enormities and for many more of the same kind our translator alone is responsible: the style of the original author is almost always lucid and fluent, and it certainly gives no excuse for the confusion and obscurity of expression which we have noted. It is going much too far therefore to speak, as some have done, of this translation as a model of English prose, written in a style simple and direct, but at the same time flexible and mobile, with artistic combinations of the Romance and Teutonic elements of the language. It has many merits, as we shall presently see, but it is not a model of style. Nor can it be pleaded for the writer that the age had not yet learnt to express itself clearly in prose. The generation before that of our translator had made a very great advance; the style of Mallory's *Morte Darthur* (this also a translation, or series of translations, from the French) is excellently adapted to its purpose, and for directness and lucidity Caxton is a far better writer than Berners.

But enough has been said of the faults of the work that is before us: it remains to speak of its merits. The writer has the qualities of his defects. If he is not properly speaking a man of letters, he is on that account the more familiar with courts, embassies and statecraft. He has seen battles and taken part in the conduct of sieges, and he knows the language of politics and of diplomacy. This, it cannot be denied, is some qualification for translating Froissart. Again, having no formed style of his own, he is more apt to follow the style of the original than to attempt to improve upon it: and this is in fact his greatest merit. He has not attempted to produce an original work in the guise of a translation: not only the matter but to a great extent the manner is that of the original, while at the same time the English is idiomatic enough to avoid the suggestion of a foreign source. It is true that under any exceptional stress his powers of clear expression break down, as we have seen, but ordinarily he flows along happily enough, and gives us very often no bad reproduction of the style of Froissart. If we wish to know of what he was capable in this matter of style when left to his own guidance, we have only to read the preface of the translator, prefixed to the first volume of the work. It is difficult to conceive anything more unlike the style of the translation than this stilted performance, with its regular balance of clauses and its absurd arrangement of synonyms in triplets: *e.g.* 'for whan we (beynge vnexpert of chaunces) se, beholde and rede the auncyent actes, gestes and dedes, howe and with what labours, daungers and paryls they were gested and done, they right greatly admonest, ensigne and teche vs howe we maye lede forthe our lyues: and farther, he that hathe the perfyte knowledge of others' ioye, welthe and highe prosperite, and also trouble, sorowe and great aduersite, hath thexpert doctryne of all parylles': with much more of the same kind, in regard to which he is justly afraid that if he should write all that he would on the subject, he should 'too sore torment' his reader. It is, however, only the sense that he ought to write something impressive in a good literary style that drives him to his stilts: he comes down from them as soon as he has something practical to say, either about his reasons for translating Froissart, his methods of naming persons, countries and cities, or his reckoning of miles and leagues. All this he expresses in a simple conversational manner, as of one gentleman explaining things to another; and when his work of translation begins, he resigns himself willingly to the guidance of his author, whose narrative he reproduces with the spirit of one to whom it is a living drama and not an unreal pageant. It is this fresh vitality of the story, combined with the simplicity of the rendering, that constitutes the redeeming merit of the translation, a merit sufficient to cover a multitude of defects. Add to this a certain vigorous picturesqueness of phrase, which is certainly not to be found in the work of his modern rival, and a diction not too far removed from the time of his author, English enriched with that admixture of French which had been incorporated with it in the fourteenth century, but not overloaded with new foreign importations, such as an unskilful translator might be tempted to introduce.

As examples of graphic and forcible expression we may take a few passages here and there, quoting also the modern translation, not because it is specially bad, but as giving an average standard for comparison:—

'The horses whan they felt y° sharpe arowes, they wolde in no wyse go forward, but drewe abacke, and flang and toke on so feersly, that many of them fell on their maisters' (i. 162).

The modern rendering is: 'The horses smarting under the pain of the wounds made by their bearded arrows, would not advance, but turned about, and by their unruliness threw their masters.'

'Gylbert answered and sayde, Holde thy pease, fole, for whan I wyll, with y° erle's puyssance, all the whyte hattes shall be cast downe; and suche there be that bereth them nowe, that here after shall haue no nede of any hatte' (i. 349).

Johnes has: 'Gilbert replying said: Hold thy tongue, fool; whenever I please, with the assistance of my lord, I can put down these white hoods; and some of them who now wear them will not in a short time have heads to put them on.'

Again: '[He] caste about his eyen, and the firste thynge he sawe was a Sowe, the greattest that euer he sawe, and she semed to be so leane and yuell fauoured, that there was nothyng on her but the skynne and the bones, with long eares and a longe leane snout. The lorde of Corasse had marueyle of that leane Sowe, and was wery of y° sight of her, and cõmaunded his men to fetche his houndes, and sayd, Lette the dogges hunt her to dethe and deuoure her' (ii. 37).

The modern translator says: 'Casting his eyes about, the first thing he observed was an immensely large sow; but she was so poor, she seemed only skin and bone, with long hanging ears all spotted, and a sharp-pointed lean snout. The lord de Corasse was disgusted at such a sight, and calling to his servants said, Let the dogs loose quickly, for I will have that sow killed and devoured.'

And finally: 'The constable defended hymselfe valyauntly with that wepyn that he had; howebeit, his defence hadde vayled hym but lytell, and the great grace of god had nat ben; styll he sate on his horse tyll he had a full stroke on y° heed, with whiche stroke he fell fro his horse ryght agaynst a bakers dore, who was vp and busy to bake breed, and had left his dore halfe open, whiche was happy for the constable; for as he fell fro his horse he fell agaynste the dore, and the dore opened, and he fell in at the dore, and they that were a horsebacke coulde nat entre after hym, the dore was to lowe and to lytell. . . . Thus syr Olyuer of Clysson was lefte in this case, as a man halfe deed and more, in the bakers house, who was sore abasshed whan he knewe it was the constable: as for his men, had lytell hurte, for syr Peter and his men loked for nothynge but to haue slayne the constable. Than syr Olyuers men assembled togyther, and entred into the bakers house, and there founde their mayster, sore hurte on the heed, and the blode rennynge downe by his vysage, wherwith they were sore abasshed, and good cause why: there they made great complayntes; fyrste they feared he had ben deed. Anone tydinges hereof came to the kynges lodgynge, and it was sayde to the kynge, as he was goynge to his bedde: Ah, syr, we canne nat hyde fro you the great myschiefe that is now sodenly fallen in Parys. What myschefe is that? quod the kynge. Syr, quod they, your constable syr Olyuer of Clisson is slayne. Slayne, quod the kynge; and howe so, and who hath done that deed? Syr, quod they, we canne nat tell; but this myschefe is fallen on hym here by in the streate of saynt Kateryn. Well, quod the kynge, light vp your torches; I will go and se hym' (ii. 181).

'The constable parried the blows tolerably well with his short cutlass; but his defence would have been of no avail, if God's providence had not protected him. He kept steady on horseback some time, until he was villanously struck on the back part of his head, which knocked him off his horse. In his fall he hit against the hatch of a baker's door, who was already up to attend to his business and bake his bread. Having heard the noise of horses on the causeway and high words, the baker had, fortunately for the constable, half opened the hatch; and sir Oliver, falling against it, burst it quite open and

rolled into the shop. Those on horseback could not follow him, as the entrance was neither wide nor high enough,' and so on.

The version of Johnes is quoted in these passages not because it deserves scornful treatment, but simply to shew that in all these cases, as in others which might be found on every page, the older translator has the advantage. The work done by Johnes was very respectable, and he was the first to call attention to an important class of manuscripts, with variations and additions which had not before been publicly noticed, but we cannot doubt about the comparative merits of the two versions, notwithstanding the superior accuracy of the later one. Let 'them that default find' do as the translator prays them to do and endeavour to amend where need shall be. There is no doubt that the book was popular with those to whom it was addressed, and that it was truly a pleasure to the noble gentlemen of England 'to se, beholde and rede the highe enterprises, famous actes and glorious dedes done and atchyued by their valyant aunceytours.' It has also remained among the monuments of the English language, and if not exactly a masterpiece, it has seemed nevertheless more successful than any other version in rendering the charm and simplicity of the original text.

THE FIRST VOLUME

¶ Here begynneth the firſt volum of ſir Johan Froyſſart: of the cronycles of Englande, Fraunce, Spayne, Portyngale, Scotlande, Bretayne, Flaūders, and other places adioynynge. Tranſlated out of Frenche into our maternal engliſſhe tonge by Johan Bourchier, knight, lorde Berners: At the cōmaundement of oure moost highe redouted ſouerayne lorde kyng Henry the viii., kyng of Englande and of Fraunce and high defender of the chriſten layth, etc.

THE PREFACE OF JOHN BOURCHIER, KNIGHT, LORD BERNERS,

TRANSLATOR OF THIS PRESENT CHRONICLE

WHAT condign graces and thanks ought men to give to the writers of histories, who with their great labours have done so much profit to the human life. They shew, open, manifest and declare to the reader by example of old antiquity, what we should enquire, desire and follow, and also what we should eschew, avoid and utterly fly; for when we (being unexpert of chances) see, behold and read the ancient acts, gests and deeds, how and with what labours, dangers and perils they were gested and done, they right greatly admonish, ensign and teach us how we may lead forth our lives: and farther, he that hath the perfect knowledge of others' joy, wealth and high prosperity, and also trouble, sorrow and great adversity, hath the expert doctrine of all perils. And albeit that mortal folk are marvellously separated both by land and water, and right wondrously situate, yet are they and their acts (done peradventure by the space of a thousand year) compact together by the histographier, as it were the deeds of one self city and in one man's life: wherefore I say that history may well be called a divine providence; for as the celestial bodies above complect all and at every time the universal world, the creatures therein contained and all their deeds, semblably so doth history. Is it not a right noble thing for us, by the faults and errors of other to amend and erect our life into better? We should not seek and acquire that other did; but what thing was most best, most laudable and worthily done, we should put before our eyes to follow. Be not the sage counsels of two or three old fathers in a city, town or country, whom long age hath made wise, discreet and prudent, far more praised, lauded and dearly loved than of the young men? How much more then ought histories to be commended, praised and loved, in whom is included so many sage counsels, great reasons and high wisdoms of so innumerable persons of sundry nations and of every age, and that in so long space as four or five hundred year. The most profitable thing in this world for the institution of the human life is history. Once the continual reading thereof maketh young men equal in prudence to old men, and to old fathers stricken in age it ministereth experience of things. More, it yieldeth private persons worthy of dignity, rule and governance: it compelleth the emperors, high rulers and governours to do noble deeds, to the end they may obtain immortal glory: it exciteth, moveth and stirreth the strong, hardy warriors, for the great laud that they have after they ben dead, promptly to go in hand with great and hard perils in defence of their country: and it prohibiteth reprovable persons to do mischievous deeds, for fear of infamy and shame.

So thus through the monuments of writing, which is the testimony unto virtue many men have been moved, some to build cities, some to devise and establish laws right profitable, necessary and behoveful for the human life, some other to find new arts, crafts and sciences, very requisite to the use of mankind. But above all things, whereby man's wealth riseth, special laud and cause ought to be given to history: it is the keeper of such things as have been virtuously done, and the witness of evil deeds, and by the benefit of history all noble, high and virtuous acts be immortal. What moved the strong and fierce Hercules to enterprise in his life so many great incomparable labours and perils? Certainly nought else but that for his merit immortality might be given to him of all folk. In semblable wise did his imitator, noble duke Theseus, and many other innumerable worthy princes and famous men, whose virtues ben redeemed from oblivion and shine by history. And whereas other monuments in process of time by variable chances are confused and lost, the virtue of history, diffused and spread through the universal world, hath to her custos and keeper it (that is to say, time) which consumeth the other writings. And albeit that those men are right worthy of great laud and praise, who by their writings shew and lead us the way to virtue, yet nevertheless the poems, laws and other acts that they found, devised and writ ben mixed with some damage, and sometime for the truth they ensign a man to lie; but only history, truly with words representing the acts, gests and deeds done, complecteth all profit: it moveth, stirreth and compelleth to honesty; detesteth, irketh and abhorreth vices; it extolleth, enhanceth and lifteth up such as ben noble and virtuous; depresseth, poistereth and thrusteth down such as ben wicked, evil and reprovable. What knowledge should we have of ancient things past, an history were not, which is the testimony thereof, the light of truth, the mistress of the life human, the president of remembrance and the messenger of antiquity? Why moved and stirred Phalerius the king Ptolemy oft and diligently to read books? Forsooth for none other cause, but that those things are found written in books that the friends dare not shew to the prince. Much more I would fain write of the incomparable profit of history, but I fear me that I should too sore torment the reader of this my preface; and also I doubt not but that the great utility thereof is better known than I could declare; wherefore I shall briefly come to a point. Thus, when I advertised and remembered the manifold commodities of history, how beneficial it is to mortal folk, and eke how laudable and meritorious a deed it is to write histories, fixed my mind to do something therein: and ever when this imagination came to me, I volved, turned and read many volumes and books containing famous histories; and among all other I read diligently the four volumes or books of sir John Froissart of the country of Hainault, written in the French tongue, which I judged commodious, necessary and profitable to be had in English, sith they treat of the famous acts done in our parts, that is to say, in England, France, Spain, Portugal, Scotland, Bretayne, Flanders and other places adjoining; and specially they redound to the honour of Englishmen. What pleasure shall it be to the noble gentlemen of England to see, behold and read the high enterprises, famous acts and glorious deeds done and achieved by their valiant ancestors? Forsooth and God, this hath moved me at the high commandment of my most redoubted sovereign lord king Henry the VIII., king of England and of France, and high defender of the Christian faith, etc., under his gracious supportation, to do my devoir to translate out of French into our maternal English tongue the said volumes of sir

John Froissart; which chronicle beginneth at the reign of the most noble and valiant king Edward the third, the year of our Lord a thousand three hundred and twenty-six,[1] and continueth to the beginning of the reign of king Henry the fourth, the year of our Lord God a thousand and four hundred; the space between is threescore and fourteen years; requiring all readers and hearers thereof to take this my rude translation in gre. And in that I have not followed mine author word by word, yet I trust I have ensued the true report of the sentence of the matter; and as for the true naming of all manner of personages, countries, cities, towns, rivers or fields, whereas I could not name them properly nor aptly in English, I have written them according as I found them in French; and though I have not given every lord, knight or squire his true addition, yet I trust I have not swerved from the true sentence of the matter. And thereas I have named the distance between places by miles and leagues, they must be understood according to the custom of the countries whereas they be named, for in some place they be longer than in some other: in England a league or mile is well known; in France a league is two miles, and in some places three; and in other country is more or less: every nation hath sundry customs. And if any fault be in this my rude translation, I remit the correction thereof to them that discreetly shall find any reasonable default; and in their so doing I shall pray God to send them the bliss of heaven.—AMEN.

¶ Thus endeth the preface of sir Johan Bourchier, knight, lorde Berners, translatour of this present cronycle: and herafter foloweth the table,[2] with all the chapiters as they stande in the boke in order, from one to four hundred, fyftie and one, whiche be in number CCCC and LJ chapiters.

[1] A correction of 'sixteen.'

[2] The table of chapters is omitted in this edition, and instead of it a table is given above of the pages in the present volume.

THE

CHRONICLES OF FROISSART

CHAPTER I

Here beginneth the prologue of sir John Froissart of the Chronicles of France, England and other places adjoining.

To the intent that the honourable and noble adventures of feats of arms, done and achieved by the wars of France and England, should notably be enregistered and put in perpetual memory, whereby the prewe and hardy may have ensample to encourage them in their well-doing, I, sir John Froissart, will treat and record an history of great louage and praise. But, or I begin, I require the Saviour of all the world, who of nothing created all things, that he will give me such grace and understanding, that I may continue and persevere in such wise, that whoso this process readeth or heareth may take pastance, pleasure and ensample. It is said of truth that all buildings are masoned and wrought of divers stones, and all great rivers are gurged and assembled of divers surges and springs of water; in likewise all sciences are extraught and compiled of divers clerks; of that one writeth, another peradventure is ignorant; but by the famous writing of ancient authors all things ben known in one place or other. Then to attain to the matter that I have enterprised, I will begin first by the grace of God and of the blessed Virgin our Lady Saint Mary, from whom all comfort and consolation proceedeth, and will take my foundation out of the true chronicles sometime compiled by the right reverend, discreet and sage master John le Bel, sometime canon in Saint Lambert's of Liege, who with good heart and due diligence did his true devoir in writing this noble chronicle, and did continue it all his life's days, in following the truth as near as he might, to his great charge and cost in seeking to have the perfect knowledge thereof. He was also in his life's days well beloved and of the secret council with the lord sir John of Hainault, who is often remembered, as reason requireth, hereafter in this book, for of many fair and noble adventures he was chief causer, and by whose means the said sir John le Bel might well know and hear of many divers noble deeds, the which hereafter shall be declared. Truth it is that I, who have enterprised this book to ordain for pleasure and pastance, to the which always I have been inclined, and for that intent I have followed and frequented the company of divers noble and great lords, as well in France, England and Scotland, as in divers other countries, and have had knowledge by them, and always to my power justly have enquired for the truth of the deeds of war and adventures that have fallen, and especially sith the great battle of Poitiers, whereas the noble king John of France was taken prisoner, as before that time I was but of a young age or understanding.[1]

[1] This extraordinary sentence does not at all represent the original, which may be thus translated: 'True it is that I who have enterprised to set in order this book, have for pleasure, which hath ever inclined me thereto, frequented the company of divers noble and great lords, as well in France as England, Scotland and other countries, and

Howbeit, I took on me, as soon as I came from school, to write and recite the said book,[1] and bare the same compiled into England, and presented the volume thereof to my lady Philippa of Hainault, noble queen of England, who right amiably received it to my great profit and advancement. And it may be so that the same book is not as yet examined nor corrected so justly as such a case requireth; for feats of arms dearly bought and achieved, the honour thereof ought to be given and truly divided to them that by prowess and hard travail have deserved it. Therefore to acquit me in that behalf, and in following the truth as near as I can, I, John Froissart, have enterprised this history on the foresaid ordinance and true foundation, at the instance and request of a dear lord of mine, Robert of Namur, knight, lord of Beaufort, to whom entirely I owe love and obeisance, and God grant me to do that thing that may be to his pleasure. Amen.

CHAPTER II

Here speaketh the author of such as were most valiant knights to be made mention of in this book.

ALL noble hearts to encourage and to shew them ensample and matter of honour, I, sir John Froissart, begin to speak after the true report and relation of my master John le Bel, sometime canon of Saint-Lambert's of Liege, affirming thus, how that many noble persons have ofttimes spoke of the wars of France and of England, and peradventure knew not justly the truth thereof, nor the true occasions of the first movings of such wars, nor how the war at length continued: but now I trust ye shall hear reported the true foundation of the cause, and to the intent that I will not forget, minish or abridge the history in anything for default of language, but rather I will multiply and increase it as near as I can, following the truth from point to point, in speaking and shewing all the adventures sith the nativity of the noble king Edward the III., who reigned king of England and achieved many perilous adventures, and divers great battles addressed, and other feats of arms of great prowess sith the year of our Lord God MCCCXXVI., that this noble king was crowned in England: for generally such as were with him in his battles and happy fortunate adventures, or with his people in his absence, ought right well to be taken and reputed for valiant and worthy of renown; and though there were great plenty of sundry personages that ought to be praised and reputed as sovereigns, yet among other and principally ought to be renowned the noble proper person of the foresaid gentle king, also the prince of Wales his son, the duke of Lancaster, sir Raynold lord Cobham, sir Gaultier of Manny[1] of Hainault, knight, sir John Chandos, sir Franck of Hale and divers other, of whom is made mention hereafter in this present book because of their valiant prowess; for in all battles that they were in, most commonly they had ever the renown, both by land and by sea, according to the truth. They in all their deeds were so valiant that they ought to be reputed as sovereigns in all chivalry; yet for all that, such other as were in their company ought not to be of the less value or less set by. Also in France in that time there were found many good knights, strong and well expert in feats of arms; for the realm of France was not so discomfited but that always there were people sufficient to fight withal, and the king Philip of Valois was a right hardy and a valiant knight, and also king John his son, Charles the king of Bohemia,[2] the earl of Alençon, the earl of Foix, sir Saintré, sir Arnold

have had acquaintance with them. So I have always to my power justly enquired and demanded of the wars and adventures,' etc. The translation given by Johnes is equally incorrect.

[1] The better reading is, 'à rimer et à ditter les guerres dessus dites.' The translator seems to think that the book presented to queen Philippa was a first edition of this history; but Froissart draws a distinction between that book (which may probably have been in verse) and the present work, undertaken at the instance of Robert of Namur. Lower down, where the translator has, 'it may be so that the same book is not as yet examined nor corrected so justly as such a case requireth,' the author meant to say that perhaps that book was not so carefully composed as it should have been.

[1] The form 'Manny' for 'Mauny' is retained throughout.

[2] The king of Bohemia is called Charles by Froissart, but his name was in fact John. In his latest redaction (Vat. MS.) Froissart states when relating the battle of Crecy that he was rebaptized as Charles.

[d'Audrehem, sir Bouciquaut, sir Guichard] d'Angle, the lords of Beaujeu, the father and the son, and divers other, the which I can not their names, of whom hereafter right well shall be made mention in time and place convenient to say the truth and to maintain the same. All such as in cruel battles have been seen abiding to the discomfiture, sufficiently doing their devoir, may well be reputed for valiant and hardy, whatsoever was their adventure.

CHAPTER III

Here the matter speaketh of some of the predecessors of king Edward of England.

FIRST, the better to enter into the matter of this honourable and pleasant history of the noble Edward king of England, who was crowned at London the year of our Lord God MCCCXXVI., on Christmas-day, living the king his father and the queen his mother, it is certain that the opinion of Englishmen most commonly was as then, and oftentimes it was seen in England after the time of king Arthur, how that between two valiant kings of England there was most commonly one between them of less sufficiency both of wit and of prowess: and this was right well apparent by the same king Edward the third; for his grandfather, called the good king Edward the first, was right valiant, sage, wise and hardy, adventurous and fortunate in all feats of war, and had much ado against the Scots, and conquered them three or four times; for the Scots could never have victory nor endure against him: and after his decease his son of his first wife, who was father to the said good king Edward the third, was crowned king and called Edward the second, who resembled nothing to his father in wit nor in prowess, but governed and kept his realm right wildly, and ruled himself by sinister counsel of certain persons, whereby at length he had no profit nor land, as ye shall hear after; for anon after he was crowned, Robert Bruce king of Scotland, who had often before given much ado to the said good king Edward the first, conquered again all Scotland, and brent and wasted a great part of the realm of England, a four or five days' journey within the realm at two times, and discomfited the king and all the barons of England at a place in Scotland called Stirling, by battle arranged the day of Saint John Baptist, in the seventh year of the reign of the same king Edward, in the year of our Lord MCCCXIV. The chase of this discomfiture endured two days and two nights, and the king of England went with a small company to London: and on mid-lent Sunday in the year of our Lord MCCCXVI. the Scots won again the city of Berwick by treason; but because this is no part of our matter, I will leave speaking thereof.

CHAPTER IV

Here mine author maketh mention of the parent of this good king Edward the third.

THIS king Edward the second, father to the noble king Edward the third, had two brethren, the one called [the earl] marshal, who was right wild and diverse of conditions, the other called sir Edmund earl of Kent, right wise, amiable, gentle and well beloved with all people. This king Edward the second was married to Isabel, the daughter of Philip le Beau king of France, who was one of the fairest ladies of the world. The king had by her two sons and two daughters. The first son was the noble and hardy king Edward the third, of whom this history is begun. The second was named John, and died young. The first of the daughters was called Isabel, married to the young king David of Scotland, son to king Robert de Bruce, married in her tender yongth by the accord of both realms of England and Scotland for to make perfect peace. The other daughter was married to the earl Raynold, who after was called duke of Gueldres, and he had by her two sons, Raynold and Edward, who after reigned in great puissance.

CHAPTER V

Hereafter beginneth the occasion whereby the war moved between the kings of France and England.

NOW sheweth the history that this Philip le Beau king of France had three sons and

a fair daughter named Isabel, married into England to king Edward the second; and these three sons, the eldest named Louis, who was king of Navarre in his father's days and was called king Louis Hutin, the second had to name Philip the Great or the Long, and the third was called Charles; and all three were kings of France after their father's decease by right succession each after other, without having any issue male of their bodies lawfully begotten. So that after the death of Charles, last king of the three, the twelve peers and all the barons of France would not give the realm to Isabel the sister, who was queen of England, because they said and maintained, and yet do, that the realm of France is so noble that it ought not to go to a woman, and so consequently to Isabel, nor to the king of England her eldest son: for they determined the son of the woman to have no right nor succession by his mother, since they declared the mother to have no right: so that by these reasons the twelve peers and barons of France by their common accord did give the realm of France to the lord Philip of Valois, nephew sometime to Philip le Beau king of France, and so put out the queen of England and her son, who was as the next heir male, as son to the sister of Charles, last king of France. Thus went the realm of France out of the right lineage, as it seemed to many folk, whereby great wars hath moved and fallen, and great destructions of people and countries in the realm of France and other places, as ye may hereafter [see]. This is the very right foundation of this history, to recount the great enterprises and great feats of arms that have fortuned and fallen. Sith the time of the good Charlemagne king of France there never fell so great adventures.

CHAPTER VI

Of the earl Thomas of Lancaster and twenty-two other of the great lords and knights of England, that were beheaded.

THE foresaid king Edward the second, father to the noble king Edward the third, on whom our matter is founded, this said king governed right diversely his realm by the exhortation of sir Hugh Spencer, who had been nourished with him sith the beginning of his yongth; the which sir Hugh had so enticed the king, that his father and he were the greatest masters in all the realm, and by envy thought to surmount all other barons of England; whereby after the great discomfiture that the Scots had made at Stirling great murmuring there arose in England between the noble barons and the king's council, and namely against sir Hugh Spencer. They put on him that by his counsel they were discomfited, and that he was favourable to the king of Scots. And on this point the barons had divers times communication together, to be advised what they might do, whereof Thomas earl of Lancaster, who was uncle to the king, was chief. And anon when sir Hugh Spencer had espied this, he purveyed for remedy, for he was so great with the king and so near him, that he was more beloved with the king than all the world after. So on a day he came to the king and said, 'Sir, certain lords of your realm have made alliance together against you, and without ye take heed thereto betimes, they purpose to put you out of your realm': and so by his malicious means he caused that the king made all the said lords to be taken, and their heads to be stricken off without delay, and without knowledge or answer to any cause. First of all sir Thomas earl of Lancaster, who was a noble and a wise, holy knight, and hath done sith many fair miracles in Pomfret, where he was beheaded, for the which deed the said sir Hugh Spencer achieved great hate in all the realm, and specially of the queen and of the earl of Kent, brother to the king. And when he perceived the displeasure of the queen, by his subtle wit he set great discord between the king and the queen, so that the king would not see the queen nor come in her company, the which discord endured a long space. Then was it shewed to the queen secretly and to the earl of Kent, that without they took good heed to themselves, they were likely to be destroyed, for sir Hugh Spencer was about to purchase much trouble to them. Then the queen secretly did purvey to go into France, and took her way as on pilgrim-

age to Saint Thomas of Canterbury, and so to Winchelsea, and in the night went into a ship that was ready for her, and her young son Edward with her, and the earl of Kent and sir Roger Mortimer, and in another ship they had put all their purveyance, and had wind at will, and the next morning they arrived in the haven of Boulogne.

CHAPTER VII

How the queen of England went and complained her to the king of France her brother of sir Hugh Spencer.

WHEN queen Isabel was arrived at Boulogne, and her son with her and the earl of Kent, the captains and abbot of the town came against her and joyously received her and her company into the abbey, and there she abode two days: then she departed and rode so long by her journeys that she arrived at Paris. Then king Charles her brother, who was informed of her coming, sent to meet her divers of the greatest lords of his realm, as the lord sir Robert de Artois, the lord of Coucy, the lord of Sully, the lord of Roye and divers other, who honourably did receive her and brought her into the city of Paris to the king her brother. And when the king saw his sister, whom he had not seen long before, as she should have entered into his chamber he met her and took her in his arms and kissed her, and said, 'Ye be welcome, fair sister, with my fair nephew your son,' and took them by the hands and led them forth. The queen, who had no great joy at her heart but that she was so near to the king her brother, she would have kneeled down two or three times at the feet of the king, but the king would not suffer her, but held her still by the right hand, demanding right sweetly of her estate and business. And she answered him right sagely, and lamentably recounted to him all the felonies and injuries done to her by sir Hugh Spencer, and required him of his aid and comfort. When the noble king Charles of France had heard his sister's lamentation, who weepingly had shewed him all her need and business, he said to her: 'Fair sister, appease yourself, for by the faith I owe to God and to Saint Denis I shall right well purvey for you some remedy.' The queen then kneeled down, whether the king would or not, and said: 'My right dear lord and fair brother, I pray God reward you.' The king then took her in his arms and led her into another chamber, the which was apparelled for her and for the young Edward her son, and so departed from her, and caused at his costs and charges all things to be delivered that was behoveful for her and for her son. After it was not long, but that for this occasion Charles king of France assembled together many great lords and barons of the realm of France, to have their counsel and good advice how they should ordain for the need and besynes of his sister queen of England. Then it was counselled to the king that he should let the queen his sister to purchase for herself friends, whereas she would, in the realm of France or in any other place, and himself to feign and be not known thereof; for they said, to move war with the king of England, and to bring his own realm into hatred, it were nothing appertinent nor profitable to him nor to his realm. But they concluded that conveniently he might aid her with gold and silver, for that is the metal whereby love is attained both of gentlemen and of poor soldiers. And to this counsel and advice accorded the king, and caused this to be shewed to the queen privily by sir Robert d'Artois, who as then was one of the greatest lords of all France.

CHAPTER VIII

How that sir Hugh Spencer purchased that the queen Isabel was banished out of France.

NOW let us speak somewhat of sir Hugh Spencer. When he saw that he had drawn the king of England so much to his will, that he could desire nothing of him but it was granted, he caused many noblemen and other to be put to death without justice or law, because he held them suspect to be against him; and by his pride he did so many marvels, that the barons that were left alive in the land could not

bear nor suffer it any longer, but they besought and required each other among themselves to be of a peaceable accord, and caused it secretly to be known to the queen their lady, who had been as then at Paris the space of three year, certifying her by writing, that if she could find the means to have any company of men of arms, if it were but to the number of a thousand, and to bring her son and heir with her into England, that then they would all draw to her and obey her and her son Edward, as they were bound to do of duty. These letters thus sent secretly to her out of England, she shewed them to king Charles her brother, who answered her and said: 'Fair sister, God be your aid, your business shall avail much the better. Take of my men and subjects to the number that your friends have written you for, and I consent well to this voyage. I shall cause to be delivered unto you gold and silver as much as shall suffice you.' And in this matter the queen had done so much, what with her prayer, gifts and promises, that many great lords and young knights were of her accord, as to bring her with great strength again into England. Then the queen, as secretly as she could, she ordained for her voyage and made her purveyance; but she could not do it so secretly but sir Hugh Spencer had knowledge thereof. Then he thought to win and withdraw the king of France from her by great gifts, and so sent secret messengers into France with great plenty of gold and silver and rich jewels, and specially to the king and his privy council, and did so much that in short space the king of France and all his privy council were as cold to help the queen in her voyage as they had before great desire to do it. And the king brake all that voyage, and defended every person in his realm on pain of banishing the same, that none should be so hardy to go with the queen to bring her again into England.

And yet the said sir Hugh Spencer advised him of more malice, and bethought him how he might get again the queen into England, to be under the king's danger and his. Then he caused the king to write to the holy father the pope affectuously, desiring him that he would send and write to the king of France, that he should send the queen his wife again into England; for he will acquit himself to God and the world, and that it was not his fault that she departed from him, for he would nothing to her but all love and good faith, such as he ought to hold in marriage. Also there were like letters written to the cardinals, devised by many subtle ways, the which all may not be written here. Also he sent gold and silver great plenty to divers cardinals and prelates, such as were most nearest and secretest with the pope, and right sage and able ambassadors were sent on this message; and they led the pope in such wise by their gifts and subtle ways, that he wrote to the king of France that on pain of cursing he should send his sister Isabel into England to the king her husband.

These letters were brought to the king of France by the bishop of Saintes, whom the pope sent in that legation. And when the king had read the letters, he caused them to be shewed to the queen his sister, whom he had not seen of long space before, commanding her hastily to avoid his realm, or else he would cause her to avoid with shame.

CHAPTER IX

How that queen Isabel departed from France and entered into the Empire.

WHEN the queen heard this tidings, she knew not what to say nor what advice to take; for as then the barons of the realm of France were withdrawn from her by the commandment of the king of France, and so she had no comfort nor succour, but all only of her dear cousin sir Robert de Artois; for he secretly did counsel and comfort her as much as he might, for otherwise he durst not, for the king had defended him. But he knew well that the queen was chased out of England and also out of France for evil will and by envy, which grieved him greatly. Thus was sir Robert de Artois at the queen's commandment; but he durst not speak nor be known thereof, for he had heard the king say and swear that whosoever spake to him for the queen his sister should lose his lands and be banished the realm; and he knew secretly how the king was in mind and will to make his sister to be taken, and Edward her son

and the earl of Kent and sir Roger Mortimer, and to put them all in the hands of the king and of sir Hugh Spencer. Wherefore he came on a night and declared all this to the queen, and advised her of the peril that she was in. Then the queen was greatly abashed, and required him all weeping of his good counsel. Then he said: 'Madam, I counsel you that ye depart and go into the Empire, whereas there be many great lords, who may right well aid you, and specially the earl Guilliam of Hainault and sir John of Hainault his brother. These two are great lords and wise men, true, drad and redoubted of their enemies.' Then the queen caused to be made ready all her purveyance, and paid for everything as secretly as she might, and so she and her son, the earl of Kent and all her company departed from Paris and rode toward Hainault, and so long she rode that she came to Cambresis; and when she knew she was in the Empire, she was better assured than she was before, and so passed through Cambresis and entered into Ostrevant in Hainault, and lodged at Bugnicourt, in a knight's house who was called sir d'Aubrecicourt, who received her right joyously in the best manner to his power, insomuch that afterward the queen of England and her son had with them into England for ever the knight and his wife and all his children, and advanced them in divers manners.

The coming thus of the queen of England and of her son and heir into the country of Hainault was anon well known in the house of the good earl of Hainault, who as then was at Valenciennes; and sir John of Hainault was certified of the time when the queen arrived at the place of sir d'Aubrecicourt, the which sir John was brother to the said earl Guilliam, and as he that was young and lusty, desiring all honour, mounted on his horse and departed with a small company from Valenciennes, and came the same night to Bugnicourt, and did to the queen all honour and reverence that he could devise. The queen, who was right sorrowful, began to declare (complaining to him right piteously) her dolours; whereof the said sir John had great pity, so that the water dashed in his eyen, and said, 'Certainly, fair lady, behold me here your own knight, who shall not fail you to die in the quarrel. I shall do the best of my power to conduct you and my lord your son, and help to bring you into your estates in England, by the grace of God and with the help of your friends in that parts: and I and such other as I can desire shall put our lives and goods in adventure for your sake, and shall get men of war sufficient, if God be pleased, without the danger of the king of France your brother.' Then the queen would have kneeled down for great joy that she had, and for the good-will he offered her, but this noble knight took her up quickly in his arms and said: 'By the grace of God the noble queen of England shall not kneel to me; but, madam, recomfort yourself and all your company, for I shall keep you faithful promise; and ye shall go see the earl my brother and the countess his wife and all their fair children, who shall receive you with great joy, for so I heard them report they would do.' Then the queen said: 'Sir, I find in you more love and comfort than in all the world, and for this that ye say and affirm me I thank you a thousand times; and if ye will do this ye have promised in all courtesy and honour, I and my son shall be to you for ever bound, and will put all the realm of England in your abandon; for it is right that it so should be.' And after these words, when they were thus accorded, sir John of Hainault took leave of the queen for that night, and went to Denaing and lay in the abbey; and in the morning after mass he leapt on his horse and came again to the queen, who received him with great joy. By that time she had dined and was ready to mount on her horse to depart with him; and so the queen departed from the castle of Bugnicourt, and took leave of the knight and of the lady, and thanked them for their good cheer that they had made her, and said that she trusted once to see the time that she or her son should well remember their courtesy.

Thus departed the queen in the company of the said sir John lord Beaumont, who right joyously did conduct her to Valenciennes; and against her came many of the burgesses of the town and received her right humbly. Thus was she brought before the earl Guilliam of Hainault, who received her with great joy, and in likewise so did

the countess his wife, and feasted her right nobly. And as then this earl had four fair daughters, Margaret, Philippa, Jane and Isabel, among whom the young Edward set most his love and company on Philippa, and also the young lady in all honour was more conversant with him than any of her sisters. Thus the queen lodged about Valenciennes by the space of eight days with the good earl and with the countess Jane de Valois. In the meantime the queen apparelled for her needs and business, and the said sir John wrote letters right affectionately unto knights and such companions as he trusted best in all Hainault, in Holland and in Zealand, and prayed them for all amities that was between them, that they would go with him in this enterprise into England; and so there were great plenty, what of one country and other, that were content to go with him for his love. But this said sir John of Hainault was greatly informed and counselled the contrary both of the earl his brother and of the chief of the council of the country, because it seemed to them that the enterprise was right high and perilous, seeing the great discords and great hate that as then was between the barons of England among themselves, and also considering that these Englishmen were commonly ever great pillers in strangers. Therefore they doubted when the said sir John of Hainault and his company should be never again with their lord. But howsoever they blamed or reasoned him, the greater knight would never change his purpose for that he had [illegible] the earl of Hainault and of the countess, and thanked them greatly of their honour, feast and good cheer that they had made her, kissing them at her departing. Thus this lady departed and her son and all her company with sir John of Hainault, who with great pain gat leave of his brother, saying to him: 'My lord and brother, I am young and think that God hath purveyed for me this enterprise for mine advancement. I believe and think verily that wrongfully and sinfully this lady hath been chased out of England, and also her son. It is alms and glory to God and to the world to comfort and help them that be comfortless, and specially so high and so noble a lady as this is, who is daughter to a king and descended of a royal king; we be of her blood and she of ours. I had rather renounce and forsake all that I have and go serve God over the sea and never to return into this country, rather than this good lady should have departed from us without comfort and help. Therefore, dear brother, suffer me to go with your good-will, wherein ye shall do nobly, and I shall humbly thank you thereof, and the better thereby I shall accomplish all the voyage.' And when the good earl of Hainault had well heard his brother, and perceived the great desire that he had to his enterprise, and saw well it might turn him and his heirs to great honour hereafter, said to him: 'My fair brother, God intend that your good purpose should be honour to us: therefore in the name of God! gone with [illegible] and [illegible] him, stamping him in the hand in sign of great love.

[illegible] departed and rode the same night to [illegible] Hainault with the queen to England. [illegible] made [illegible] [illegible] that he must in [illegible] countries that [illegible] came to [illegible] in England, wherein [illegible] great assembly was made. [illegible] there [illegible] of ships great and small, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Sanses de Boussoit, the lord of Vertaing, the lord of Potelle, the lord Villers, the lord of Hennin, the lord of Sars, the lord of Bousies, the lord of Aubrecicourt, the lord of Estrumel, and sir Wulfart of Ghistelles, and divers other knights and squires, all in great desire to serve their master. And when they were all departed from the haven of Dordrecht, it was a fair fleet as for the quantity, and well ordered, the season was fair and clear and right temperate, and at their departing with the first flood they came before the dikes of Holland; and the next day they drew up their sails and took their way in coasting Zealand; and their intents were to have taken land at Dongport;[1] but they could not, for a tempest took them in the sea, that put them so far out of their course that they wist not of two days where they were: of the which God did them great grace, for if they had taken land at the port whereas they had thought, they had been all lost, for they had fallen in the hands of their enemies, who knew well of their coming, and abode them there to have put them all to death. So it was that about the end of two days the tempest ceased, and the mariners perceived land in England and drew to that part right joyously, and there took land on the sands without any right haven or port at Harwich, as the English chronicle saith,[2] the 24th day of September, the year of our Lord MCCCXXVI., and so abode on the sands three days with little purveyance of victual, and unshipped their horses and harness, nor they wist not in what part of England they were in, other in the power of their friends or in the power of their enemies. On the fourth day they took forth their way in the adventure of God and of Saint George, as such people as had suffered great disease of cold by night and hunger and great fear, whereof they were not as then clean rid. And so they rode forth by hills and dales on the one side and on the other, till at the last they found villages and a great abbey of black monks, the which is called Saint-Edmund, whereas they three days refreshed themselves.

[1] This name is a false reading in the text which the translator followed, a corruption of the words 'ung port.'

[2] The statement from the 'English chronicle' that they landed at Harwich on the 24th of September 1326 is due to the translator. The English chronicle to which he refers here and also in chaps. 18, 19, 20, etc., is evidently Fabyan's *New Chronicles of England and France*, or *Concordance of Histories*, printed by Pynson in 1516. The reference here is to p. 429.

CHAPTER XI

How the queen of England besieged the king her husband in the town of Bristow.

AND then this tiding spread about the realm so much, that at the last it came to the knowledge of the lords by whom the queen was called again into England. And they apparelled them in all haste to come to Edward her son, whom they would have to their sovereign lord. And the first that came and gave them most comfort was Henry earl of Lancaster with the wry neck, called Tort Col, who was brother to Thomas earl of Lancaster, beheaded as ye have heard herebefore, who was a good knight and greatly recommended, as ye shall hear after in this history. This earl Henry came to the queen with great company of men of war, and after him came from one part and other earls, barons, knights and squires, with so much people that they thought them clean out of perils, and always increased their power as they went forward. Then they took counsel among them that they should ride straight to the town of Bristow, whereas the king was, and with him the Spencers. The which was a good town and a strong, and well closed, standing on a good port of the sea, and a strong castle, the sea beating round about it. And therein was the king and sir Hugh Spencer the elder, who was about ninety of age, and sir Hugh Spencer his son, who was chief governour of the king and counselled him in all his evil deeds. Also there was the earl of Arundel, who had wedded the daughter of sir Hugh Spencer, and divers other knights and squires repairing about the king's court. Then the queen and all her company, lords of Hainault, earls and barons, and all other Englishmen, took the right way to the said town of Bristow, and in every town whereas they entered they were received with great feast and honour, and always their people increased; and so long they rode by their journeys that they arrived

at Bristow, and besieged the town round about as near as they might: and the king and sir Hugh Spencer the younger held them in the castle, and the old sir Hugh Spencer and the earl of Arundel held them in the town. And when the people of the town saw the great power that the queen was of (for almost all England was of her accord), and perceived what peril and danger evidently they were in, they took counsel among themselves and determined that they would yield up the town to the queen, so that their lives and goods might be saved. And so they sent to treat with the queen and her council in this matter; but the queen nor her council would not agree thereto without she might do with sir Hugh Spencer and with the earl of Arundel what it pleased her.

When the people of the town saw they could have no peace otherwise, nor save the town nor their goods nor their lives, in that distress they accorded to the queen and opened the gates, so that the queen and sir John of Hainault, and all her barons, knights and squires, entered into the town and took their lodgings within, as many as might, and the residue without. Then sir Hugh Spencer and the earl of Arundel were taken and brought before the queen, to do her pleasure with them. Then there was brought to the queen her own children, John her son and her two daughters, the which were found there in the keeping of the said sir Hugh Spencer, whereof the queen had great joy, for she had not seen them long before. Then the king might have great sorrow and sir Hugh Spencer the younger, who were fast enclosed in the strong castle, and the most part of all the realm turned to the queen's part and to Edward her eldest son.

CHAPTER XII

How that sir Hugh Spencer the elder and the earl of Arundel were judged to death.

WHEN the queen and her barons and all her company were lodged at their ease, then they besieged the castle as near as they might. The queen caused sir Hugh Spencer the elder and the earl of Arundel to be brought forth before Edward her son and all the barons that were there present, and said how that she and her son should take right and law on them according to their deserts. Then sir Hugh Spencer said, 'Madam, God be to you a good judge and give you good judgment,[1] and if we cannot have it in this world, I pray God we may have it in another.' Then stept forth sir Thomas Wake, a good knight and marshal of the host, and there openly he recounted their deeds in writing, and then turned him to another ancient knight to the intent that he should bring him on that case fauty,[2] and to declare what should be done with such persons, and what judgment they should have for such causes. Then the said knight counselled with other barons and knights, and so reported their opinions, the which was, how they had well deserved death for divers horrible deeds, the which they have commised, for all the trespass rehearsed before to justify to be of truth;[3] wherefore they have deserved for the diversities of their trespasses to have judgment in three divers manners—first, to be drawn, and after to be headed, and then to be hanged on the gibbet. This in likewise as they were judged so it was done and executed before the castle of Bristow in the sight of the king and of sir Hugh Spencer the younger. This judgment was done in the year of our Lord MCCCXXVI., on Saint Denis' day in October

And after this execution the king and the young Spencer, seeing themselves thus besieged in this mischief, and knew no comfort that might come to them, in a morning betimes they two with a small company entered into a little vessel behind the castle, thinking to have fled to the country of Wales. But they were eleven days in the ship, and enforced it to sail as much as they might; but whatsoever they did, the wind was every day so contrary to them by the will of God, that

[1] This should be, 'God give us a good judge and good judgment'; but Vérard's edition, from which the translation was made, has 'vous' for 'nous.'

[2] This appears to mean, 'To the intent that he should find him guilty on the charge' ('fauty' for 'faulty'); but the original means, 'To the intent that he should declare upon his fealty (féaulté) what should be done with such persons,' etc.

[3] Or rather as follows: 'That the accused had well deserved death for divers horrible deeds which they had heard in that place rehearsed, and held them for true and manifest.'

every day once or twice they were ever brought again within a quarter of a mile to the same castle.

At the last it fortuned, sir Henry Beaumont, son to the viscount Beaumont in England, entered into a barge and certain company with him, and spied this vessel and rowed after him so long that the ship wherein the king was could not flee fast before them, but finally they were overtaken, and so brought again to the town of Bristow and delivered to the queen and her son as prisoners.

Thus it befell of this high and hardy enterprise of sir John of Hainault and his company. For when they departed and entered into their ships at Dordrecht, they were but three hundred men of arms; and thus by their help and the lords in England,[1] the queen Isabel conquered again all her estate and dignity, and put unto execution all her enemies, whereof all the most part of the realm were right joyous, without it were a few persons such as were favourable to sir Hugh Spencer and of his part. And when the king and sir Hugh Spencer were brought to Bristow by the said sir Henry Beaumont, the king was then sent by the counsel of all the barons and knights to the strong castle of Berkeley, and put under good keeping and honest, and there were ordained people of estate about him, such as knew right well what they ought to do; but they were straitly commanded that they should in no wise suffer him to pass out of the castle. And sir Hugh Spencer was delivered to sir Thomas Wake, marshal of the host. And after that the queen departed and all her host toward London, which was the chief city of England, and so rid forth on their journeys, and sir Thomas Wake caused sir Hugh Spencer to be fast bound on the least and leanest[2] horse of all the host, and caused him to wear on a tabard such as traitors and thieves were wont to wear.

[1] 'And the lords in England,' is added by the translator.

[2] This is a correction of the words 'best and leviest,' which I take to be a misprint for 'lest and lenest.' The original is 'sur le plus petit et le plus maigre cheval.' In what follows the translator has added the explanation, 'such as traitors and thieves were wont to wear,' which is certainly wrong, for Froissart says it was a tabard with the arms that sir Hugh Spencer was wont to bear, put upon him here in derision.

And thus he was led in scorn after the queen's route throughout all the towns as they passed, with trumps and canayrs to do him the greater despite, till at the last they came to the city of Hereford,[1] whereas the queen was honourably received with great solemnity and all her company, and there she kept the feast of All Saints with great royalty, for the love of her son and strangers that were there.

CHAPTER XIII

How sir Hugh Spencer was put to his judgment.

WHEN this feast was done, then sir Hugh Spencer, who was nothing beloved, was brought forth before the queen and all the lords and knights, and there before him in writing was rehearsed all his deeds, against the which he could give no manner of answer. And so he was then judged by plain sentence, first to be drawn on an hurdle with trumps and trumpets through all the city of Hereford, and after to be brought into the market-place, whereas all the people were assembled, and there to be tied on high upon a ladder that every man might see him; and in the same place there to be made a great fire, and there his privy members cut from him, because they reputed him as an heretic and so deemed, and so to be brent in the fire before his face; and then his heart to be drawn out of his body and cast into the fire, because he was a false traitor of heart, and that by his traitor's counsel and exhortation the king had shamed his realm and brought it to great mischief, for he had caused to be beheaded the greatest lords of his realm, by whom the realm ought to have been sustained and defended; and he had so induced the king that he would not see the queen his wife nor Edward his eldest son, and caused him to chase them out of the realm for fear of their lives; and then his head to be stricken off and sent to London. And according to his judgment he was executed. Then the queen and all her lords took their way toward London, and did so much by their journeys that they

[1] Froissart evidently thought that Hereford was on the way from Bristol to London.

arrived at the city of London, and they of the city with great company met them and did to the queen and to her son great reverence, and to all their company, as they thought it best bestowed.

And when they had been thus received and feasted the space of fifteen days, the knights strangers, and namely sir John of Hainault, had great desire to return again into their own countries, for they thought they had well done their devoir and achieved great honour, and so took their leave of the queen and of the lords of the realm: and the queen and the lords required them to tarry longer a little space, to see what should be done with the king, who was in prison; but the strangers had so great desire to return into their own countries that to pray them the contrary availed not. And when the queen and her council saw that, they yet desired sir John of Hainault to tarry till it was past Christmas, and to retain with him such of his company as pleased him best. The gentle knight would not leave to perform his service, but courteously granted the queen to tarry as long as it pleased her, and caused to tarry such of his company as he could get: that was but a few, for the remnant would in no wise tarry, whereof he was displeased. When the queen and her council saw that they would not abide for no prayers, then they made them great cheer and feasts. And the queen made to be given to them plenty of gold and silver for their costs and services, and did give great jewels to each of them according to their degrees, so as they all held themselves right well content. And over that they had silver for their horses, such as they would leave behind them, at their own estimation without any grudging. And thus sir John of Hainault abode still with a small company among the Englishmen, who always did him as much honour as they could imagine, and to all his company. And in likewise so did the ladies and damosels of the country; for there were great plenty of countesses and great ladies [and] gentle pucelles, who were come thither to accompany the queen. For it seemed well to them that the knight sir John of Hainault had well deserved the cheer and feast that they made him.

CHAPTER XIV

The coronation of king Edward the third.

AFTER that the most part of the company of Hainault were departed and sir John Hainault lord of Beaumont tarried, the queen gave leave to her people to depart, saving a certain noble knights, the which she kept still about her and her son to counsel them, and commanded all them that departed to be at London the next Christmas, for as then she was determined to keep open court, and all they promised her so to do. And when Christmas was come, she held a great court. And thither came dukes,[1] earls, barons, knights, and all the nobles of the realm, with prelates and burgesses of good towns; and at this assembly it was advised that the realm could not long endure without a head and a chief lord. Then they put in writing all the deeds of the king who was in prison, and all that he had done by evil counsel, and all his usages and evil behavings, and how evil he had governed his realm, the which was read openly in plain audience, to the intent that the noble sages of the realm might take thereof good advice, and to fall at accord how the realm should be governed from thenceforth. And when all the cases and deeds that the king had done and consented to, and all his behaving and usages were read and well understanded, the barons and knights and all the counsels[2] of the realm drew them apart to counsel; and the most part of them accorded, and namely the great lords and nobles with the burgesses of the good towns, according as they had heard say and knew themselves the most part of his deeds. Wherefore they concluded that such a man was not worthy to be a king, nor to bear a crown royal, nor to have the name of a king. But they all accorded that Edward his eldest son, who was there present and was rightful heir, should be crowned king instead of his father, so that he would take good counsel, sage and true, about him, so that the realm from thenceforth might be better governed

[1] Froissart says nothing about dukes here.

[2] The French word is 'consulz' (or 'consauls'), which elsewhere in this passage is rightly rendered 'burgesses,' as just below, 'avec les consulz des bonnes villes.'

than it was before, and that the old king his father should be well and honestly kept as long as he lived, according to his estate.

And thus as it was agreed by all the nobles, so it was accomplished; and then was crowned with a crown royal at the palace of Westminster beside London the young king Edward the third, who in his days after was right fortunate and happy in arms. This coronation was in the year of our Lord MCCCXXVI., on Christmas-day, and as then the young king was about the age of sixteen; and they held the feast till the Conversion of Saint Paul following, and in the meantime greatly was feasted sir John of Hainault and all the princes and nobles of his country, and was given to him and to his company many rich jewels. And so he and his company in great feast and solace both with lords and ladies tarried till the Twelfth day.[1] And then sir John of Hainault heard tidings how that the king of Bohemia and the earl of Hainault his brother and other great plenty of lords of France had ordained to be at Condé[2] at a great feast and tourney that was there cried. Then would sir John of Hainault no longer abide for no prayer, so great desire he had to be at the said tourney, and to see the earl his brother and other lords of his country, and specially the right noble king in largess[3] the gentle Charles king of Bohemia. When the young king Edward and the queen his mother and the barons saw that he would no longer tarry, and that their request could not avail, they gave him leave sore against their wills, and the king by the counsel of the queen his mother did give him four hundred marks sterlings of rent heritable to hold of him in fee, to be paid every year in the town of Bruges, and also did give to Philip of Chateaux, his chief esquire and his sovereign counsellor, a hundred mark of rent yearly, to be paid at the said place, and also delivered him much money to pay therewith the costs of him and of his company, till he come into his own country, and caused him to be conducted with many noble knights to Dover, and there delivered him all his passage free. And to the ladies that were come into England with the queen, and namely to the countess of Garennes, who was sister to the earl of Bar, and to divers other ladies and damosels, there were given many fair and rich jewels at their departing.[1] And when sir John of Hainault was departed from the young king Edward, and all his company, and were come to Dover, they entered incontinent into their ships to pass the sea, to the intent to come betimes to the said tourney; and there went with him fifteen young lusty knights of England, to go to this tourney with him and to acquaint them with the strange lords and knights that should be there, and they had great honour of all the company that tourneyed at that time at Condé.

1 'Jusques au jour des Roys.'
2 Condé-sur-Escaut.
3 'Le plus noble roy en largesse,' 'the most noble and liberal king.'

CHAPTER XV

How that king Robert de Bruce of Scotland defied king Edward.

AFTER that sir John of Hainault was departed from king Edward, he and the queen his mother governed the realm by the counsel of the earl of Kent, uncle to the king, and by the counsel of sir Roger Mortimer, who had great lands in England to the sum of seven hundred pounds of rent yearly. And they both were banished and chased out of England with the queen, as ye have heard before. Also they used much after the counsel of sir Thomas Wake, and by the advice of other who were reputed for the most sagest of the realm. Howbeit there were some had envy thereat, the which never died in England, and also it reigneth and will reign in divers other countries. Thus passed forth the winter and the Lent season till Easter, and then the king and the queen and all the realm was in good peace all this season. Then so it fortuned that king Robert of Scotland, who had been right hardy and had suffered much travail against Englishmen, and oftentimes he had been chased and discomfited in the time of king Edward the first, grandfather to this young

1 This should be: 'And the ladies . . . especially the countess of Warren, who was sister to the earl of Bar, and divers other ladies, gave him great abundance of fair and rich jewels at his departing.' The countess of Warren was daughter of Henry earl of Bar and of Eleanor, sister of Edward I.

king Edward the third, he was as then become very old and ancient, and sick (as it was said) of the great evil and malady.[1] When he knew the adventures that was fallen in England, how that the old king Edward the second was taken and deposed down from his regaly and his crown, and certain of his counsellors beheaded and put to destruction, as ye have heard herebefore, then he bethought him that he would defy the young king Edward the third, because he was young and that the barons of the realm were not all of one accord, as it was said: therefore he [thought] the better to speed in his purpose to conquer part of England. And so about Easter in the year of our Lord MCCCXXVII. he sent his defiance to the young king Edward the third and to all the realm, sending them word how that he would enter into the realm of England and bren before him as he had done beforetime at such season as the discomfiture was at the castle of Stirling, whereas the Englishmen received great damage.

When the king of England and his council perceived that they were defied, they caused it to be known over all the realm, and commanded that all the nobles and all other should be ready apparelled every man after his estate, and that they should be by Ascension-day next after at the town of York, standing northward. The king sent much people before to keep the frontiers against Scotland, and sent a great ambassade to sir John of Hainault, praying him right affectuously that he would help to succour and to keep company with him in his voyage against the Scots, and that he would be with him at the Ascension-day next after at York, with such company as he might get of men of war in those parts. When sir John of Hainault lord of Beaumont heard the king's desire, he sent straight his letters and his messengers in every place whereas he thought to recover or attain to have any company of men of war, in Flanders, in Hainault, in Brabant, and in other places, desiring them that in their best apparel for the war they would meet him at Wissant, for to go over the sea with him into England. And all such as he sent unto came to him with a glad cheer, and divers other that heard thereof, in trust to attain to as much honour as they had that were with him in England before at the other voyage. So that by that time the said lord Beaumont was come to Wissant, there was ready ships for him and his company, brought out of England. And so they took shipping and passed over the sea and arrived at Dover, and so then ceased not to ride till they came within three days of Pentecost to the town of York, whereas the king and the queen his mother and all his lords were with great host tarrying the coming of sir John of Hainault, and had sent many before of their men of arms, archers and common people of the good towns and villages; and as people resorted, they were caused to be lodged two or three leagues off, all about in the country. And on a day thither came sir John of Hainault and his company, who were right welcome and well received both of the king, of the queen his mother, and of all other barons, and to them was delivered the suburbs of the city to lodge in. And to sir John of Hainault was delivered an abbey of white monks for him and his household. There came with him out of Hainault the lord of Enghien, who was called sir Gaultier, and sir Henry lord d'Antoing, and the lord of Fagnolle, and sir Fastres du Rœulx, sir Robert de Bailleul, and sir Guilliam de Bailleul his brother, and the lord of Havreth, chatelain of Mons, sir Allard de Briffeuil, sir Michael de Ligne, sir John de Montigny the younger and his brother, sir Sanses de Boussoit, the lord of Gommegnies, sir Perceval de Semeries, the lord of Beaurieu and the lord of Floyon. Also of the country of Flanders there was sir Hector of Vilain, sir John de Rhodes, sir Wulfart de Ghistelles, the lord of Straten, sir Gossuin de la Moere: and divers came thither of the country of Brabant, as the lord of Duffel, sir Thierry of Walcourt, sir Rasse de Gres, sir John de Kesterbeke, sir John Pyliser, sir Giles de Coterebbe, the three brethren de Harlebeke, sir Gaultier de Huldeberg and divers other: and of Hesbegnons[1]

[1] 'La grosse maladie,' which is commonly explained to mean leprosy, but Scheler in the supplement to his Froissart glossary says 'epilepsy, referring to 'morbus grossus' in Du Cange. Another reading here is 'gouttes.'

[1] The translator found 'Behaygnons' (Bohemians) in his edition and has reproduced it, but it is clearly wrong. Hesbaing is in the district of Liege.

there was sir John le Bel[1] and sir Henry his brother, sir Godfrey de la Chapelle, sir Hugh d'Ohey, sir John de Libyne, sir Lambert d'Oupey, and sir Gilbert de Herck: and out of Cambresis and Artois there were come certain knights of their own good wills to advance their bodies: so that sir John of Hainault had well in his company five hundred men of arms, well apparelled and richly mounted. And after the feast of Pentecost came thither sir Guilliam de Juliers, who was after duke of Juliers after the decease of his father, and sir Thierry of Heinsberg, who was after earl of Loos, and with them a right fair rout, and all to keep company with the gentle knight sir John of Hainault lord Beaumont.

CHAPTER XVI

The dissension that was between the archers of England and them of Hainault.

THE gentle king of England, the better to feast these strange lords and all their company, held a great court on Trinity Sunday in the Friars,[2] whereas he and the queen his mother were lodged, keeping their house each of them apart. At this feast the king had well five hundred knights, and fifteen were new made. And the queen had well in her court sixty ladies and damosels, who were there ready to make feast and cheer to sir John of Hainault and to his company. There might have been seen great nobless [in serving] plenty of all manner of strange victuals. There were ladies and damosels freshly apparelled, ready to have danced if they might have leave. But incontinent after dinner there began a great fray between some of the grooms and pages of the strangers and of the archers of England, who were lodged among them in the said suburbs; and anon all the archers assembled them together with their bows, and drove the strangers home to their lodging. And the most part of the knights and masters of them were as then in the king's court; but as soon as they heard tidings of the fray, each of them drew to their own lodging in great haste, such as might enter. And such as could not get in were in great peril, for the archers, who were to the number of three thousand,[1] shot fast their arrows, not sparing masters nor varlets. And it was thought and supposed that this fray was begun by some of the friends of the Spencers and of the earl of Arundel's, who were put to death before by the aid and counsel of sir John of Hainault, as ye have heard before, [who] as then peradventure thought to be somewhat revenged and to set discord in the host. And so the Englishmen, that were hosts to these strangers, shut fast their doors and windows and would not suffer them to enter into their lodgings: howbeit some gat in on the back side and quickly armed them, but they durst not issue out into the street for fear of the arrows.

Then the strangers brake out on the back side, and brake down pales and hedges of gardens, and drew them into a certain plain place and abode their company, till at the last they were a hundred and above of men of arms and as many unharnessed, such as could not get to their lodgings. And when they were assembled together, they hasted them to go and succour their companions, who defended their lodgings in the great street. And as they went forth, they passed by the lodging of the lord d'Enghien, whereas there were great gates both before and behind, opening into the great street. And the archers of England shot fiercely at the house, and there were many of the Hainaulters hurt, and the good knight Fastres de Rœulx and sir Perceval de Semeries, and sir Sanses de Boussoit, these three could not enter in to their lodgings to arm them, but they did as valiantly as though they had been armed. They had great levers in their hands, the which they found in a carpenter's yard, with the which they gave

[1] This is John le Bel, canon of Saint Lambert's in Liege, on whose chronicle this early part of Froissart's history is founded. He was therefore an eye-witness of the events of this campaign. In the account which follows of the affray at York some MSS. have this addition: 'There sir John le Bel, canon of Liege, upon whose chronicles and on whose relation of this and of other events I have founded and ordered this book, was in great peril: for all unarmed he was among them for a long time, and arrows were flying on all sides, and he himself was wounded by them and also divers of his companions, nigh unto death.'

[2] 'En la maison des Frères Mineurs.'

[1] A better reading is 'two thousand.'

such strokes that men durst not approach to them. They three beat down that day, with such few company as they had, more than sixty; for they were great and mighty knights. Finally the archers that were at the fray were discomfited and put to chase, and there was dead in the place well to the number of three hundred. And it was said they were all of the bishopric of Lincoln.

I trow God did never give more grace and fortune to any people than he did as then to this gentle knight sir John of Hainault and to his company. For these English archers intended to none other thing but to murder and to rob them, for all that they were come to serve the king in his business. These strangers were never in so great peril all the season that they lay, nor they were never after in surety till they were again at Wissant in their own country. For they were fallen in so great hate with all the archers of the host, that some of the barons and knights of England shewed unto the lords of Hainault, giving them warning that the archers and other of the common people were allied together to the number of six thousand to the intent to bren or to kill them in their lodgings either by night or by day. And so they lived at a hard adventure; but each of them promised to help and aid other, and to sell dearly their lives or they were slain. So they made many fair ordinances among themselves by good and great advice, whereby they were fain oftentimes to lie in their harness by night, and in the day to keep their lodgings and to have all their harness ready and their horses saddled. Thus continually they were fain to make watch by their constables in the fields and highways about the court, and to send out scout-watches a mile off to see ever if any such people were coming to themward, as they were informed of, to the intent that if their scout-watch heard any noise or moving of people drawing to the city-ward, then incontinent they should give them knowledge, whereby they might the sooner gather together, each of them under their own banner in a certain place, the which they had advised for the same intent. And in this tribulation they abode in the said suburbs by the space of four weeks, and in all that season they durst not go far from their harness nor from their lodgings, saving a certain of the chief lords among them, who went to the court to see the king and his council, who made them right good cheer. For if the said evil adventure had not been, they had sojourned there in great ease, for the city and the country about them was right plentiful. For all the time of six weeks that the king and the lords of England and more than sixty thousand men of war lay there, the victuals were never the dearer; for ever they had a pennyworth for a penny, as well as other had before they came there, and there was good wine of Gascoyne and of Alsace, and of the Rhine, and plenty thereof, with right good cheap as well of pullen as of other victuals; and there was daily brought before their lodgings hay, oats and litter, whereof they were well served for their horses and at a meetly price.

CHAPTER XVII

Here the history speaketh of the manner of the Scots and how they can war.

AND when they had sojourned three weeks after this said fray, then they had knowledge from the king by the marshals of the host, that the next week every man should provide for carts and charettes, tents and pavilions, to lie in the field, and for all other necessaries thereto belonging, to the intent to draw toward Scotland. And when every man was ready apparelled, the king and all his barons went out of the city, and the first night they lodged six mile forward. And sir John of Hainault and his company were lodged always as near the king as might be, to do him the more honour, and also to the intent that the archers should have no advantage of him nor of his company. And there the king abode two days and two nights, tarrying for all them that were behind, and to be well advised that they lacked nothing. And on the third day they dislodged and went forward till they came to the city of Durham, a day's journey within the country called Northumberland, the which at that time was a savage and a wild country, full of deserts and mountains, and a right poor country of everything saving of beasts, through the which there runneth a river

full of flint and great stones, called the water of Tyne. And on this river standeth the town and castle of Carlisle, the which sometime was king Arthur's, and held his court there oftentimes. Also on that river is assised the town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in the which town was ready the marshal of England with a great company of men of arms, to keep the country against the Scots: and at Carlisle was the lord Hereford and the lord Mowbray, who were governours there, to defend the Scots the passage; for the Scots could not enter into England, but they must pass this said river in one place or other. The Englishmen could hear no tidings of the Scots till they were come to the entry of the said country. The Scots were passed this river so privily, that they of Carlisle nor yet of Newcastle knew nothing thereof, for between the said towns it was twenty-four English mile.[1]

These Scottish men are right hardy and sore travailing in harness and in wars. For when they will enter into England, within a day and a night they will drive their whole host twenty-four mile, for they are all a-horseback, without it be the trandals and laggers of the host, who follow after afoot. The knights and squires are well horsed, and the common people and other on little hackneys and geldings; and they carry with them no carts nor chariots, for the diversities of the mountains that they must pass through in the country of Northumberland. They take with them no purveyance of bread nor wine, for their usage and soberness is such in time of war, that they will pass in the journey a great long time with flesh half sodden, without bread, and drink of the river water without wine, and they neither care for pots nor pans, for they seethe beasts in their own skins. They are ever sure to find plenty of beasts in the country that they will pass through: therefore they carry with them none other purveyance, but on their horse between the saddle and the panel they truss a broad plate of metal, and behind the saddle they will have a little sack full of oatmeal, to the intent that when they have eaten of the sodden flesh,[1] then they lay this plate on the fire and temper a little of the oatmeal; and when the plate is hot, they cast of the thin paste thereon, and so make a little cake in manner of a cracknell or biscuit, and that they eat to comfort withal their stomachs. Wherefore it is no great marvel though they make greater journeys than other people do. And in this manner were the Scots entered into the said country, and wasted and brent all about as they went, and took great number of beasts. They were to the number of four thousand men of arms, knights and squires, mounted on good horses, and other ten thousand men of war were armed after their guise, right hardy and fierce, mounted on little hackneys, the which were never tied nor kept at hard meat, but let go to pasture in the fields and bushes. They had two good captains, for king Robert of Scotland, who in his days had been hardy and prudent, was as then of great age and sore grieved with the great sickness; but he had made one of his captains a gentle prince and a valiant in arms called the earl of Moray, bearing in his arms silver, three oreillers gules;[2] and the other was the lord William Douglas,[3] who was reputed for the most hardy knight and greatest adventurer in all the realm of Scotland, and he bare azure, a chief silver.[4] These two lords were renowned as chief in all deeds of arms and great prowess in all Scotland.

[1] In the original, 'twenty-four English leagues.' The actual distance in a straight line is over fifty miles. The translator, in spite of what he says in his preface on the subject, has not taken any pains to distinguish the leagues or miles of different countries, and translates the word 'lieue' by 'mile' or 'league' indifferently, not only in England, where he seems to think that miles and leagues are the same, but also in France, where he admits that they are different.

[1] Froissart says, 'When they have eaten so much of the cooked flesh that their stomachs seem weak and feeble, they set this upon the fire,' etc. The original has 'une grant pièce plate,' which the translator makes into a plate of metal, but the better reading is 'plate pierre,' a flat stone.

[2] 'Ung escut d'argent à trois oreilles de gueules': 'oreilles' for 'oreillers,' *i.e.* pillows.

[3] Froissart calls him William throughout, but his name was in fact James, as the chronicler, who claims personal acquaintance with the Douglas family and had stayed at Dalkeith castle, ought to have known.

[4] The better text adds 'et trois étoiles de gueules dedens l'argent.'

CHAPTER XVIII

How the king of England made his first journey against the Scots.

WHEN the king of England and his host had seen and heard of the fires that the Scots had made in England, incontinent was cried alarm, and every man commanded to dislodge and follow after the marshals' banners. Then every man drew to the field ready apparelled to fight. There was ordained three great battles afoot, and to every battle two wings of five hundred men of arms, knights and squires, and thirty thousand other, armed and well apparelled, the one half on little hackneys and the other were men of the country afoot, sent out of good towns at their wages; and twenty-four thousand archers afoot,[1] beside all the other rascal and followers of the host. And as these battles were thus ordered, so they advanced forward, well ranged and in good order, and followed the Scots by the sithe of the smoke that they made with burning; and thus they followed all that day till it was near night. Then the host lodged them in a wood by a little river side, there to rest and to abide for their carriage and purveyances. And at that day the Scots had brent and wasted and pilled the country about within five mile[2] of the English host; but the Englishmen could not overtake them. And the next day in the morning all the host armed them and displayed their banners on the field, every man ready apparelled in his own battle, and so advanced without disordering all the day through mountains and valleys; but for all that they could never approach near to the Scots, who went wasting the country before them. There were such marishes and savage deserts, mountains and dales, that it was commanded on pain of death that none of the host should pass before the banners of the marshals. And when it drew toward the night, the people, horse and carriage, and namely the men afoot, were so sore travailed, that they could not endure to labour any further that day. And when the lords saw that their labour in following the Scots was in vain, and also they perceived well, though the Scots would abide them, yet they might take their field in such a place or on such a hill that they could not fight with them, without it were to their great damage and jeopardy, then was it commanded in the king's name by the marshals that the host should take their lodging for that night, and so to take counsel and advice what should be best to do the next day. So the host was lodged in a wood by a river side, and the king was lodged in a little poor abbey: his men of war, horse and carriage were marvellously fortravailed. And when every man had taken his place to lodge there all night, then the lords drew them apart to take counsel how they might fight with the Scots, considering the country that they were in: for as far as they could understand, the Scots went ever forwards, all about burning and wasting the country, and perceived well how they could not in any wise fight with them among these mountains without great peril or danger, and they saw well also they could not overtake them: but it was thought that the Scots must needs pass again the river of Tyne homeward; therefore it was determined by great advice and counsel that all the host should remove at midnight, and to make haste in the morning to the intent to stop the passage of the river from the Scots, whereby they should be advised[1] by force either to fight with them, or else to abide still in England to their great danger and loss.

And to this conclusion all the host was accorded, and so supped and lodged as well as they might that night, and every man was warned to be ready at the first sounding of the trumpet, and at the second blast every man to arm him without delay, and at the third every man quickly to mount on their horses and to draw under their own standard and banner; and every man to take with him but one loaf of bread, and to truss it behind him on his horse. It was also determined that they should leave

[1] The meaning of the original is that each of the three divisions (or battles) had two wings of five hundred men-at-arms on horseback, and altogether there were eight thousand fully armed men, knights and squires, thirty thousand other armed men, some mounted and some on foot, sent by the good towns, and twenty-four thousand archers.

[2] The translator renders 'lyeue' by 'mile' throughout this narrative.

[1] 'Advised' here seems to mean 'brought to resolve.'

behind them all their loose harness and all manner of carriages and purveyances, for they thought surely to fight with the Scots the next day, whatsoever danger they were in, thinking to jeopard, either to win or to lose all. And thus it was ordained and so it was accomplished: for about midnight every man was ready apparelled; few had slept but little, and yet they had sore travailed the day before. As great haste as they made, or they were well ranged in battle the day began to appear. Then they advanced forward in all haste through mountains, valleys and rocks, and through many evil passages without any plain country. And on the highest of these hills and on the plain of these valleys there were marvellous great marshes and dangerous passages, that it was great marvel that much people had not been lost, for they rode ever still forward and never tarried one for another; for whosoever fell in any of these marshes with much pain could get any aid to help them out again, so that in divers places there were many lost, and specially horse and carriages; and oftentimes in the day there was cried alarum, for it was said ever that the foremost company of their host were fighting with their enemies, so that the hindermost weened it had been true; wherefore they hasted them over rocks and stones and mountains with helm and shield ready apparelled to fight, with spear and sword ready in hand, without tarrying for father, brother or companion. And when they had thus run forth oftentimes in the day the space of half a mile together toward the cry, weening it had been their enemies, they were deceived; for the cry ever arose by the raising of harts, hinds and other savage beasts that were seen by them in the forward, after the which beasts they made such shouting and crying, that they that came after weened they had been a-fighting with their enemies.

Thus rode forth all that day the young king of England by mountains and deserts without finding any highway, town or village. And when it was against night they came to the river of Tyne, to the same place whereas the Scots had passed over into England, weening to them that they must needs repass again the same way. Then the king of England and his host passed over the same river with such guides as he had,[1] with much pain and travail, for the passage was full of great stones. And when they were over, they lodged them that night by the river side, and by that time the sun was gone to rest, and there was but few among them that had either axe or hook, or any instrument to cut down any wood to make their lodgings withal; and there were many that had lost their own company and wist not where they were. Some of the footmen were far behind and wist not well what way to take; but such as knew best the country said plainly they had ridden the same day twenty-four English miles, for they rode as fast as they might without any rest, but at such passages as they could not choose. All this night they lay by this river side, still in their harness, holding their horses by their reins in their hands, for they wist not whereunto to tie them. Thus their horses did eat no meat of all that night nor day before: they had neither oats for forage for them, nor the people of the host had no sustenance of all that day nor night, but every man his loaf that he had carried behind him, the which was sore wet with the sweat of the horses; nor they drank none other drink but the water of the river, without it were some of the lords that had carried bottles with them; nor they had no fire nor light, for they had nothing to make light withal, without it were some of the lords that had torches brought with them.

In this great trouble and danger they passed all that night, their armour still on their backs, their horses ready saddled. And when the day began to appear, the which was greatly desired of all the whole host, they trusted then to find some redress for themselves and for their horses, or else to fight with their enemies, the which they greatly desired to the intent to be delivered out of the great travail and pain that they had endured. And all that day it rained so fast that the river and passage was waxen great and risen so high, that or it were noon there might none pass the passages again; wherefore they could not send to know whereas they were, nor where to have any forage or litter for their horses, nor bread nor drink for their own susten-

[1] 'Passed over the said river by fording.' The translator mistakes the meaning of the words 'à gués,' as he does also elsewhere.

ances; but so all that night they were fain to fast, nor their horses had nothing but leaves of trees and herbs: they cut down boughs of trees with their swords to tie withal their horses and to make themselves lodges. And about noon some poor folks of the country were found, and they said how they were as then fourteen mile from Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and eleven mile from Carlisle, and that there was no town nearer to them wherein they might find anything to do them ease withal. And when this was shewed to the king and to the lords of his council, incontinent were sent thither horses and sumpters to fetch thence some purveyance; and there was a cry in the king's name made in the town of Newcastle, that whosoever would bring bread or wine or any other victual should be paid therefore incontinent at a good price, and that they should be conducted to the host in safe-guard; for it was published openly that the king nor his host would not depart from the place that they were in, till they had some tidings where their enemies were become. And the next day by noon such as had been sent for victual returned again to the host with such purveyances as they could get, and that was not over much, and with them came other folks of the country with little nags charged with bread evil baken in panniers, and small poor wine in barrels, and other victual to sell in the host, whereby great part of the host were well refreshed and eased.

And thus they continued day by day the space of eight days, abiding every day the returning again of the Scots, who knew no more where the English host lay than they knew where they were; so each of them were ignorant of other. Thus three days and three nights they were in manner without bread, wine, candle or light, fodder or forage, or any manner of purveyance, either for horse or man: and after the space of four days a loaf of bread was sold for sixpence the which was worth but a penny, and a gallon of wine for six groats that was worth but sixpence. And yet for all that, there was such rage of famine that each took victuals out of other's hands, whereby there rose divers battles and strifes between sundry companions; and yet beside all these mischiefs it never ceased to rain all the whole week, whereby their saddles, panels and countersingles were all rotten and broken, and most part of their horses hurt on their backs: nor they had not wherewith to shoe them that were unshod, nor they had nothing to cover themselves withal from the rain and cold but green bushes and their armour, nor they had nothing to make fire withal but green boughs, the which would not burn because of the rain. In this great mischief they were all the week without hearing of any word of the Scots, upon trust they should repass again into their own countries the same way or near thereabout; whereby great noise and murmur began to rise in the host, for some said and laid it to others' charge that by their counsel the king and all they were brought into that danger, and that they had done it to betray the king and all his host. Wherefore it was ordained by the king and by his council that the next morning they should remove the host and repass again the river about seven mile thence, whereas they might pass more at their ease. Then it was cried throughout the host that every man should be ready apparelled to remove the next day betimes: also there was a cry made that whosoever could bring to the king certain knowledge where the Scots were, he that brought first tidings thereof should have for his labour a hundred pounds [of] land to him and to his heirs for ever, and to be made a knight of the king's hand.

When this cry was made in the host, divers English knights and squires to the number of fifteen or sixteen, for covetise of winning of this promise, they passed the river in great peril and rode forth through the mountains, and departed each one from other, taking their adventure. The next morning the host dislodged and rode fair and easily all the day, for they were but evil apparelled, and did so much that they repassed again the river with much pain and travail, for the water was deep because of the rain that had fallen, wherefore many did swim and some were drowned. And when they were all over, then they lodged the host; and there they found some forage, meadows and fields about a little village, the which the Scots had brent when they passed that way. And the next day they departed from thence and passed over hills and dales all

day till it was noon, and then they found some villages brent by the Scots, and thereabout was some champaign country with corn and meadows, and so that night the host lodged there. Again the third day they rode forth, so that the most part of the host wist not which way, for they knew not the country nor they could hear no tidings of the Scots. And again the fourth day they rode forth in like manner, till it was about the hour of three,[1] and there came a squire fast riding toward the king and said: 'An it like your grace, I have brought you perfect tidings of the Scots your enemies. Surely they be within three mile of you, lodged on a great mountain, abiding there for you; and there they have been all this eight days, nor they knew no more tidings of you than ye did of them. Sir, this that I shew you is of truth, for I approached so near to them that I was taken prisoner and brought before the lords of their host; and there I shewed them tidings of you, and how that ye seek for them to the intent to have battle. And the lords did quit me my ransom and prison, when I had shewed them how your grace had promised a hundred pounds sterling of rent to him that brought first tidings of them to you; and they made me to promise that I should not rest till I had shewed you this tidings, for they said they had as great desire to fight with you as ye had with them: and there shall ye find them without fault.'

And as soon as the king had heard this tidings, he assembled all his host in a fair meadow to pasture their horses; and beside there was a little abbey, the which was all brent, called in the days of king Arthur le Blanche Lande.[2] There the king confessed him, and every man made him ready. The king caused many masses to be sung to housel all such as had devotion thereto; and incontinent he assigned a hundred pounds sterling of rent to the squire that had brought him tidings of the Scots, according to his promise, and made him knight [with] his own hands before all the host. And when they had well rested them and taken repast, then the trumpet sounded to horse, and every man mounted, and the banners and standards followed this new-made knight, every battle by itself in good order, through mountains and dales, ranged as well as they might, ever ready apparelled to fight; and they rode and made such haste that about noon they were so near the Scots that each of them might clearly see other.

And as soon as the Scots saw them, they issued out of their lodges afoot, and ordained three great battles in the availing of the hill, and at the foot of this mountain there ran a great river full of great rocks and stones, so that none might pass over without great danger or jeopardy; and though the Englishmen had passed over the river, yet was there no place nor room between the hill and the river to set the battle in good order. The Scots had stablished their two first battles at the two corners of the mountain, joining to the rocks, so that none might well mount upon the hill to assail them, but the Scots were ever ready to beat with stones the assailants, if they passed the river. And when the lords of England saw the behaving and the manner of the Scots, they made all their people to alight afoot and to put off their spurs, and arranged three great battles, as they had done before, and there were made many new knights. And when their battles were set in good order, then some of the lords of England brought their young king a-horseback before all the battles of the host, to the intent to give thereby the more courage to all his people, the which king in full goodly manner prayed and required them right graciously that every man would pain them to do their best to save his honour and common weal of his realm. And it was commanded upon pain of death that none should go before the marshals' banners, nor break their array without they were commanded. And then the king commanded that they should advance toward their enemies fair and easily; and so they did, and every battle went forth in good array and order a great space of ground, to the descending of the mountain whereas the Scots were. And this the English host did to the intent to see if their enemies would break their field or not, and to see what they would do; but they could not perceive that they were about to remove in any wise: they

[1] 'Jusque à heure de tierce,' which of course would be nine o'clock in the morning, not three o'clock, as the translator has it. They arrived within sight of the Scots 'about mid-day' on the same day.

[2] The abbey of Blanckland, south of Hexham.

were so near together that they might know each other's arms. Then the host stood still to take other counsel. And some of the host mounted on good horses and rode forth to skirmish with them and to behold the passage of the river and to see the countenance of their enemies more nearer. And there were heralds of arms sent to the Scots, giving them knowledge, if that they would come and pass the river to fight with them in the plain field, they would draw back from the river and give them sufficient place to arrange their battles either the same day or else the next, as they would choose themselves, or else to let them do likewise and they would come over to them. And when the Scots heard this, they took counsel among themselves, and anon they answered the heralds, how they would do neither the one nor the other, and said, 'Sirs, your king and his lords see well how we be here in this realm and have brent and wasted the country as we have passed through, and if they be displeased therewith, let them amend it when they will, for here we will abide as long as it shall please us.'

And as soon as the king of England heard that answer, it was incontinent cried that all the host should lodge there that night without reculing back. And so the host lodged there that night with much pain on the hard ground and stones, always still armed. They had no stakes nor rods to tie withal their horses, nor forage, nor bush to make withal any fire. And when they were thus lodged, then the Scots caused some of their people to keep still the field, whereas they had ordained their battles; and the remnant went to their lodgings, and they made such fires that it was marvel to behold. And between the day and the night they made a marvellous great bruit, with blowing of horns all at once, that it seemed properly that all the devils of hell had been there. Thus these two hosts were lodged that night, the which was Saint Peter's night in the beginning of August[1] the year of our Lord MCCCXXVII.

And the next morning the lords of England heard mass and ranged again their battles as they had done the day before; and the Scots in like wise ordered their battles. Thus both the hosts stood still in battle till it was noon. The Scots made never semblant to come to the English host to fight with them, nor in like wise the Englishmen to them; for they could not approach together without great damage. There were divers companions a-horseback that passed the river, and some afoot, to scrimmish with the Scots, and in likewise some of the Scots brake out and scrimmished with them; so that there were divers on both parties slain, wounded and taken prisoners. And after that noon was past, the lords of England commanded every man to draw to their lodging, for they saw well the Scots would not fight with them.

And in like manner thus they did three days together, and the Scots in like case kept still their mountains. Howbeit there was scrimmishing on both parties, and divers slain and prisoners taken. And every night the Scots made great fires and great bruit with shouting and blowing of horns. The intention of the Englishmen was to hold the Scots there in manner as besieged (for they could not fight with them thereas they were), thinking to have famished them. And the Englishmen knew well by such prisoners as they had taken that the Scots had neither bread, wine nor salt, nor other purveyance, save of beasts they had great plenty, the which they had taken in the country and might eat at their pleasure without bread, which was an evil diet, for they lacked oaten meal to make cakes withal, as is said before;[1] the which diet some of the Englishmen used when they had need, specially borderers when they make roads into Scotland.

And in the morning the fourth day the Englishmen looked on the mountain whereas the Scots were, and they could see no creature, for the Scots were departed at midnight. Then was there sent men a-horseback and afoot over the river to know where they were become; and about noon they found them lodged on another mountain, more stronger than the other was, by the same river side, and where there was a great wood on the one side, to go and come secretly when they list. Then incontinent the English host dis-

[1] St. Peter in Vinculis, 1st August.

[1] Froissart says only that they did not object to this diet provided they had oatmeal.

lodged, and drew to that part, embattled in good order, and lodged them on another hill against the Scots, and ranged their battles and made semblant to have come to them. Then the Scots issued out of their lodges and set their battles along the river side against them; but they would never come toward the English host, and the Englishmen could not go to them, without they would have been slain or taken at advantage. Thus they lodged each against other the space of eighteen days; and oftentimes the king of England sent to them his heralds of arms, offering them that if they would come and fight with him, he would give them place sufficient on the plain ground to pitch their field; or else let them give him room and place, and he assured them that he would come over the river and fight with them: but the Scots would never agree thereto.

Thus both the hosts suffered much pain and travail the space that they lay so near together: and the first night that the English host was thus lodged on the second mountain the lord William Douglas took with him about two hundred men of arms and passed the river far off from the host, so that he was not perceived, and suddenly he brake into the English host about midnight crying, 'Douglas! Douglas! Ye shall all die, thieves[1] of England!' and he slew, or he ceased, three hundred men, some in their beds and some scant ready; and he strake his horse with the spurs and came to the king's own tent, always crying 'Douglas!' and strake asunder two or three cords of the king's tent and so departed, and in that retreat he lost some of his men. Then he returned again to the Scots, so that there was no more done: but every night the English host made good and sure watch, for they doubted making of skryes; and ever the most part of the host lay in their harness; and every day there were scrimmishes made, and men slain on both parties: and in conclusion, the last day of twenty-four, there was a Scottish knight taken, who against his will shewed to the lords of England what state and condition the Scots were in: he was so sore examined that for fear of his life he shewed how the lords of Scotland were accorded among themselves that the same night every man should be ready armed, and to follow the banners of the lord William Douglas, and every man to keep him secret. But the knight could not shew them what they intended to do. Then the lords of England drew them to council, and there it was thought among them that the Scots might in the night time come and assail their host on both sides, to adventure themselves either to live or die, for they could endure no longer the famine that was among them. Then the English lords ordained three great battles, and so stood in three parties without their lodgings, and made great fires, thereby to see the better, and caused all their pages to keep their lodgings and horses.

Thus they stood still all that night armed, every man under his own standard and banner; and in the breaking of the day two trumpets of Scotland met with the English scout-watch, who took the trumpets and brought them before the king of England and his council, and then they said openly, 'Sirs, what do ye watch here? Ye lose but your time, for on the jeopardy of our heads the Scots are gone and departed before midnight, and they are at the least by this time three or four mile on their way; and they left us two behind to the intent that we should shew this to you.' Then the English lords said that it were but a folly to follow the Scots, for they saw well they could not overtake them: yet for doubt of deceiving they kept still the two trumpets privily, and caused their battles to stand still arranged till it was near prime. And when they saw for truth that the Scots were departed, then every man had leave to retray to their lodging, and the lords took counsel to determine what should be best to do. And in the meantime divers of the English host mounted on their horses and passed over the river, and came to the mountain whereas the Scots had been; and there they found more than five hundred great beasts ready slain, because the Scots could not drive them before their host and because that the Englishmen should have but small profit of them. Also there they found

[1] The translator found 'larron' in his text, but a better reading is 'baron': 'Ye shall all die, ye English barons'; or with 'Englès' alone, 'Ye shall all die, ye English.'

three hundred cauldrons made of beasts' skins with the hair still on them, strained on stakes over the fire, full of water and full of flesh to be sodden, and more than a thousand spits full of flesh to be roasted, and more than ten thousand old shoes made of raw leather with the hair still on them, the which the Scots had left behind them; also there they found five poor Englishmen prisoners, bound fast to certain trees, and some of their legs broken.[1] Then they were loosed and let go: and then they returned again, and by that time all the host was dislodged: and it was ordained by the king and by the advice of his council that the whole host should follow the marshals' banners and draw homeward into England. And so they did, and at the last came into a fair meadow, whereas they found forage sufficient for their horses and carriages,[2] whereof they had great need, for they were nigh so feeble that it should have been great pain for them to have gone any further. The English chronicle saith that the Scots had been fought withal, an sir Roger Mortimer, a lord of England, had not betrayed the king; for he took meed and money of the Scots, to the intent they might depart privily by night unfought withal, as it may be seen more plainly in the English chronicle, and divers other matters, the which I pass over at this time and follow mine author.[3]

And so then the next day the host dislodged again and went forth, and about noon they came to a great abbey two mile from the city of Durham; and there the king lodged, and the host there about in the fields, whereas they found forage sufficient for themselves and for their horses. And the next day the host lay there still, and the king went to the city of Durham to see the church, and there he offered.[4] And in this city every man found their own carriages,[5] the which they had left thirty-two days before in a wood at midnight, when they followed the Scots first, as it hath been shewed before; for the burgesses and people of Durham had found and brought them into their town at their own costs and charges. And all these carriages were set in void granges and barns in safe-guard, and on every man's carriage his own cognisance or arms, whereby every man might know his own. And the lords and gentlemen were glad when they had thus found their carriages.

Thus they abode two days in the city of Durham, and the host round about, for they could not all lodge within the city; and there their horses were new shod. And then they took their way to the city of York, and so within three days they came thither; and there the king found the queen his mother, who received him with great joy, and so did all other ladies, damosels, burgesses and commons of the city.

The king gave licence to all manner of people, every man to draw homeward to their own countries. And the king thanked greatly the earls, barons and knights of their good counsel and aid that they had done to him in his journey; and he retained still with him sir John of Hainault and all his company, who were greatly feasted by the queen and all other ladies. Then the knights and other strangers of his company made a bill of their horses and such other stuff as they had lost in that journey, and delivered it to the king's council, every man by itself; and in trust of the king's promise, sir John of Hainault lord Beaumont bound himself to all his company that they should be content for everything comprised in their own bills within a short space: for the king nor his council could not so soon recover gold or silver to content their desires; but he delivered them sufficient by reason to pay all their small charges and to bring them home withal into their own countries; and anon after within the same year they were paid for everything they could desire. Then they of Hainault bought little nags to ride at their ease, [and sent back] their lackeys and pages and all their harness and baggages by water in two ships that was delivered to

[1] Or (according to a better text) 'and two (*or* two others) who had their legs broken.'

[2] Froissart says simply 'horses.'

[3] This statement about Roger Mortimer is an addition by the translator from Fabyan's Chronicles.

[4] In the original we have: 'Then the king did fealty to the church of Durham and to the bishop (*or* bishopric), and also to the burgesses, for he had not done it as yet.'

[5] Throughout this passage 'carriages' is a translation of 'charois,' 'charettes,' or some similar word, and means carts for the baggage and not the baggage itself.

them, the which ships with their stuff arrived at Sluys in Flanders. And sir John of Hainault and his company took their leave of the king, of the old queen, of the earl of Kent, of the earl of Lancaster and of all the other barons, who greatly did honour them. And the king caused twelve knights and two hundred men of arms to company them, for doubt of the archers of England, of whom they were not well assured, for they must needs pass through the bishopric of Lincoln.

Thus departed sir John of Hainault and his rout in the conduct of these knights, and rode so long in their journey that they came to Dover, and there entered into the sea in ships and vessels that they found ready there apparelled for them. Then the English knights departed from thence, and returned to their own houses; and the Hainowes arrived at Wissant, and there they sojourned two days in making ready their horses and harness. And in the meantime sir John of Hainault and some of his company rode a pilgrimage to our Lady of Boulogne; and after they returned into Hainault, and departed each from other to their own houses and countries. Sir John of Hainault rode to the earl his brother, who was at Valenciennes, who received him joyously, for greatly he loved him, to whom he recounted all his tidings, that ye have heard herebefore.

CHAPTER XIX

How king Edward was married to my lady Philippa of Hainault.

It was not long after but that the king and the queen his mother, the earl of Kent his uncle, the earl of Lancaster, sir Roger Mortimer and all the barons of England, and by the advice of the king's council, they sent a bishop[1] and two knights bannerets, with two notable clerks, to sir John of Hainault, praying him to be a mean that their lord the young king of England might have in marriage one of the earl's daughters of Hainault, his brother, named Philippa; for the king and all the nobles of the realm had rather have her than any other lady, for the love of him. Sir John of Hainault lord Beaumont feasted and honoured greatly these ambassadors, and brought them to Valenciennes to the earl his brother, who honourably received them and made them such cheer, that it were over long here to rehearse. And when they had shewed the content of their message, the earl said, 'Sirs, I thank greatly the king your prince and the queen his mother and all other lords of England, sith they have sent such sufficient personages as ye be to do me such honour as to treat for the marriage; to the which request I am well agreed, if our holy father the pope will consent thereto': with the which answer these ambassadors were right well content.

Then they sent two knights and two clerks incontinent to the pope, to Avignon, to purchase a dispensation for this marriage to be had; for without the pope's licence they might not marry, for [by] the lineage of France they were so near of kin as at the third degree, for the two mothers were cousin-germans issued of two brethren.[1] And when these ambassadors were come to the pope, and their requests and considerations well heard, our holy father the pope with all the whole college consented to this marriage, and so feasted them. And then they departed and came again to Valenciennes with their bulls.

Then this marriage was concluded and affirmed on both parties. Then was there devised and purveyed for their apparel and for all things honourable that belonged to such a lady, who should be queen of England: and there this princess was married by a sufficient procuration brought from the king of England; and after all feasts and triumphs done, then this young queen entered into the sea at Wissant, and arrived with all her company at Dover. And sir John of Hainault lord Beaumont, her uncle, did conduct her to the city of London, where there was made great feast, and many nobles of England, and the

[1] This should be: 'And the other barons of England who had continued to be of the council of the king sent a bishop,' etc. Or according to a better text, 'took advice to marry him. So they sent a bishop,' etc.

[1] The meaning is that the kinship came by the relationship of both to the house of France. The mother of Edward was daughter of Philip the Fair and the mother of Philippa was daughter of Charles of Valois.

queen was crowned. And there was also great jousts, tourneys, dancing, carolling and great feasts every day, the which endured the space of three weeks. The English chronicle saith this marriage and coronation of the queen was done at York with much honour, the Sunday in the even of the Conversion of Saint Paul, in the year of our Lord MCCCXXVII. In the which chronicle is shewed many other things of the ruling of the realm, and of the death of king Edward of Caernarvon, and divers other debates that were within the realm, as in the same chronicle more plainly it appeareth: the which the author of this book speaketh no word of, because peradventure he knew it not; for it was hard for a stranger to know all things.[1] But according to his writing this young queen Philippa abode still in England with a small company of any persons of her own country, saving one who was named Watelet of Manny, who abode still with the queen and was her carver, and after did so many great prowesses in divers places, that it were hard to make mention of them all.

CHAPTER XX

How king Robert of Scotland died.

AND when that the Scots were departed by night from the mountain, whereas the king of England had besieged them, as ye have heard herebefore, they went twenty-two mile through that savage country without resting, and passed the river of Tyne right near to Carlisle; and the next day they went into their own land, and so departed every man to his own mansion. And within a space after there was a peace purchased between the kings of England and Scotland; and as the English chronicle saith,[1] it was done by the special counsel of the old queen and sir Roger Mortimer; for by their means there was a parliament holden at Northampton, at the which the king being within age granted to the Scots to release all the fealties and homages that they ought to have done to the crown of England, by his charter ensealed, and also there was delivered to the Scots an indenture, the which was called the Ragman, wherein was contained all the homages and fealties that the king of Scots and all the prelates, earls and barons of Scotland ought to have done to the crown of England, sealed with all their seals, with all other rights that sundry barons and knights ought to have had in the realm of Scotland. And also they delivered to them again the black cross of Scotland, the which the good king Edward conquered and brought it out of the abbey of Scone, the which was a precious relic; and all rights and interests that every baron had in Scotland was then clean forgiven. And many other things were done at that parliament to the great hurt and prejudice of the realm of England, and in manner against the wills of all the nobles of the realm, save only of Isabel the old queen and the bishop of Ely and the lord Mortimer: they ruled the realm in such wise, that every man was miscontent. So that the earl Henry of Lancaster and sir Thomas Brotherton, earl marshal, and sir Edmund of Woodstock, the king's uncle, and divers other lords and commons were agreed together to amend these faults, if they might. And in that meantime the queen Isabel and sir Roger Mortimer caused another parliament to be holden at Salisbury, at the which parliament sir Roger Mortimer was made earl of March against all the barons' wills of England, in prejudice of king and his realm, and sir John of Eltham the king's brother was made earl of Cornwall. To the which parliament the earl Henry of Lancaster would not come, wherefore the king was brought in belief that he would have destroyed his

[1] The reference is to Fabyan, p. 439. It may be noted that the inaccuracy here was corrected in Froissart's final revision, where he says that the young queen after landing came to Canterbury and thence by Rochester and Dartford to Eltham, where she was met by the bishop of Durham, who had espoused her by procuration, and many lords and ladies. Here sir John of Hainault parted from her and returned, and she passed on to London, and without making any stay there proceeded northwards to York. Here she was received by the young king and his mother, and the marriage was celebrated by the archbishop of York in the cathedral on the day of the Conversion of Saint Paul, 1327 (1328). The king was then seventeen years old, and the young queen not quite fourteen. At Easter they came to London and Windsor, where great festivals and jousts were held.—Vat. MS.

[1] The whole of this which follows down to the words 'follow mine author' is inserted by the translator from Fabyan.

person; for the which they assembled a great host and went toward Bedford, whereas the earl Henry was with his company. Then the earl marshal and the earl of Kent, the king's uncle, made a peace between the king and the earl of Lancaster, on whose part was sir Henry lord Beaumont, sir Fulke Fitz-Warin, sir Thomas Rocelin, sir William Trussel, sir Thomas Wither and about a hundred knights, who were all expelled out of England by the counsel of queen Isabel and the earl Mortimer: for he was so covetous, that he thought to have the most part of all their lands into his own hands, as it is more plainly shewed in the English chronicle, the which I pass over and follow mine author.

The foresaid peace, which was purchased between England and Scotland, was to endure three year; and in the meantime it fortuned that king Robert of Scotland was right sore aged and feeble: for he was greatly charged with the great sickness, so that there was no way with him but death. And when he felt that his end drew near, he sent for such barons and lords of his realm as he trusted best, and shewed them how there was no remedy with him, but he must needs leave this transitory life, commanding them on the faith and truth that they owed him, truly to keep the realm and aid the young prince David his son, and that when he were of age they should obey him and crown him king, and to marry him in such a place as was convenient for his estate. Then he called to him the gentle knight sir William Douglas, and said before all the lords, 'Sir William, my dear friend, ye know well that I have had much ado in my days to uphold and sustain the right of this realm; and when I had most ado, I made a solemn vow, the which as yet I have not accomplished, whereof I am right sorry: the which was, if I might achieve and make an end of all my wars, so that I might once have brought this realm in rest and peace, then I promised in my mind to have gone and warred on Christ's enemies, adversaries to our holy Christian faith. To this purpose mine heart hath ever intended, but our Lord would not consent thereto; for I have had so much ado in my days, and now in my last enterprise I have taken such a malady that I cannot escape. And sith it is so, that my body cannot go nor achieve that my heart desireth, I will send the heart instead of the body to accomplish mine avow. And because I know not in all my realm no knight more valiant than ye be, nor of body so well furnished to accomplish mine avow instead of myself, therefore I require you, mine own dear especial friend, that ye will take on you this voyage, for the love of me, and to acquit my soul against my Lord God. For I trust so much in your nobleness and truth, that an ye will take on you, I doubt not but that ye shall achieve it, and declare then shall I die in more ease and quiet, so that it be done in such manner as I shall declare unto you. I will that as soon as I am trespassed out of this world, that ye take my heart out of my body and embalm it, and take of my treasure, as ye shall think sufficient for that enterprise, both for yourself and such company as ye will take with you, and present my heart to the Holy Sepulchre, whereas our Lord lay, seeing my body cannot come there: and take with you such company and purveyance as shall be appertaining to your estate. And wheresoever ye come, let it be known how ye carry with you the heart of king Robert of Scotland at his instance and desire, to be presented to the Holy Sepulchre.'

Then all the lords that heard these words wept for pity: and when this knight sir William Douglas might speak for weeping, he said: 'Ah, gentle and noble king, a hundred times I thank your grace of the great honour that ye do to me, sith of so noble and great treasure ye give me in charge; and, sir, I shall do with a glad heart all that ye have commanded me, to the best of my true power, howbeit I am not worthy nor sufficient to achieve such a noble enterprise.' Then the king said, 'Ah, gentle knight, I thank you, so that ye will promise to do it.' 'Sir,' said the knight, 'I shall do it undoubtedly by the faith that I owe to God and to the order of knighthood.' 'Then I thank you,' said the king, 'for now shall I die in more ease of my mind, sith that I know that the most worthy and sufficient knight of my realm shall achieve for me that which I could never attain unto.' And thus soon after this noble Robert de Bruce king of Scotland trespassed out of this uncertain world, and his heart taken out of his body and

embalmed, and honourably he was interred in the abbey of Dunfermline in the year of our Lord God MCCCXXVII., the seventh day of the month of November.[1]

And when the springing-time began, then sir William Douglas purveyed him of that which appertained for his enterprise and took his ship at the port of Montrose in Scotland, and sailed into Flanders, to Sluys, to hear tidings and to know if there were any nobleman in that country that would go to Jerusalem, to the intent to have more company. And he lay still at Sluys the space of twelve days or he departed, but he would never come a-land, but kept still his ship, and kept always his port and behaviour with great triumph, with trumpets and clarions, as though he had been king of Scots himself; and in his company there was a knight banneret and seven other knights of the realm of Scotland, and twenty-six young squires and gentlemen to serve him; and all his vessel was of gold and silver—pots, basins, ewers, dishes, flagons, barrels, cups and all other things; and all such as would come and see him, they were well served with two manner of wines and divers manner of spices, all manner of people according to their degrees.

And when he had thus tarried there the space of twelve days, he heard reported that Alphonso king of Spain made war against a Saracen king of Granade. Then he thought to draw to that part, thinking surely he could not bestow his time more nobly than to war against God's enemies: and that enterprise done, then he thought to go forth to Jerusalem and to achieve that he was charged with. And so he departed and took the sea toward Spain, and arrived at the port of Valence the great.[2] Then he went straight to the king of Spain, who held his host against the king of Granade Saracen, and they were near together, on the frontiers of his land.

[1] This date should be 7th June 1329. Froissart adds that the earl of Moray died almost immediately after, but the corruption of the text made the statement unintelligible to the translator, who therefore omitted it. It is in fact inaccurate. Note that the William Douglas of this story is really James Douglas.

[2] Valenza in Aragon, called 'Valence le grant' to distinguish it from Valence in Dauphiné and from Valencia in Portugal.

And within a while after that this knight sir William Douglas was come to the king of Spain, on a day the king issued out into the field to approach near to his enemies. And the king of Granade issued out in like wise on his part, so that each king might see other with all their banners displayed. Then they arranged their battles each against other. Then sir William Douglas drew out on the one side with all his company, to the intent to shew his prowess the better. And when he saw these battles thus ranged on both parties, and saw that the battle of the king of Spain began somewhat to advance toward their enemies, he thought then verily that they should soon assemble together to fight at hand strokes; and then he thought rather to be with the foremost than with the hindermost, and strake his horse with the spurs, and all his company also, and dashed into the battle of the king of Granade, crying, 'Douglas! Douglas!' weening to him the king of Spain and his host had followed, but they did not; wherefore he was deceived, for the Spanish host stood still. And so this gentle knight was enclosed, and all his company, with the Saracens, whereas he did marvels in arms, but finally he could not endure, so that he and all his company were slain. The which was great damage, that the Spaniards would not rescue them.

Also in this season there were certain lords that treated for peace between England and Scotland. So that at the last there was a marriage made and solemnised between the young king of Scotland and dame Joan of the Tower, sister to king Edward of England, at Berwick, as the English chronicle saith,[1] on Mary Maudlin day, the year of our Lord MCCCXXVIII., against the assent of many of the nobles of the realm. But queen Isabel the king's mother and the earl Mortimer made that marriage; at the which, as mine author saith, there was great feast made on both parties.

[1] The addition from the 'English chronicle' is from the words 'on Mary Maudlin day' to 'that marriage.'—Fabyan, p. 439.

CHAPTER XXI

How Philip of Valois was crowned king of France.

KING CHARLES of France, son to the fair king Philip, was three times married, and yet died without issue male. The first of his wives was one of the most fairest ladies in all the world, and she was daughter to the earl of Artois. Howbeit she kept but evil the sacrament of matrimony, but brake her wedlock; wherefore she was kept a long space in prison in the castle Gaillard, before that her husband was made king. And when the realm of France was fallen to him, he was crowned by the assent of the twelve douze-peers[1] of France, and then because they would not that the realm of France should be long without an heir male, they advised by their counsel that the king should be remarried again; and so he was, to the daughter of the emperor Henry of Luxembourg, sister to the gentle king of Bohemia; whereby the first marriage of the king was fordone, between him and his wife that was in prison, by the licence and declaration of the pope that was then. And by his second wife, who was right humble, and a noble wise lady, the king had a son, who died in his young age, and the queen also at Issoudun in Berry. And they both died suspiciously, wherefore divers persons were put to blame after privily. And after this, the same king Charles was married again the third time to the daughter of his uncle, the lord Louis earl of Évreux, and she was sister to the king of Navarre, and was named queen Joan. And so in time and space this lady was with child, and in the meantime the king Charles her husband fell sick and lay down on his death-bed. And when he saw there was no way with him but death, he devised that if it fortuned the queen to be delivered of a son, then he would that the lord Philip of Valois should be his governour, and regent of all his realm, till his son come to such age as he might be crowned king; and if it fortuned the queen to have a daughter, then he would that all the twelve peers of France should take advice and counsel for the further ordering of the realm, and that they should give the realm and regaly to him that had most right thereto. And so within a while after the king Charles died, about Easter in the year of our Lord MCCCXXVIII., and within a short space after the queen was delivered of a daughter.

Then all the peers of France assembled a council together at Paris, as shortly as they might conveniently, and there they gave the realm by common accord to sir Philip of Valois, and put clean out the queen Isabel of England and king Edward her son. For she was sister-german to king Charles last dead, but the opinion of the nobles of France was, and said and maintained that the realm of France was of so great nobless, that it ought not by succession to fall into a woman's hand. And so thus they crowned king of France Philip Valois at Rheims on Trinity Sunday next after.

And anon after he summoned all his barons and men of war, and went with all his power to the town of Cassel and laid siege thereto, in making war against the Flemings, who rebelled against their own lord, and namely they of Bruges, of Ypres, and of [the] Franc; for they would not obey the earl of Flanders, but they had chased him out of his own country, so that he might not abide in no part thereof, but only in Gaunt, and scantly there. These Flemings were a sixteen thousand, and had a captain called Colin Dannequin,[1] a hardy man and a courageous. And they had made their garrison at Cassel, at the wages of divers towns in Flanders, to the intent to keep the frontiers there about; but ye shall hear how the Flemings were discomfited, and all by their own outrage.

CHAPTER XXII

Of the battle of Cassel in Flanders.

AND on a day they of the garrison of Cassel departed out to the intent to have discomfited the king and all his host. And they came privily without any noise in three battles well ordered, whereof the first battle took the way to the king's tents, and it was a fair grace that the king had not been taken, for he was at supper, and

[1] Froissart says simply 'les douze pers.'

[1] Nicholas (or Clais) Zannequin.

all his company, and thought nothing of them. And the other battle took the straight way to the tents of the king of Bohemia, and in manner they found him in like case. And the third battle went to the tents of the earl of Hainault, and in like wise had near taken him. These hosts came so peaceably to the tents, that with much pain they of the host could arm them, whereby all the lords and their people had been slain, an the more grace of God had not been: but in manner by miracle of God these lords discomfited all three battles, each battle by itself, all in one hour, in such wise that of sixteen thousand Flemings there escaped never a person,[1] captains and all were slain. And the king and lords of France knew not one of another, nor what they had done, till all was finished and achieved; for they lay in three sundry parties one from another: but as for the Flemings, there was not one left alive, but all lay dead on heaps, one upon another in the said three sundry places. And this was done on Saint Bartholomew's day the year of our Lord MCCCXXVIII.

Then the Frenchmen entered into the town of Cassel and set up the banners of France. And the town yielded them to the king, and also the town [of] Poperinghe and of Ypres, and all they of the chatelainy of Bergues, and then they received the earl Louis their lord, and sware to him faith and loyalty for ever. Then after the king and his people departed and went to Paris, and he was much honoured and praised for this enterprise and aid that he had done to his cousin Louis earl of Flanders. And thus the king was in great prosperity and every day increased his royal estate; for, as it was said, there was never king in France that held like estate as did this king Philip of Valois.

CHAPTER XXIII

How the earl of Kent and the earl Mortimer in England were put to death.

THIS young king Edward of England was governed a great space, as ye have heard before, by the counsel of the queen his mother and of Edmund of Woodstock earl of Kent, his uncle, and by sir Roger Mortimer earl of March. And at the last envy began to grow between the earl of Kent and the earl Mortimer, insomuch that this earl Mortimer informed so the young king by the consenting of the old queen Isabel his mother, bearing the king in hand, that the earl of Kent would have empoisoned him, to the intent to be king himself, as he that was next heir-apparent to the crown; for the king's younger brother, who was called John of Eltham,[1] was newly dead. And then the king, who gave light credence to them, caused his uncle the earl of Kent to be taken and openly to be beheaded, without any manner of excuse to be heard; wherewith many of the nobles of the realm were sore troubled and bare a grudge in their hearts toward the earl Mortimer: and according to the English chronicle[2] the earl suffered death at Winchester, the tenth day of October, the third year of the king's reign, and lieth buried at the Friars in Winchester. But, as mine author saith, within a while after, as it was reported, queen Isabel the king's mother was with child, and that by the earl Mortimer, whereof the king was informed, and how the said Mortimer had caused him to put to death the earl of Kent his uncle without good reason or cause, for all the realm reputed him for a noble man. Then by the king's commandment this earl Mortimer was taken and brought to London; and there before the great lords and nobles of the realm was recited by open declaration all the deeds of the said Mortimer. Then the king demanded of his council what should be done with him; and all the lords by common assent gave judgment and said, 'Sir, he hath deserved to die the same death that sir Hugh Spencer died.' And after this judgment there was no dilation of sufferance nor mercy, but incontinent he was drawn throughout London and then set on a scaffold and his members cut from him and cast into a fire, and his heart also, because he had imagined treason, and then quartered, and his quarters

[1] Another text of Froissart says, 'Of all these sixteen thousand Flemings there escaped but one thousand.' In any case the exaggeration is very great. The loss on the Flemish side was probably less than four thousand.

[1] A correction for 'John a Gaunt.'

[2] The references are to Fabyan, p. 441 and thereabout.

sent to four of the best cities of the realm, and his head remained still in London.

And within a little space after, the king commanded, by the advice of his council, that the queen his mother should be kept close in a castle, and so it was done; and she had with her ladies and damosels, knights and squires, to serve her according to her estate, and certain ladies assigned to her to maintain therewith her noble estate all days of her life; but in no wise she should not depart out of the castle, without it were to see such sports as was sometime shewed before the castle gate for her recreation. Thus this lady led forth her life there meekly, and once or twice a year the king her son would come and see her. The English chronicle sheweth divers other considerations why the earl Mortimer suffered death, the which was on Saint Andrew's even in the year of our Lord a thousand three hundred and twenty-nine, the which I pass over and follow mine author.

CHAPTER XXIV

Of the homage that king Edward of England did to the king of France for the duchy of Guyenne.

AND after that the king had done these two executions, he took new councillors of the most noblest and sagest persons of his realm. And so it was, about a year after that Philip of Valois was crowned king of France, and that all the barons and nobles of the realm had made their homage and fealty to him, except the young king of England, who had not done his homage for the duchy of Guyenne, nor also he was not summoned thereto, then the king of France by the advice of all his council sent over into England the lord d'Aubigny, the lord Beausault, and two notable clerks, masters of the parliament of Paris, named master Simon of Orleans and master Peter of Maisieres. These four departed from Paris and did so much by their journeys that they came to Wissant, and there they took sea and arrived at Dover, and there tarried a day to abide the unshipping of their horses and baggages; and then they rode forth so long that they came to Windsor, whereas the king and the young queen of England lay: and then these four caused to be known to the king the occasion of their coming. The king of England for the honour of the French king his cousin caused them to come to his presence and received them honourably; and then they published their message. And the king answered them how that the nobles of his realm nor his council was not as then about him, but desired them to draw to London, and there they should be answered in such wise, that of reason they should be content. And so they dined in the king's chamber, and after departed and lay the same night at Colebrook, and the next day at London.

It was not long after but that the king came to his palace of Westminster, and all his council was commanded to be there at a certain day limited. And when they were all assembled, then the French ambassadors were sent for, and there they declared the occasion of their coming and delivered letters from their master. Then the king went apart with his council to take advice what was best for him to do. Then was it advised by his council that they should be answered by the ordinance and style of his predecessors, by the bishop of London. And so the Frenchmen were called into the council-chamber. Then the bishop of London said, 'Lords that be here assembled for the king of France, the king's grace my sovereign lord hath heard your words and read the tenour of your letters. Sirs, we say unto you that we will counsel the king our sovereign lord here present, that he go into France to see the king your master, his dear cousin, who right amiably hath sent for him: and as touching his faith and homage, he shall do his devoir in everything that he ought to do of right. And, sirs, ye may shew the king your master that within short space the king of England our master shall arrive in France and do all that reason shall require.'

Then these messengers were feasted, and the king rewarded them with many great gifts and jewels; and they took their leave and did so much that at last they came to Paris, where they found king Philip, to whom they recounted all their news, whereof the king was right joyous, and specially to see

the king of England his cousin, for he had never seen him before.

And when these tidings were spread abroad in the realm of France, then dukes, earls and other lords apparelled them in their best manner; and the king of France wrote his letters to king Charles of Bohemia his cousin and to the king of Navarre, certifying them the day and time when the king of England should be with him, desiring them to be with him at the same day: and so they came thither with great array. Then was it counselled the king of France that he should receive the king of England at the city of Amiens. And there to make provision for his coming there was chambers, halls, hostelries and lodgings made ready and apparelled to receive them all and their company, and also for the duke of Burgoyne, the duke of Bourbon, the duke of Lorraine and sir John of Artois. There was purveyance for a thousand horse, and for six hundred horse that should come with the king of England.

The young king of England forgat not the voyage that he had to do into France; and so he apparelled for him and his company well and sufficiently: and there departed out of England in his company two bishops, beside the bishop of London, and four earls, the lord Henry earl of Derby, his cousin-german, son to sir Thomas earl of Lancaster with the wry neck, the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Warwick and the earl of Hereford, and six barons, the lord Raynold Cobham, the lord Thomas Wake, marshal of England, the lord Percy, the lord Manne[1] and the lord Mowbray, and more than forty other knights; so that the king and his company were about a thousand horse: and the king was two days in passing between Dover and Wissant. Then the king and his company rode to Boulogne, and there tarried one day. This was about the mid of August the year of our Lord God a thousand three hundred and twenty-nine.

And anon the tidings came to king Philip of France how the king of England was at Boulogne. Then the king of France sent his constable with great plenty of knights to the king of England, who as then was at Montreuil by the sea-side,[1] and there was great tokens of love and good cheer made on both parties. Then the king of England rode forth with all his rout, and in his company the constable of France; and he rode so long that they came to the city of Amiens, whereas king Philip, and the king of Bohemia, the king of Mallorca and the king of Navarre were ready apparelled to receive the king of England, with many other dukes, earls and great barons; for there was all the twelve peers of France ready to feast and make cheer to the king of England, and to be there peaceably to bear witness of the king of England's homage. There was the king of England nobly received, and thus these kings and other princes tarried at Amiens the space of fifteen days.

And in the mean time there were many words and ordinances devised; but as far as I could know, king Edward of England made his homage to the king of France all only by word, and not putting his hands between the king of France hands, nor none other prince nor prelate limited for him: nor the king of England would not proceed any further in doing any more concerning his homage, but rather he was determined to return again into England. And there was read openly the privileges of ancient time granted, [in] the which was declared in what manner the king should do his homage, and how and in what wise he should do service to the king of France. Then the king of France said, 'Cousin, we will not deceive you: this that ye have done pleaseth us right well as for this present time, till such time as ye be returned again into your realm, and that ye have seen under the seals of your predecessors how and in what wise ye should do.'

And so thus the king of England took his leave and departed from the king of France right amiably, and of all other princes that was there, and returned again into England, and laboured so long that he came to Windsor, where his queen received him right joyously, and demanded tidings of king Philip her uncle and of her lineage of France. The king shewed her all that he knew, and of the great cheer and honour that he had there, and said, in his mind

[1] This name, which the translator writes 'Manny,' perhaps stands for 'Mohun.'

[1] Montreuil-sur-Mer.

there was no realm could be compared to the realm of France.

And then within a space after the king of France sent into England of his special council the bishop of Chartres and the bishop of Beauvais, the lord Louis of Clermont, the duke of Bourbon, the earl of Harcourt and the earl of Tancarville, with divers other knights and clerks, to the council of England, the which was then holden at London, for the performance of the king of England's homage, as ye have heard before. And also the king of England and his council had well overseen the manner and form, how his ancient predecessors had done their homage for the duchy of Acquitaine. There were many as then in England that murmured and said how the king their lord was nearer by true succession of heritage to the crown of France than Philip of Valois, who was as then king of France. Howbeit, the king and his council would not know it nor speak thereof as at that time. Thus was there great assembly, and much ado how this homage should be performed. These ambassadors tarried still in England all that winter, till it was the month of May following, or they had answer definitive. Howbeit, finally the king of England by the advice of his council and on the sight of his privileges, whereunto they gave great faith, was determined to write letters in the manner of patents sealed with his great seal, knowledging therein the homage that he ought to do to the king of France, the tenor and report of the which letters patents followeth :—

'EDWARD, by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Acquitaine, to them that these present letters shall see or hear send greeting. We would it be known that as we made homage at Amiens to the right excellent prince, our right dear cousin, Philip king of France, and there it was required by him that we should knowledge the said homage, and to make it to him expressly, promising to bear him faith and troth, the which we did not as then, because we were not informed of the truth; we made him homage by general words, in saying how we entered into his homage in like manner as our predecessors, dukes of Guyenne, in times past had entered into the homage of the king of France for that time being; and sith that time we have been well informed of the truth: therefore we knowledge by these presents that such homage as we have made in the city of Amiens to the king of France in general words was and ought to be understanded this word, liege man; and that to him we owe to bear faith and troth as duke of Acquitaine and peer of France, earl of Ponthieu and of Montreuil.[1] And to the intent in time coming that there should never be discord, for this cause we promise for us and our successors, dukes of Acquitaine, that this homage be made in this manner following. The king of England, duke of Acquitaine, holdeth his hands between the hands of the king of France, and he that shall address the words to the king of England, duke of Acquitaine, shall speak for the king of France in this manner: Ye shall become liege man to the king, my lord here present, as duke of Guyenne and peer of France, and to him promise to bear faith and troth: say "Yea." And the king of England, duke of Guyenne, and his successors, saith "Yea." And then the king of France receiveth the king of England, duke of Guyenne, to this said homage as liege man, with faith and troth spoken by mouth,[2] saving his right and all other. And furthermore when the said king entereth in homage to the king of France for the earldom of Ponthieu and

[1] The translator has made sad work here. It should be: 'We make it known hereby that when we did homage at Amiens to the excellent prince our dear lord and cousin Philip king of France, it was said and required of us on his part that we should acknowledge the said homage to be liege homage, and that in doing the said homage we should promise expressly to bear faith and loyalty to him; the which thing we did not as then, because we were not informed of the truth. And we did homage then to the king of France in general words, saying that we entered into his homage as our predecessors, dukes of Guyenne, had formerly entered into the homage of the kings of France that then were. And after being well informed of the truth, we acknowledge by these presents that the said homage . . . was, is and ought to be understanded for liege homage, and that we owe to bear faith and loyalty to him, as duke of Acquitaine and peer of France, and earl of Ponthieu and Montreuil. And we promise henceforth to bear faith and loyalty to him.' It is surprising that lord Berners, familiar as he must have been with the true names, should have allowed 'Ponthieu' to be printed as 'Poyters' throughout this document.

[2] 'A la foi et à la bouce,' that is, 'homage de foi et de bouche,' according to the usual forms.

of Montreuil, he shall put his hands between the hands of the king of France for the said earldom. And he that shall speak for the king of France shall address his words to the king and earl and say thus: Ye shall become liege man to the king of France, my lord here present, as earl of Ponthieu and Montreuil, and to him promise to bear faith and troth: say "Yea." And the king, earl of Ponthieu, saith "Yea." Then the king of France receiveth the king and earl to this said homage, by his faith and by his mouth, saving his right and all other. And after this manner it shall be done and renewed as often as homage should be done. And of that we shall deliver, and our successors, dukes of Guyenne, after these said homages made, letters patents sealed with our great seal, if the king of France require it: and beside that we promise in good faith to hold and to keep effectuously the peace and concord made between the kings of France and the kings of England, dukes of Guyenne,' etc.

These letters the lords of France brought to the king their lord, and the king caused them to be kept in his chancery.

CHAPTER XXV

How the lord sir Robert of Artois was chased out of the realm of France.

THE man in the world that most aided king Philip to attain to the crown of France was sir Robert earl of Artois, who was one of the most sagest and greatest lords in France, and of high lineage extraught, from the blood royal, and had to his wife [the] sister-german to the said king Philip, and always was his chief and special companion and lover in all his estates. And the space of three year all that was done in the realm of France was done by his advice, and without him nothing was done. And after it fortuned that this king Philip took a marvellous great displeasure and hatred against this nobleman sir Robert of Artois, for a plea that was moved before him whereof the earl of Artois was cause.[1] For he would have won his intent by the virtue of a letter that he laid forth the which was not true, as it was said: wherefore the king was in such displeasure, that if he had taken him in his ire, surely it had cost him his life without remedy. So this sir Robert was fain to void the realm of France and went to Namur, to the earl John his nephew. Then the king took the earl's wife and her two sons, who were his own nephews, John and Charles, and did put them in prison, and were kept straitly, and the king sware that they should never come out of prison as long as they lived: the king's mind would not be turned by no manner of means.

Then the king in his fury sent hastily to the bishop Raoul[1] of Liege, and desired him at his instance that he would defy and make war against the earl of Namur, without he would put out of his country sir Robert earl of Artois. And this bishop, who greatly loved the king of France and but little loved his neighbours, did as the king desired him. Then the earl of Namur sore against his will caused the earl of Artois to avoid his land.

Then this earl sir Robert went to the duke of Brabant, his cousin, who right joyously received him and did him great comfort: and as soon as the king of France knew that, he sent word to the duke that if he would sustain, maintain or suffer the earl of Artois in his country, he should have no greater enemy than he would be to him, and that he would make war against him and all his to the best of his power with all the realm of France. Then the duke sent the earl of Artois privily to Argenteul, to the intent to see what the king would do further in the case: and anon the king knew it, for he had spies in every corner.

The king had great despite that the duke should so deal with him; and within a brief space after the king purchased so by reason of his gold and silver, that the king of Bohemia, who was cousin-german to the duke of Brabant, and the bishop of Liege, the archbishop of Cologne, the duke of Gueldres, the marquis of Juliers, the earl

[1] This should be: 'Whereof the earldom of Artois was cause, the which the said sir Robert would have won by,' etc. The translator mistook 'la comté' for 'le comte,' as he has several times done elsewhere.

[1] Aoul (or Adolf) de la Marck.

of Bar, the lord of Loos, the lord Fauquemont and divers other lords were allied together all against the duke of Brabant, and defied him and entered with a great host into his country by Hesbaing, and so came to Hanut, and brent twice over the country whereas it pleased them. And the king of France sent with them the earl of Eu his constable, with a great host of men of arms.

Then the earl William of Hainault sent his wife, sister to the king, and his brother sir John of Hainault lord Beaumont into France to treat for a peace and sufferance of war between the king and the duke of Brabant. And at last the king of France with much work consented thereto, upon condition that the duke should put himself utterly to abide the ordinance of the king of France and of his council in every matter that the king and all such as had defied him had against him; and also within a certain day limited to avoid out of his country the earl of Artois: and to make short, all this the duke did sore against his will.

CHAPTER XXVI

How king Edward of England took the town of Berwick against the Scots.

Ye have heard herebefore recited of the truce between England and Scotland for the space of three year. And so the space of one year they kept well the peace, so that in three hundred year before there was not so good peace kept. Howbeit king Edward of England was informed that the young king David of Scotland, who had wedded his sister, was seized of the town of Berwick, the which ought to appertain to the realm of England: for king Edward the first, his grandfather, had it in his possession peaceably. Also the king was informed that the realm of Scotland should hold in chief of the crown of England, and how the young king of Scots had not done as then his homage. Wherefore the king of England sent his ambassade to the king of Scots, desiring him to leave his hands off the town of Berwick, for it pertained to his heritage; for kings of England his predecessors have been in possession thereof: and also they summoned the king of Scots to come to the king of England, to do his homage for the realm of Scotland.

Then the king of Scots took counsel how to answer this matter; and finally the king answered the English ambassadors and said, 'Sirs, both I and all the nobles of my realm marvel greatly of that ye have required us to do: for we find not anciently that the realm of Scotland should anything be bound or be subject to the realm of England, neither by homage or any other ways: nor the king of noble memory our father would never do homage to the kings of England, for any war that was made unto him by any of them: no more in like wise I am in will to do. And also king Robert our father conquered the town of Berwick by force of arms against king Edward, father to the king your master that now is; and so my father held it all the days of his life as his good heritage: and so in like manner we think to do to the best of our power. Howbeit, lords, we require you to be means to the king your master, whose sister we have married, that he will suffer us peaceably to enjoy our franchises and rights, as his ancestors have done herebefore, and to let us enjoy that our father hath won and kept it peaceably all his life days: and desire the king your master that he would not believe any evil counsel given him to the contrary. For if there were any other prince that would do us wrong, he should aid, succour and defend us for the love of his sister, whom we have married.' Then these ambassadors answered and said, 'Sir, we have well understanded your answer. We shall shew it to the king our lord in like manner as ye have said.' And so took their leave and returned into England to the king, with the which answer the king of England was nothing content. Then he summoned a parliament to be holden at Westminster, whereas all the nobles and wise men of the realm were assembled, to determine what should be best to be done in this matter.

And in this meantime sir Robert earl of Artois came into England, disguised like a merchant, and the king received him right joyously and retained him as one of his council, and to him assigned the earldom of Richmond.

And when the day of the parliament approached, and that all the nobles of the land were assembled about London, then

the king caused to be shewed the message, and how he had written to the king of Scots, and of the answer of the same king. Wherefore the king desired all the nobles of his realm, that they would give him such counsel as should appertain to the saving of his honour and right. And when they were all assembled in council, they thought that the king might no longer bear by his honour the injuries and wrongs that the king of Scots did him daily: and so they reported their advice to the king, exhorting him to provide for his force and strength of men of war, to attain thereby the town of Berwick, and to enter into the realm of Scotland in such wise, that he should constrain the king of the Scots to be joyful to come and do his homage to him. And so all the nobles and commons of the realm of England said they would gladly and willingly go with him in that journey. And of their good wills the king thanked them greatly, and desired them to be ready apparelled at a day assigned, and to assemble together at Newcastle-upon-Tyne. And then every man went home and prepared for that journey.

Then the king sent again other ambassadors to the king of Scots his brother-in-law, sufficiently to summon him; and if he would not be otherwise advised, then the king gave them full authority to defy him. And so the day of the assembly of the king's host approached, at the which day the king of England and all his host arrived at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and there tarried three days for the residue of his host that was coming after. And on the fourth day he departed with all his host toward Scotland, and passed through the lands of the lord Percy and of the lord Neville, who were two great lords in Northumberland, and marched on the Scots. And in like wise so did the lord Ros and the lord Lucy and the lord Mowbray. Then the king and all his host drew toward the city of Berwick, for the king of Scotland made no other answer to these second messengers, but as he did to the first; wherefore he was openly defied and summoned.

And so the king of England and his host entered into Scotland; for he was counselled that he should not tarry at siege at Berwick, but to ride forth and to burn the country, as his grandfather did. And so he did; in which journey he wasted and destroyed all the plain country of Scotland, and exiled divers towns that were closed with dikes and with pales, and took the strong castle of Edinburgh and set therein a garrison; and so passed the second river in Scotland, under Stirling, and ran over all the country thereabout to Scone, and destroyed the good town of Dunfermline; but they did no evil to the abbey, for the king of England commanded that no hurt should be done thereto: and so the king conquered all the country to Dundee and to Dumbarton, a strong castle standing on the marches against the wild Scots, whereas the king of Scots and the queen his wife were withdrawn unto for surety. For there were no Scots that would appear afore the Englishmen; for they were all drawn into the forests of Gedworth, the which were inhabitable, and specially for them that knew not the country; wherein all the Scots were, and all their goods, and so they set but a little by all the remnant. And it was no marvel though they were thus driven, for the king their lord was but fifteen year of age, and the earl of Moray was but young,[1] and the nephew of William Douglas that was slain in Spain was also of the same age; so as at that time the realm of Scotland was dispurveyed of good captains.

And when the king of England had run over all the plain country of Scotland and tarried there the space of six months, and saw that none would come against him, then he garnished divers castles that he had won, and thought by them to make war to all the other. Then he withdrew fair and easily toward Berwick, and in his returning he won the castle of Dalkeith, pertaining to the heritage of the earl Douglas. It was a five leagues from Edinburgh, and therein the king set good captains and then rode small journeys till he came to Berwick, the which is at the entry of Scotland. And there the king laid round about his siege, and said he would never depart thence till he had won it, or else the king of Scots to come and to raise his siege perforce.

And within the town there were good men of war, set there by the king of Scots. Before this city there were many assaults and sore scrimmishes nigh every day; for they of the city would not yield them up simply, for always they thought to be res-

[1] 'Plus jeune,' says Froissart.

cued: howbeit there was no succour appeared. The Scots on mornings and nights made many skryes to trouble the host, but little hurt they did; for the English host was so well kept that the Scots could not enter but to their damage, and oftentimes lost of their men.

And when they of Berwick saw that no comfort nor aid came to them from any part, and that their victuals began to fail, and how they were enclosed both by water and by land, then they began to fall in a treaty with the king of England, and desired a truce to endure a month: and if within the month king David their lord, or some other for him, come not by force to raise the siege, then they to render up the city, their lives and goods saved, and that the soldiers within might safely go into their country without any damage.

This treaty was not lightly granted; for the king of England would have had them yielded simply, to have had his pleasure of some of them, because they had held so long against him: but finally he was content by the counsel of his lords. And also sir Robert of Artois did put thereto his pain, who had been all that journey with the king, and had shewed him always how he was next inheritor to the crown of France. He would gladly that the king should have made war into France, and aleft the wars of Scotland. So his words and others inclined greatly the king to condescend to the treaty of Berwick; so this truce and treaty was granted. Then they within the city sent word to their king in what case they stood; but for all that they could find no remedy to raise the siege; so the city was delivered up at the end of the month, and also the castle; and the marshals of the host took possession for the king of England, and the burgesses of the city came and did their fealty and homage to the king, and sware to hold of him. Then after the king entered with great solemnity and tarried there twelve days, and made a captain there called sir Edward Balliol: and when the king departed, he left with the said knight certain young knights and squires, to help to keep the lands that he had conquered of the Scots and the frontiers thereof.

Then the king and his people returned to London, and every man into their own countries; and the king went to Windsor, and sir Robert of Artois with him, who never ceased day nor night in shewing the king what right he had to the crown of France: and the king hearkened gladly to his words.

Thus in this season the king of England won the most part of the realm of Scotland, who had many expert knights about him: among other was sir William Montague and sir Walter of Manny; they were hardy knights and did many deeds of arms against the Scots. And the better to have their entry into Scotland, they fortified the bastide of Roxburgh and made it a strong castle, and sir William Montague did so well in all his enterprises that the king made him earl of Salisbury and married him nobly. And also the lord of Manny was made of the king's privy council and well advanced in the court.

True it was that some of the knights of Scotland did ever the annoyance they could to the Englishmen, and kept them in the wild country among marishes and great forests, so that no man could follow them. Some season the Englishmen followed them so near, that all day they scrimmished together; and in a scrimmish this said lord William Montague lost one of his eyen. In the said forest the old king Robert of Scotland did keep himself, when king Edward the first conquered nigh all Scotland, for he was so often chased that none durst lodge him in castle nor fortress for fear of the said king. And ever when the king was returned into England, then he would gather together again his people, and conquer towns, castles and fortresses, just to Berwick, some by battle and some by fair speech and love. And when the said king Edward heard thereof, then would he assemble his power and win the realm of Scotland again. Thus the chance went between these two foresaid kings. It was shewed me how that this king Robert won and lost his realm five times. So this continued till the said king Edward died at Berwick. And when he saw that he should die, he called before him his eldest son, who was king after him, and there before all the barons he caused him to swear that as soon as he were dead, that he should take his body and boil it in a cauldron, till the flesh departed clean from the bones; and then to bury the flesh and

keep still the bones; and that as often as the Scots should rebel against him, he should assemble his people against them, and carry with him the bones of his father: for he believed verily that if they had his bones with them, that the Scots should never attain any victory against them. The which thing was not accomplished; for when the king was dead, his son carried him to London, and there he was buried.[1]

CHAPTER XXVII

How king Philip of France and divers other kings made a croisey to the Holy Land.

Now let us return to our first purpose. When king Philip returned from Paris, after that the king of England had been there,[2] he went to visit his realm; and in his company the king of Bohemia and the king of Navarre, with many dukes, earls and lords, for he held great estate and noble. So he rode through Burgoyne till he came to Avignon, where he was honourably received of pope Benedict and of all the college, and did him as much honour as they could: and he tarried a long space there, and was lodged at Villeneuve without Avignon. In the same season the king of Aragon came to the court of Rome, and there was great cheer and feast made at their meeting, and there they were all the Lent season. And in that season tidings came to the court of Rome, that the enemies of God were greatly strong, and had nigh conquered all the realm of Rasse, and taken the king there, who was before become Christian, and made him to die by a great martyrdom; and also these infidels sore did menace Christendom. And on the Good Friday the pope himself preached of the passion of God before these kings, exhorting them to take on them the cross against the Saracens; so that the French king moved with pity took on him the cross, and desired the pope to agree thereto. The pope accorded and confirmed it with his absolution *de pena et culpa*, clean confessed and repentant.[3] So thus the king took on him this voyage, and with him the king Charles of Bohemia, the king of Navarre, and king Peter of Aragon, with many dukes, earls, barons, knights and squires, and also the cardinal of Naples, the cardinal of Perigord, the cardinal Blanc, and the cardinal of Ostia. And anon after, this croisey was preached and published abroad in the world, the which tidings was great pleasure to many lords, and specially to such as were in mind to dispend their season in deeds of arms.

When the French king and these said lords had been a certain space with the pope and had devised and confirmed their enterprise, then they departed from the court and took their leave; and the king of Aragon went into his country, and the French king in his company, till they came to Montpellier, and there tarried a certain space. And there king Philip of France made a peace between the king of Aragon and the king of Mallorca, and then returned into France by small journeys at great dispense, and visited his towns and castles, and passed through Auvergne, Berry, Beauce and Gatinois, and so came to Paris, whereas he was received with great feast and glory. At that time France was rich, in great puissance and in good rest and peace: there was no war spoken of.

This croisey thus taken by the French king, whereof he was as chief, there were divers lords in sundry countries by great devotion took on them the same. The French king made the greatest apparel for his voyage that ever was seen, either in Godfrey de Boulogne's days or any other, and had prepared in certain ports, as at Marseille, Aigues-Mortes, at Narbonne, and about Montpellier such a number of vessels, ships, carracks and galleys, sufficient to pass over sixty thousand men of arms with all their purveyances, well provided of biscuit, wine, fresh water, salt flesh, and all other things necessary for men of war, to endure three years, if need were.

And the French king sent certain messengers to the king of Hungary, desiring him to be ready and to open the passages

[1] Froissart adds: 'Wherefore mischief befel him after, as ye have heard.'

[2] The original does not imply that the king of England had visited Paris.

[3] 'Then the pope granted and confirmed it, with condition that he would absolve from pain and fault those who should truly confess themselves and repent, the king of France first and also all those who should go with him on this holy voyage.'

of his country to receive the pilgrims of God. The king of Hungary was glad thereof, and said how he was all ready. In like wise the French king sent to the king of Cyprus and also to the king of Sicily and to the Venetians. In like manner they answered that they were ready to obey, and the Genoways and all they on the river of Genes.[1] And also the king sent the great prior of France to the isle of Rhodes to prepare all things necessary in those quarters, and they of the Rhodes accorded with the Venetians to provide things necessary in the isle of Crete, the which was under their seignory. Briefly, every country was ready prepared to receive the pilgrims of God. There were more than three hundred thousand persons that took on them the cross to go in this noble voyage over the sea.

CHAPTER XXVIII

How king Edward was counselled to make war against the French king.

In this season, when this croisey was in great forwardness, for there was no speaking but thereof, sir Robert of Artois was as then in England, banished out of France, and was ever about king Edward: and always he counselled him to defy the French king, who kept his heritages from him wrongfully: of the which matter the king oftentimes counselled with them of his secret council, for gladly he would have had his right, an if he wist how; and also he thought that if he should demand his right and it refused, what he might do then to amend it; for if he should then sit still and do not his devoir to recover his right, he should be more blamed than before. Yet he thought it were better to speak not thereof, for he saw well that by the puissance of his realm it would be hard for him to subdue the great realm of France, without help of some other great lords either of the Empire or in other places for his money.

The king oftentimes desired counsel of his chief and special friends and councillors. Finally, his councillors answered him and said, 'Sir, the matter is so weighty and of so high an enterprise, that we dare not speak therein, nor give you any counsel. But, sir, this we would counsel you to do: send sufficient messengers, well informed of your intention, to the earl of Hainault, whose daughter ye have married, and to sir John of Hainault his brother, who hath valiantly served you at all times; and desire them by way of love that they would counsel you in this matter: for they know better what pertaineth to such a matter than we do. And, sir, if they agree to your intent, then will they counsel you what friends ye may best make.' The king was content with this answer, and desired the bishop of Lincoln to take on him this message, and with him two bannerets and two doctors. They made them ready and took shipping and arrived at Dunkirk, and rode through Flanders till they came to Valenciennes, where they found the earl lying in his bed sick of the gout, and with him sir John his brother. They were greatly feasted, and declared the cause of their coming, and shewed all the reasons and doubts that the king their master had made. Then the earl said, 'As help me God, if the king's mind might be brought to pass, I would be right glad thereof: for I had rather the wealth of him that hath married my daughter than of him that never did nothing for me, though I have married his sister; and also he did let the marriage of the young duke of Brabant, who should have married one of my daughters: wherefore I shall not fail to aid my dear and well-beloved son the king of England. I shall give him counsel and aid to the best of my power, and so shall do John my brother, who hath served him or this. Howbeit he must have more help than ours; for Hainault is but a small country as to the regard of the realm of France, and England is far off to aid us.' Then the bishop said, 'Sir, we thank you in our master's behalf of the comfort that ye give us: sir, we desire you to give our master counsel, what friends he were best to labour unto to aid him.' 'Surely,' said the earl, 'I cannot devise a more puissant prince to aid him than the duke of Brabant, who is his cousin-german, and also the bishop of Liege, the duke of Gueldres, who hath his sister to his wife, the archbishop of Cologne, the marquis

[1] That is, the Riviera of Genoa.

of Juliers, sir Arnold de Baquehem and the lord of Fauquemont. These lords be they that may make most men of war in short space of any that I know: they are good men of war, they may well make ten thousand men of war, so they have wages thereafter: they are people that would gladly win advantage. If it were so that the king my son, your master, might get these lords to be on his part, and so to come into these parts, he might well go over the water of Oise and seek out king Philip to fight with him.' With this answer these ambassadors returned into England to the king and reported all that they had done, whereof the king had great joy and was well comforted.

These tidings came into France and multiplied little and little, so that king Philip's enterprise of the said croisey began to assuage and wear cold, and he countermanded his officers to cease of making of any further provision, till he knew more what king Edward would do. Then king Edward ordained ten bannerets and forty other knights and sent them over the sea to Valenciennes, and the bishop of Lincoln with them, to the intent to treat with the lords of the Empire, such as the earl of Hainault had named. When they were come to Valenciennes, each of them kept a great estate and port, and spared nothing, no more than if the king of England had been there in proper person, whereby they did get great renown and praise. They had with them young bachelors, who had each of them one of their eyen closed with a piece of silk: it was said how they had made a vow among the ladies of their country, that they would not see but with one eye, till they had done some deeds of arms in France: howbeit they would not be known thereof.

And when they had been well feasted at Valenciennes, then the bishop of Lincoln and part of his company went to the duke of Brabant, who feasted them greatly and agreed and promised to sustain the king of England and all his company in his country, so that he might go and come armed and unarmed, at his pleasure, and to give him the best counsel he could. And also, if the king of England would defy the French king, that he would do the same, and enter into the country of France with men of war, so that their wages might be borne, to the number of a thousand men of arms.

Thus then the lords returned again to Valenciennes, and did so much by messengers and by promise of gold and silver, that the duke of Gueldres, who was the king's brother-in-law, and the marquis of Juliers, the archbishop of Cologne and Waleran his brother, and the lord of Fauquemont came to Valenciennes to speak with these lords of England before the earl of Hainault and the lord John his brother. And by the means of a great sum of florins, that each of them should have for themselves and for their men, they made promise to defy the French king and to go with the king of England when it pleased him, with a certain men of war; promising also to get other lords to take their part for wages, such as be beyond the river of Rhine and be able to bring good numbers of men of war. Then the lords of Almaine took their leave and returned into their own countries, and the Englishmen tarried still with the earl of Hainault, and sent certain messengers to the bishop of Liege and would gladly have had him on their party; but he would never be against the French king, for he was become his man and entered into his fealty. King Charles of Bohemia was not desired, for they knew well he was so firmly joined with the French king by reason of the marriage of John duke of Normandy, who had to wife the king's daughter, whereby they knew well he would do nothing against the French king.

CHAPTER XXIX

How that Jaques d'Arteveld governed all Flanders.

IN this season there was great discord between the earl of Flanders and the Flemings: for they would not obey him, nor he durst not abide in Flanders but in great peril. And in the town of Gaunt there was a man, a maker of honey,[1] called

[1] 'Qui avoit esté brasseur de miel,' 'who had been a brewer of mead.' It seems probable that Jaques d'Arteveld, who belonged to the craft of weavers and exercised like his father the distinguished trade of a cloth-merchant, inscribed himself as 'brasseur' only in order to conciliate the support of the 'petits métiers.'

Jaques d'Arteveld; he was entered into such fortune and grace of the people, that all thing was done that he devised: he might command what he would through all Flanders, for there was none, though he were never so great, that durst disobey his commandment. He had always going with him up and down in Gaunt sixty or four-score varlets armed, and among them there were three or four that knew the secretness of his mind, so that if he met a person that he hated or had him in suspicion, incontinent he was slain: for he had commanded his secret varlets, that whensoever he met any person and made such a sign to them, that incontinent they should slay him, whatsoever he were, without any words or reasoning; and by that means he made many to be slain, whereby he was so doubted, that none durst speak against anything that he would have done, so that every man was glad to make him good cheer. And these varlets, when they had brought him home to his house, then they should go to dinner where they list, and after dinner return again into the street before his lodging, and there abide till he come out, and to wait on him till supper-time. These soldiers had each of them four groats Flemish by the day, and were truly paid weekly. Thus he had in every town soldiers and servants at his wages, ready to do his commandment and to espy if there were any person that would rebel against his mind, and to inform him thereof: and as soon as he knew any such, he would never cease till they were banished or slain without respite. All such great men, as knights, squires or burgesses of good towns, as he thought favourable to the earl in any manner, he banished them out of Flanders, and would levy the moiety of their lands to his own use and the other half to their wives and children. Such as were banished, of whom there were a great number, abode at Saint-Omer's.[1]

To speak properly, there was never in Flanders nor in none other country, prince, duke nor other that ruled a country so peaceably so long as this Jaques d'Arteveld did rule Flanders. He levied the rents, winages and rights that pertained to the earl throughout all Flanders, and spended all at his pleasure without any account making. And when he would say that he lacked money, they believed him, and so it behoved them to do, for none durst say against him: when he would borrow anything of any burgess, there was none durst say him nay.

These English ambassadors kept an honourable estate at the town of Valenciennes: they thought it should be a great comfort to the king their lord, if they might get the Flemings to take their part. Then they took counsel of the earl in that matter, and he answered that truly it should be one of the greatest aids that they could have; but, he said, he thought their labour in that behalf could not prevail without they get first the good-will of Jaques d'Arteveld. Then they said they would assay what they could do; and so thereupon they departed from Valenciennes and went into Flanders, and departed into three or four companies; some went to Bruges, some to Ypres, and some to Gaunt: and they all kept such port and made so large dispense, that it seemed that silver and gold fell out of their hands; and made many great promises and offers to them that they spake to for that matter. And the bishop with a certain with him went to Gaunt, and he did so much, what with fair words and otherwise, that he gat the accord of Jaques d'Arteveld and did get great grace in the town, and specially of an old knight that dwelt in Gaunt, who was there right well beloved, called the lord Courtrisien,[1] a knight banneret, and was reputed for a hardy knight and had always served truly his lords. This knight did much honour to the Englishmen, as a valiant knight ought to do to all strangers. Of this he was accused to the French king, who incontinent sent a strait commandment to the earl of Flanders, that he should send for this said knight, and as soon as he had him, to strike off his head. The earl, who durst not break the king's commandment, did so much that this knight came to him at his sending, as he that thought none evil: and incontinent he was taken, and his head stricken off; whereof many folks were sorry and were sore displeased with the earl, for he was well beloved with the lords of the country.

[1] The original says 'abode at Saint-Omer for the most part and were called *les avoüés* or *les outre-avoüés*.'

[1] Sohier de Courtray.

These English lords did so much that Jaques d'Arteveld divers times had together the counsels of the good towns[1] to speak of the besynes that these lords of England desired, and of the franchises and amities that they offered them in the king of England's behalf. So often they spake of this matter, that finally they agreed that the king of England might come and go into Flanders at his pleasure. Howbeit they said they were so sore bound to the French king, that they might not enter into the realm of France to make any war, without they should forfeit a great sum of florins: and so they desired that they would be content with this answer as at that time. The English lords returned again to Valenciennes with great joy. Oftentimes they sent word to the king of England how they sped, and ever he sent them gold and silver to bear their charges and to give to the lords of Almaine, who desired nothing else.

In this season the noble earl of Hainault died, the sixth day of June the year of our Lord MCCCXXXVII., and was buried at the Friars in Valenciennes. The bishop of Cambray sang the mass: there were many dukes, earls and barons, for he was well beloved and honoured of all people in his life days. After his decease the lord William his son entered into the counties of Hainault, Holland and Zealand, who had to wife the daughter of duke John of Brabant, and had to name Jahane. She was endowed with the land of Binche, the which was a right fair heritage and a profitable; and the lady Jahane her mother went to Fontenelles on l'Escault, and there used the residue of her life in great devotion in the abbey there, and did many good deeds.

CHAPTER XXX

How certain nobles of Flanders kept the isle of Cadsand against the Englishmen.

Of all these ordinances and comforts that the king of England had got on that side of the sea, king Philip of France was well informed of all the matter, and would gladly have had the Flemings on his part. But Jaques d'Arteveld had so surmounted all manner of people in Flanders, that none durst say against his opinion; nor the earl himself durst not well abide in the country, for he had sent the countess his wife and Louis his son into France for doubt of the Flemings.

In this season there were in the isle of Cadsand certain knights and squires of Flanders in garrison, as sir Ducre[1] of Halewyn, sir John de Rhodes and the sons of Le Trief; they kept that passage against the Englishmen and made covert war, whereof the English lords being in Hainault were well informed, and how that if they went that way homeward into England, they should be met withal to their displeasure: wherefore they were not well assured. Howbeit they rode and went about the country at their pleasure; all was by the comfort of Jaques d'Arteveld, for he supported and honoured them as much as he might. And after these lords went to Dordrecht in Holland, and there they took shipping to eschew the passage of Cadsand, whereas the garrison was laid for them by the commandment of the French king. So these English lords came again into England, as privily as they could, and come to the king, who was right joyous of their coming; and when he heard of the garrison of Cadsand, he said he would provide for them shortly; and anon after he ordained the earl of Derby, sir Walter Manny and divers other knights and squires, with five hundred men of arms and two thousand archers, and they took shipping at London in the river of Thames. The first tide they went to Gravesend, the next day to Margate, and at the third tide they took the sea and sailed into Flanders. So they apparelled themselves and came near to Cadsand.

[1] 'Consuls des bonnes villes,' *i.e.* deputies representing them. It is the word used for the burgesses in the English parliament, see chap. 14.

CHAPTER XXXI

Of the battle of Cadsand between the Englishmen and the Frenchmen.

When the Englishmen saw the town of Cadsand before them, they made them ready and had wind and tide to serve them. And so in the name of God and Saint

[1] 'Ducre' seems to be a title. The person in question is called by Froissart 'Messires Jehans dit Ducres de Halluin.'

George they approached, and blew up their trumpets and set their archers before them and sailed toward the town. They of Cadsand saw well this great ship[1] approach: they knew well that they were Englishmen, and arranged them on the dikes and on the sands with their banners before them, and they made sixteen new knights. They were a five thousand men of war, good knights and squires: there was sir Guy of Flanders, a good and a sure knight, but he was a bastard, and he desired all his company to do well their devoir; and also there was sir Ducre de Halewyn, sir John de Rhodes, sir Giles Le Trief, sir Simon and sir John of Brugdam, who were there made knights, and Peter of Ingelmunster, with many other knights and squires, expert men of arms.

The Englishmen were desirous to assail and the Flemings to defend. The English archers began to shout and cried their cries, so that such as kept the passage were fain perforce to recule back. At this first assault there were divers sore hurt, and the Englishmen took land and came and fought hand to hand. The Flemings fought valiantly to defend the passage, and the Englishmen assaulted chivalrously. The earl of Derby was that day a good knight, and at the first assault he was so forward that he was stricken to the earth; and then the lord of Manny did him great comfort, for by pure feat of arms he relieved him up again and brought him out of peril, and cried, 'Lancaster for the earl of Derby!' Then they approached on every part; and many were hurt, but more of the Flemings than of the Englishmen, for the archers shot so wholly together,[2] that they did to the Flemings much damage.

Thus in the haven of Cadsand there was a sore battle: for the Flemings were good men of war, chosen out by the earl of Flanders to defend that passage against the Englishmen; and of England there was the earl of Derby, son to the earl Henry of Lancaster with the wry neck, the earl of Suffolk, sir Raynold Cobham, sir Louis Beauchamp, sir William Fitz-Warin, the lord Berkeley, sir Walter Manny and divers other. There was a sore battle and well foughten hand to hand: but finally the Flemings were put to the chase, and were slain more than three thousand, what in the haven, streets and houses. Sir Guy the bastard of Flanders was taken; and sir Ducre de Halewyn and sir John de Rhodes were slain, and the two brethren of Brugdam, and sir Giles de Le Trief and more than twenty-six knights and squires; and the town taken and pilled, and all the goods and prisoners put into the ships, and the town brent. And so thus the Englishmen returned into England without any damage. The king caused sir Guy bastard of Flanders to swear and to bind himself prisoner, and in the same year he became English, and did faith and homage to the king of England.

[1] 'Ceste grosse navire.' Froissart uses 'navire' in its older meaning, *i.e.* 'fleet.'

[2] 'Qui continuelment traioient,' 'who shot without ceasing.' It was the rapidity of the shooting that made the long-bow so fatal a weapon, as compared for example with the cross-bow. The author in his last revision says: 'The cross-bowmen shot as best they might, but the English set nothing by it, for archers are much more rapid in shooting than cross-bowmen.' Villani, speaking of the English archers, says that they shot three arrows for one of the cross-bows.

CHAPTER XXXII

How king Edward of England made great alliances in the Empire.

AFTER this discomfiture at Cadsand tidings thereof spread abroad in the country, and they of Flanders said that without reason and against their wills the earl of Flanders had laid there that garrison; and Jaques d'Arteveld would not it had been otherwise: and incontinent he sent messengers to king Edward, recommending him to his grace with all his heart, counselling him to come thither and to pass the sea, certifying him how the Flemings greatly desired to see him.

Thus the king of England made great purveyances: and when the winter was past, he took the sea, well accompanied with dukes,[1] earls and barons, and divers other knights, and arrived at the town of Antwerp, as then pertaining to the duke of Brabant. Thither came people from all parts to see him and the great estate that he kept. Then he sent to his cousin the duke of Brabant, and to the duke of

[1] The original has no 'dukes.'

Gueldres, to the marquis of Juliers, to the lord John of Hainault, and to all such as he trusted to have any comfort of, saying how he would gladly speak with them. They came all to Antwerp between Whitsuntide and the feast of Saint John. And when the king had well feasted them, he desired to know their minds, when they would begin that they had promised, requiring them to despatch the matter briefly. For that intent, he said, he was come thither and had all his men ready, and how it should be a great damage to him to defer the matter long. These lords had long counsel among them, and finally they said, 'Sir, our coming hither as now was more to see you than for anything else. We be not as now purveyed to give you a full answer: by your licence we shall return to our people and come again to you at your pleasure, and then give you so plain an answer that the matter shall not rest in us.'

Then they took day to come again a three weeks after the feast of Saint John. The king shewed them what charges he was at with so long abiding, thinking when he came thither that they had been full purveyed to have made him a plain answer, saying how that he would not return into England till he had a full answer. So thus these lords departed, and the king tarried in the abbey of Saint Bernard; and some of the English lords tarried still at Antwerp to keep the king company, and some of the other rode about the country in great dispense. The duke of Brabant went to Louvain, and there tarried a long time, and oftentimes he sent to the French king, desiring him to have no suspicions to him, and not to believe any evil information made of him; for by his will, he said, he would make none alliance nor covenant against him; saying also that the king of England was his cousin-german, wherefore he might not deny him to come into his country.

The day came that the king of England looked to have an answer of these lords: and they excused them, and said how they were ready and their men, so that the duke of Brabant would be ready for his part, saying that he was nearer than they, and that as soon as they might know that he were ready, they would not be behind, but at the beginning of the matter as soon as he. Then the king did so much that he spake again with the duke, and shewed him the answer of the other lords, desiring him by amity and lineage that no fault were found in him, saying how he perceived well that he was but cold in the matter, and that without he were quicker and did otherwise, he doubted he should lose thereby the aid of all the other lords of Almaine through his default. Then the duke said he would take counsel in the matter; and when he had long debated the matter, he said how he should be as ready as any other, but first he said he would speak again with the other lords: and he did send for them, desiring them to come to him whereas they pleased best. Then the day was appointed about the mid of August, and this council to be at Hal, because of the young earl of Hainault, who should also be there, and with him sir John of Hainault his uncle.

When these lords were all come to this parliament at Hal, they had long counsel together. Finally they said to the king of England: 'Sir, we see no cause why we should make defiance to the French king, all things considered, without ye can get the agreement of the emperor, and that he would command us to do so in his name. The emperor may well thus do, for of long time past there was a covenant sworn and sealed, that no king of France ought to take anything pertaining to the Empire; and this king Philip hath taken the castle of Crevecœur in Cambresis and the castle of Arleux in Palluel, and the city of Cambray;[1] wherefore the emperor hath good cause to defy him by us. Therefore, sir, if ye can get his accord, our honour shall be the more.' And the king said he would follow their counsel.

Then it was ordained that the marquis of Juliers should go to the emperor, and certain knights and clerks of the king's, and some of the council of the duke of Gueldres; but the duke of Brabant would send none from him, but he lent the castle of Louvain to the king of England to lie in. And the marquis and his company found the emperor at Nuremburg and shewed him the cause of their coming. And the lady Margaret of Hainault did all her pain to further forth the matter, whom

[1] A better reading is, 'and divers other heritages in the said county of Cambresis,' without any mention of the city of Cambray.

sir Louis of Bavaria, then emperor, had wedded. And there the marquis of Juliers was made an earl,[1] and the duke of Gueldres, who before was an earl, was then made a duke. And the emperor gave commission to four knights and to two doctors of his council to make king Edward of England his vicar-general throughout all the Empire, and thereof these said lords had instruments public, confirmed and sealed sufficiently by the emperor.

CHAPTER XXXIII

How king David of Scotland made alliance with king Philip of France.

IN this season the young king David of Scotland, who had lost the best part of his land and could not recover it out of the hold of the Englishmen, departed privily with a small company and the queen his wife with him, and took shipping and arrived at Boulogne, and so rode to Paris to king Philip, who greatly did feast him, and offered him of his castles to abide in and of his goods to dispend, on the condition that he should make no peace with the king of England without his counsel and agreement; for king Philip knew well how the king of England apparelled greatly to make him war. So thus the king there retained king David and the queen a long season, and they had all that they needed at his cost and charge; for out of Scotland came but little substance to maintain withal their estates. And the French king sent certain messengers into Scotland to the lords there, such as kept war against the Englishmen, offering them great aid and comfort, so that they would take no peace nor truce with the king of England, without it were by his agreement or by the accord of their own king, who had in like wise promised and sworn.

Then the lords of Scotland counselled together, and joyously they accorded to his request, and so sealed and sware with the king their lord. Thus this alliance was made between Scotland and France, the which endured a long season after: and the French king sent men of war into Scotland, to keep war against the Englishmen, as sir Arnold d'Audrehem, who was after marshal of France, and the Lord of Garencieres, and divers other knights and squires. The French king thought that the Scots should give so much ado to the realm of England, that the Englishmen should not come over the sea to annoy him.

[1] The translator follows an inferior reading. It should be: 'And then the marquis of Juliers was made marquis of Juliers, who before was earl of Juliers.'

CHAPTER XXXIV

How king Edward of England was made vicar-general of the Empire of Almaine.

WHEN the king of England and the other lords to him allied were departed from the parliament of Hal, the king went to Louvain and made ready the castle for his abiding, and sent for the queen to come thither, if it pleased her; for he sent her word he would not come thence of an whole year, and sent home certain of his knights to keep his land from the Scots. And the other lords and knights that were there still with the king rode about the realm of Flanders and Hainault, making great dispense, giving great rewards and jewels to the lords, ladies and damosels of the country, to get their good-wills. They did so much that they were greatly praised, and specially of the common people, because of the port and state that they kept.

And then about the feast of All Saints the marquis of Juliers and his company sent word to the king how they had sped; and the king sent to him that he should be with him about the feast of Saint Martin; and also he sent to the duke of Brabant, to know his mind where he would the parliament should be holden; and he answered at Herck in the county of Loos, near to his country. And then the king sent to all other of his allies that they should be there. And so the hall of the town was apparelled and hanged as though it had been the king's chamber; and there the king sate crowned with gold, five foot higher than any other, and there openly was read the letters of the emperor, by the which the king was made vicar-general and lieutenant for the emperor, and had power given him to make laws and to minister justice to every person in the

emperor's name, and to make money of gold and silver. The emperor also there commanded by his letters that all persons of his Empire and all other his subjects should obey to the king of England his vicar, as to himself, and to do him homage. And incontinent there was claim and answer made between parties, as before the emperor, and right and judgment given. Also there was renewed a judgment, and a statute affirmed, that had been made before in the emperor's court; and that was this, that whosoever would any hurt to other should make his defiance three days before his deed, and he that did otherwise should be reputed as an evil-doer and for a villain's deed. And when all this was done, the lords departed and took day that they should all appear before Cambray three weeks after the feast of Saint John; the which town was become French.

Thus they all departed and every man went to his own. And king Edward, as vicar of the Empire, went then to Louvain to the queen, who was newly come thither out of England with great nobleness and well accompanied with ladies and damosels of England. So there the king and the queen kept their house right honourably all that winter, and caused money, gold and silver, to be made at Antwerp, great plenty. Yet for all this the duke of Brabant left not, but with great diligence sent often messengers to king Philip, as the lord Leon of Crainhem, his chief counsellor, with divers other, ever to excuse him; for the which cause this knight was oftentimes sent, and at the last abode still in the French court with the king, to the intent always to excuse him against all informations that might be made of him: the which knight did all his devoir in that behalf.

CHAPTER XXXV

How king Edward and all his allies did defy the French king.

THUS the winter passed and summer came, and the feast of Saint John Baptist approached; and the lords of England and of Almaine apparelled themselves to accomplish their enterprise: and the French king wrought as much as he could to the contrary, for he knew much of their intents. King Edward made all his provision in England, and all his men of war, to be ready to pass the sea incontinent after the feast of Saint John; and so they did. Then the king went to Vilvorde, and there made his company to be lodged, as many as might in the town and the other without along on the river side in tents and pavilions: and there he tarried from Maudlin-tide till our Lady day in September,[1] abiding weekly for the lords of the Empire, and specially for the duke of Brabant, on whose coming all the other abode. And when the king of England saw how they came not, he sent great messengers to each of them, summoning them to come as they had promised, and to meet with him at Mechlin on Saint Giles' day, and then to show him why they had tarried so long.

Thus king Edward lay at Vilvorde and kept daily at his cost and charge well to the number of sixteen hundred men of arms, all come from the other side of the sea, and ten thousand archers, beside all other provisions; the which was a marvellous great charge, beside the great rewards that he had given to the lords, and beside the great armies that he had on the sea. The French king on his part had set Genoways, Normans, Bretons, Picards and Spaniards to be ready on the sea to enter into England as soon as the war were opened.

These lords of Almaine at the king of England's summons came to Mechlin and with much business. Finally they accorded that the king of England might well set forward within fifteen days after; and to the intent that their war should be the more laudable, they agreed to send their defiances to the French king—first the king of England, the duke of Gueldres, the marquis of Juliers, sir Robert d'Artois, sir John of Hainault, the marquis of Meissen, the marquis of Brandebourg, the lord of Fauquemont, sir Arnold of Baquehem, the archbishop of Cologne, sir Waleran his brother, and all other lords of the Empire. These defiances were written and sealed by all the lords except the duke of Brabant, who said he would do his deed by himself at time convenient. To bear these defiances into France was charged the bishop of Lincoln, who bare them to

[1] *i.e.* from 22nd July to 8th September.

Paris and did his message in such manner that he could not be reproached nor blamed: and so he had a safe-conduct to return again to his king, who was as then at Mechlin.

CHAPTER XXXVI

How sir Walter of Manny after the defiances declared made the first journey into France.

In the first week that the French king was thus defied, sir Walter Manny, as soon as he knew it, he gat to him a forty spears and rode through Brabant night and day, till he came into Hainault and entered into the wood of Blaton, as then not knowing what he should do. But he had shewed to some of them that were most priviest about him, how he had promised before ladies and damosels or he came out of England, that he would be the first that should enter into France, and to get either town or castle, and to do some deeds of arms. And then his intent was to ride to Mortagne and to get it if he might, the which pertained then to the realm of France: and so rode and passed the wood of Blaton, and came in a morning before the sun-rising to Mortagne, and by adventure he found the wicket of the gate open. Then he alighted with his company and entered in, and did set certain of his company to keep the gate, and so went into the high street with his pennon before him and came to the great tower, but the gate and wicket was fast closed. And when the watch of the castle heard the brunt and saw them, he blew his horn and cried, 'Treason! treason!' Then every man awoke and made them ready, and kept themselves still within the castle. Then sir Walter of Manny went back again and did set fire in the street joining to the castle, so that there were a threescore houses brent and the people sore afraid, for they weened all to have been taken. Then sir Walter and his company rode back straight to Condé and there passed the river of Hayne. Then they rode the way to Valenciennes and coasted on the right hand and came to Denain, and so went to the abbey, and so passed forth toward Bouchain, and did so much that the captain did let them pass through by the river.

Then they came to a strong castle pertaining to the bishop of Cambray, called the castle of Thun, the which suddenly they took, and the captain and his wife within. And the lord Manny made a good garrison and set therein a brother of his called sir Giles Manny, who afterward did much trouble to the city of Cambray, for the castle was within a league of the town. Then sir Walter Manny returned into Brabant to the king his sovereign lord, whom he found at Mechlin, and there shewed him all that he had done.

CHAPTER XXXVII

How that after the said defiances made the Frenchmen entered into England.

As soon as king Philip knew that he was defied of the king of England and of his allies, he retained men of war on every side, and sent the lord Galois de la Baume, a good knight of Savoy, into the city of Cambray, and made him captain there, and with him sir Thibalt de Moreuil and the lord of Roye, so that they were, what of Savoy and of France, a two hundred spears. And king Philip sent and seized into his hands the county of Ponthieu, the which the king of England had before by reason of his mother: and also he sent to divers lords of the Empire, as to the earl of Hainault his nephew, to the duke of Lorraine, the earl of Bar, the bishop of Metz, the bishop of Liege, desiring them that they would make no evil purchase against him or his realm. The most part of these lords answered how they would do nothing that should be against him; and the earl of Hainault wrote unto him right courteously how that he would be ready always to aid him and his realm against all men, but seeing the king of England maketh his war as vicar and lieutenant of the Empire, wherefore, he said, he might not refuse to him his country nor his comfort, because he held part of his country of the emperor.

And as soon as sir Hugh Quieret, sir Peter Behuchet[1] and Barbevaire, who lay

[1] The true name is Nicholas Behuchet: Froissart has probably confused him with his brother.

and kept the straits between England and France with a great navy, knew that the war was open, they came on a Sunday in the forenoon to the haven of Hampton, while the people were at mass: and the Normans, Picards and Spaniards entered into the town and robbed and pilled the town, and slew divers, and defoiled maidens and enforced wives, and charged their vessels with the pillage, and so entered again into their ships. And when the tide came, they disanchored and sailed to Normandy and came to Dieppe; and there departed and divided their booty and pillages.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

How king Edward besieged the city of Cambray.

THE king of England departed from Mechlin and went to Brussels, and all his people passed on by the town. Then came to the king a twenty thousand Almains, and the king sent and demanded of the duke of Brabant what was his intention, to go to Cambray or else to leave it. The duke answered and said that as soon as he knew that he had besieged Cambray, he would come thither with twelve hundred spears, of good men of war. Then the king went to Nivelle and there lay one night, and the next day to Mons in Hainault; and there he found the young earl of Hainault, who received him joyously. And ever sir Robert of Artois was about the king, as one of his privy council, and a sixteen or twenty other great lords and knights of England, the which were ever about the king for his honour and estate, and to counsel him in all his deeds. Also with him was the bishop of Lincoln, who was greatly renowned in this journey both in wisdom and in prowess. Thus the Englishmen passed forth and lodged abroad in the country, and found provision enough before them for their money; howbeit some paid truly and some not.

And when the king had tarried two days at Mons in Hainault, then he went to Valenciennes; and he and twelve with him entered into the town, and no more persons. And thither was come the earl of Hainault and sir John his uncle, and the lord of Fagnolle, the lord of Werchin, the lord of Havreth and divers other, who were about the earl their lord. And the king and the earl went hand in hand to the great hall, which was ready apparelled to receive them; and as they went up the stairs of the hall, the bishop of Lincoln, who was there present, spake out aloud and said: 'William bishop of Cambray, I admonish you as procurer to the king of England, vicar of the Empire of Rome, that ye open the gates of the city of Cambray; and if ye do not, ye shall forfeit your lands and we will enter by force.' There was none that answered to that matter, for the bishop was not there present. Then the bishop of Lincoln said again: 'Earl of Hainault, we admonish you in the name of the emperor, that ye come and serve the king of England his vicar before the city of Cambray with such number as ye ought to do.' The earl, who was there present, said, 'With a right good will I am ready.' So thus they entered into the hall, and the earl led the king into his chamber, and anon the supper was ready.

And the next day the king departed and went to Haspres, and there tarried two days and suffered all his men to pass forth; and so then went to Cambray and lodged at Iwuy, and besieged the city of Cambray round about, and daily his power increased. Thither came the young earl of Hainault in great array, and sir John his uncle, and they lodged near to the king, and the duke of Gueldres and his company, the marquis of Meissen, the earl of Mons, the earl of Salm, the lord of Fauquemont, sir Arnold of Bakehem, with all the other lords of the Empire, such as were allied with the king of England.

And the sixth day after the siege laid thither came the duke of Brabant with a nine hundred spears, beside other, and he lodged toward Ostrevant on the river of l'Escault, and made a bridge over the water to the intent to go from the one host to the other. And as soon as he was come, he sent to defy the French king, who was at Compiegne, whereof Leon of Crainhem, who had always before excused the duke, was so confused, that he would no more return again into Brabant, but died for sorrow in France.

This siege during there were many

skirmishes; and sir John of Hainault and the lord of Fauquemont rode ever lightly together, and brent and wasted sore the country of Cambresis. And on a day these lords, with the number of five hundred spears and a thousand of other men of war, came to the castle of Oisy in Cambresis, pertaining to the lord of Coucy, and made there a great assault: but they within did defend them so valiantly, that they had no damage; and so the said lords returned to their lodgings.

The earl of Hainault and his company on a Saturday came to the gate toward Saint-Quentin's, and made there a great assault. There was John Chandos, who was then but a squire, of whose prowess this book speaketh much, he cast himself between the barriers and the gate, and fought valiantly with a squire of Vermandois called John of Saint-Disier: there was goodly feats of arms done between them. And so the Hainowes conquered by force the bails, and there was entered the earl of Hainault and his marshals, sir Gerard of Werchin, sir Henry d'Antoing and other, who adventured them valiantly to advance their honour. And at another gate, called the gate Robert, was the lord Beaumont and the lord of Fauquemont, the lord d'Enghien, sir Walter of Manny, and their companies, made there a sore and a hard assault. But they of Cambray and the soldiers set there by the French king defended themselves and the city so valiantly, that the assaulters won nothing, but so returned right weary and well beaten to their lodgings. The young earl of Namur came thither to serve the young earl of Hainault by desire, and he said he would be on their part as long as they were in the Empire, but as soon as they entered into the realm of France, he said, he would forsake them and go and serve the French king, who had retained him. And in likewise so was the intent of the earl of Hainault, for he had commanded all his men on pain of death, that none of them should do anything within the realm of France.

In this season, while the king of England lay at siege before Cambray with forty thousand men of arms, and greatly constrained them by assaults, king Philip made his summons at Peronne in Vermandois. And the king of England counselled with sir Robert d'Artois, in whom he had great affiance, demanding of him whether it were better for him to enter into the realm of France and to encounter his adversary, or else to abide still before Cambray, till he had won it by force. The lords of England and such other of his council saw well how the city was strong and well furnished of men of war and victuals and artillery, and that it should be long to abide there till they had won the city, whereof they were in no certainty; and also they saw well how that winter approached near, and as yet had done no manner of enterprise, but lay at great expense. Then they counselled the king to set forward into the realm, whereas they might find more plenty of forage. This counsel was taken, and all the lords ordained to dislodge, and trussed tents and pavilions and all manner of harness, and so departed and rode toward Mount Saint-Martin, the which was at the entry of France. Thus they rode in good order, every lord among his own men; marshals of the English host were the earl of Northampton and Gloucester and the earl of Suffolk, and constable of England was the earl of Warwick. And so they passed there the river of l'Escault at their ease.

And when the earl of Hainault had accompanied the king unto the departing out of the Empire, and that he should pass the river and enter into the realm of France, then he took leave of the king and said how he would ride no further with him at that time, for king Philip his uncle had sent for him, and he would not have his evil will, but that he would go and serve him in France, as he had served the king of England in the Empire. So thus the earl of Hainault and the earl of Namur and their companies rode back to Quesnoy. And the earl of Hainault gave the most part of his company leave to depart, desiring them to be ready when he [should] send for them, for he said that shortly after he would go to king Philip his uncle.

CHAPTER XXXIX

How king Edward made sir Henry of Flanders knight.

As soon as king Edward had passed the river of l'Escault and was entered into the realm of France, he called to him sir Henry of Flanders, who was as then a young squire, and there he made him knight, and gave him yearly two hundred pounds sterling, sufficiently assigned him in England. Then the king went and lodged in the abbey of Mount Saint-Martin, and there tarried two days, and his people abroad in the country; and the duke of Brabant was lodged in the abbey of Vaucelles.

When the French king at Compiegne heard these tidings, then he enforced his summons, and sent the earl of Eu and of Guines his constable to Saint-Quentin's, to keep the town and frontiers there against his enemies, and sent the lord of Coucy into his own country, and the lord of Ham to his, and sent many men of arms to Guise and to Ribemont, to Bohain, and the fortresses joining to the entry of the realm; and so went himself toward Peronne.

In the mean season that king Edward lay at the abbey of Mount Saint-Martin, his men ran abroad in the country to Bapaume and near to Peronne and to Saint-Quentin's. They found the country plentiful, for there had been no war of a long season; and so it fortuned that sir Henry of Flanders, to advance his body and to increase his honour, [went] on a day with other knights, whereof sir John of Hainault was chief, and with him the lord of Fauquemont, the lord of Berg, the lord of Bautersem, the lord of Cuyk and divers other to the number of five hundred: and they avised a town thereby, called Honnecourt, wherein much people were gathered on trust of the fortresses, and therein they had conveyed all their goods; and there had been sir Arnold of Baquehem and sir William of Duvenvoorde and their company, but they attained nothing there.

There was at this Honnecourt an abbot of great wisdom and hardiness; and he caused to be made without the town a barrier overthwart the street, like a grate, not past half a foot wide every grate, and he made great provisions of stones and quicklime, and men ready to defend the place. And these lords, when they came thither, they lighted afoot and entered to the barrier with their glaives in their hands, and there began a sore assault, and they within valiantly defended themselves. There was the abbot himself, who received and gave many great strokes: there was a fierce assault: they within cast down stones, pieces of timber, pots full of chalk,[1] and did much hurt to the assailers: and sir Henry of Flanders, who held his glaive in his hands, and gave therewith great strokes. At the last the abbot took the glaive in his hands and drew it so to him, that at last he set hands on sir Henry's arm, and drew it so sore that he pulled out his arm at the barrier to the shoulder and held him at a great advantage, for an the barrier had been wide enough, he had drawn him through; but sir Henry would not let his weapon go for saving of his honour. Then the other knights strake at the abbot to rescue their fellow: so this wrastling endured a long space, but finally the knight was rescued, but his glaive abode with the abbot. And on a day, when I wrote this book, as I passed by I was shewed the glaive by the monks there, that kept it for a treasure.[2]

So this said day Honnecourt was sore assailed, the which endured till it was night, and divers were slain and sore hurt. Sir John of Hainault lost there a knight of Holland called sir Herman. When the Flemings, Hainowes, Englishmen and Almains saw the fierce wills of them within, and saw how they could get nothing there, withdrew themselves against night. And the next day on the morning the king departed from Mount Saint-Martin, commanding that no person should do any hurt to the abbey, the which commandment was kept. And so then they entered into Vermandois, and took that day their

[1] 'Chaulx,' *i.e.* 'quicklime.'

[2] The fuller text has it as follows: 'But his glaive abode with the abbot by reason of his great prowess, who kept it many years after; and it is still, as I believe, in the hall of Honnecourt. It was there assuredly at the time when I wrote this book, and it was shewed to me on a day when I passed that way, and I had relation made to me of the truth of the matter and of the manner how the assault was made; and the monks kept it still as a great ornament.'

lodging betimes on the mount Saint-Quentin in good order of battle: and they of Saint-Quentin's might well see them, howbeit they had no desire to issue out of their town. The foreriders came running to the barriers skirmishing, and the host tarried still on the mount till the next day. Then the lords took counsel what way they should draw, and by the advice of the duke of Brabant they took the way to Thierache, for that way their provision came daily to them, and were determined that if king Philip did follow them, as they supposed he would do, that then they would abide him in the plain field and give him battle.

Thus they went forth in three great battles: the marshals and the Almains had the first, the king of England in the middleward, and the duke of Brabant in the rearward. Thus they rode forth, brenning and pilling the country, a three or four leagues a day, and ever took their lodging betimes. And a company of Englishmen and Almains passed the river of Somme by the abbey of Vermand, and wasted the country all about: another company, whereof sir John of Hainault, the lord of Fauquemont and sir Arnold of Baquehem were chief, rode to Origny-Saint-Benoiste, a good town, but it was but easily closed: incontinent it was taken by assault and robbed, and an abbey of ladies violated, and the town brent. Then they departed and rode toward Guise and Ribemont, and the king of England lodged at Boheries, and there tarried a day, and his men ran abroad and destroyed the country.

Then the king took the way to the Flamengerie,[1] to come to Leschelle in Thierache; and the marshals and the bishop of Lincoln with a five hundred spears passed the river of Oise and entered into Laonnois, toward the land of the lord of Coucy, and brent Saint-Gobain and the town of Marle, and on a night lodged in the valley beside Laon: and the next day they drew again to their host, for they knew by some of their prisoners that the French king was come to Saint-Quentin's with a hundred thousand men, and there to pass the river of Somme. So these lords in their returning brent a good town called Crecy and divers other towns and hamlets thereabout.

Now let us speak of sir John of Hainault and his company, who were a five hundred spears. He came to Guise and brent all the town and beat down the mills: and within the fortress was the lady Jane, his own daughter, wife to the earl of Blois called Louis: she desired her father to spare the heritage of the earl his son-in-law, but for all that sir John of Hainault would not spare his enterprise. And so then he returned again to the king, who was lodged in the abbey of Fervaques, and ever his people ran over the country.

And the lord of Fauquemont with a hundred spears came to Nouvion in Thierache, a great town; and the men of the town were fled into a great wood and had all their goods with them, and had fortified the wood with felling of timber about them. The Almains rode thither, and there met with them sir Arnold of Baquehem and his company, and so there they assailed them in the wood, who defended them as well as they might; but finally they were conquered and put to flight; and there were slain and sore hurt more than forty, and lost all that they had. Thus the country was over-ridden, for they did what they list.

CHAPTER XL

How the king of England and the French king took day of journey to fight together.

THE king of England departed from Fervaques and went to Montreuil, and there lodged a night, and the next day he went to the Flamengerie and made all his men to lodge near about him, whereof he had more than forty thousand: and there he was counselled to abide king Philip and to fight with him.

The French king departed from Saint-Quentin's, and daily men came to him from all parts, and so came to Buironfosse. There the king tarried, and said how he would not go thence till he had fought with the king of England and with his allies, seeing they were within two leagues together. And when the earl of Hainault, who was at Quesnoy ready purveyed of

[1] La Flamengerie, dep. Aisne.

men of war, knew that the French king was at Buironfosse thinking there to give battle to the Englishmen, he rode forth till he came to the French host with five hundred spears, and presented himself to the king his uncle, who made him but small cheer, because he had been with his adversary before Cambray. Howbeit the earl excused himself so sagely, that the king and his council were well content. And it was ordained by the marshals, that is to say by the marshal Bertrand and by the marshal of Trie,[1] that the earl should be lodged next the English host.

Thus these two kings were lodged between Buironfosse and Flamengerie, in the plain fields without any advantage. I think there was never seen before so goodly an assembly of noblemen together as was there.[2] When the king of England, being in the Chapel of Thierache,[3] knew how that king Philip was within two leagues, then he called the lords of his host together and demanded of them what he should do, his honour saved, for he said that his intention was to give battle. Then the lords beheld each other, and they desired the duke of Brabant to shew first his intent. The duke said that he was of the accord that they should give battle, for otherwise, he said, they could not depart, saving their honours: wherefore he counselled that they should send heralds to the French king to demand a day of battle. Then an herald of the duke of Gueldres, who could well the language of French, was informed what he should say, and so he rode till he came into the French host. And then he drew him to king Philip and to his council and said, 'Sir, the king of England is in the field and desireth to have battle, power against power.' The which thing king Philip granted, and took the day, the Friday next after, and as then it was Wednesday. And so the herald returned, well rewarded with good furred gowns given him by the French king and other lords because of the tidings that he brought. So thus the journey was agreed, and knowledge was made thereof to all the lords of both the hosts, and so every man made him ready to the matter.

The Thursday in the morning there were two knights of the earl of Hainault's, the lord Fagnolle and the lord of Tupigny, they mounted on their horses and they two all only departed from the French host and rode to aview the English host. So they rode coasting the host, and it fortuned that the lord of Fagnolle's horse took the bridle in the teeth in such wise, that his master could not rule him; and so, whether he would or not, the horse brought him into the English host, and there he fell into the hands of the Almains, who perceived well that he was none of their company and set on him and took him and his horse. And so he was prisoner to a five or six gentlemen of Almaine, and anon they set him to his ransom. And when they understood that he was a Hainowe, they demanded of him if he knew sir John of Hainault, and he answered, 'Yes,' and desired them for the love of God to bring him to his presence, for he knew well that he would quit him his ransom. Thereof were the Almains joyous, and so brought him to the lord Beaumont, who incontinent did pledge him out from his master's hands; and the lord of Fagnolle returned again to the earl of Hainault, and he had his horse again delivered him at the request of the lord Beaumont. Thus passed that day, and none other thing done that ought to be remembered.

CHAPTER XLI

How these kings ordained their battles at Buironfosse.

When the Friday came in the morning, both hosts apparelled themselves ready, and every lord heard mass among their own companies and divers were shriven.

First we will speak of the order of the Englishmen, who drew them forward into the field and made three battles afoot, and did put all their horses and baggages into a little wood behind them, and fortified it. The first battle led[1] the duke of Gueldres,

[1] The marshals of the French host were Robert Bertrand and Matthieu de Trie.

[2] In the fuller text it is observed that there were in the French army four kings, France, Bohemia, Navarre and Scotland.

[3] La Capelle-en-Thiérache, a village in the department of Aisne.

[1] Perhaps a misprint for 'had.' The original is 'eut.'

the marquis of Meissen, the marquis of Brandebourg, sir John of Hainault, the earl of Mons, the earl of Salm, the lord of Fauquemont, sir William of Duvenvoorde, sir Arnold of Baquehem and the Almains; and among them was twenty-two banners and sixty pennons in the whole, and eight thousand men. The second battle had the duke of Brabant and the lords and knights of his country—first the lord of Cuyk, the lord Berg, the lord of Breda, the lord of Rotselaer, the lord of Vorsselaer, the lord of Borgneval, the lord of Schoonvorst, the lord of Witham, the lord of Aerschot, the lord of Gaesbeck, the lord of Duffel, sir Thierry of Walcourt, sir Rasse of Gres, sir John of Kesterbeke, sir John Pyliser, sir Giles of Coterebbe, sir Walter of Huldeberg, the three brethren of Harlebeke, sir Henry of Flanders, and divers other barons and knights of Flanders, who were all under the duke of Brabant's banner, as the lord of Halewyn, the lord of Gruthuse, sir Hector Vilain, sir John of Rhodes, sir Wulfart of Ghistelles, sir William of Straten, sir Gossuin de la Moere, and many other: the duke of Brabant had a twenty-four banners and eighty pennons, and in all a seven thousand men. The third battle and the greatest had the king of England and with him his cousin the earl of Derby, the bishop of Lincoln, the bishop of Durham, the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Northampton, and of Gloucester, the earl of Suffolk, sir Robert d'Artois, as then called earl of Richmond, the lord Raynold Cobham, the lord Percy, the lord Ros, the lord Mowbray, sir Lewis and sir John Beauchamp, the lord Delaware, the lord of Langton, the lord Basset, the lord Fitzwalter, sir Walter Manny, sir Hugh Hastings, sir John Lisle, and divers other that I cannot name: among other was sir John Chandos, of whom much honour is spoken in this book.[1] The king had with him twenty-eight banners and ninety pennons, and in his battle a six thousand men of arms and six thousand archers; and he had set another battle as in a wing, whereof the earl of Warwick, the earl of Pembroke, the lord Berkeley, the lord Multon and divers other were as chief, and they were on horseback.[1] Thus when every lord was under his banner, as it was commanded by the marshals, the king of England mounted on a palfrey, accompanied all only with sir Robert d'Artois, sir Raynold Cobham and sir Walter of Manny, and rode along before all his battles, and right sweetly desired all his lords and other that they would that day aid to defend his honour. And they all promised him so to do. Then he returned to his own battle and set everything in good order and commanded that none should go before the marshals' banners.

Now let us speak of the lords of France, what they did. They were eleven score banners, four kings, six dukes, twenty-six earls, and more than four thousand knights, and of the commons of France more than sixty thousand. The kings that were there with king Philip of Valois was the king of Bohemia, the king of Navarre, and king David of Scotland: the duke of Normandy, the duke of Bretayne, the duke of Bourbon, the duke of Lorraine and the duke of Athens:[2] of earls, the earl of Alençon brother to the king, the earl of Flanders, the earl of Hainault, the earl of Blois, the earl of Bar, the earl of Forez, the earl of Foix, the earl of Armagnac, the earl Dolphin of Auvergne, the earl of Joinville, the earl of Etampes, the earl of Vendome, the earl of Harcourt, the earl of Saint-Pol, the earl of Guines, the earl of Boulogne, the earl of Roucy, the earl of Dammartin, the earl of Valentinois, the earl of Auxerre, the earl of Sancerre, the earl of Geneva, the earl of Dreux; and of Gascoyne and of Languedoc so many earls and viscounts, that it were long to rehearse. It was a great beauty to behold the banners and standards waving in the wind, and horses barded, and knights and squires richly armed. The Frenchmen ordained three great battles, in each of them fifteen thousand men of arms and twenty thousand men afoot.

[1] In the later revision the writer says: 'I, Froissart, writer of these chronicles, more than once heard the gentle knight sir John Chandos say that he was made knight by the hand of the king Edward of England on this Friday that the assembly was at Buironfosse; and since that he was more valiant than any other who took arms on the side of the English, I make mention of this here.'

[1] The original says: 'So these remained on horseback to support those battles which should waver, and were as a rear-guard.'

[2] The name of the duke of Burgundy is omitted.

CHAPTER XLII

How these two kings departed from Buironfosse without battle.

It might well be marvelled how so goodly a sight of men of war so near together should depart without battle. But the Frenchmen were not all of one accord: they were of divers opinions: some said it were a great shame an they fought not, seeing their enemies so near them in their own country, ranged in the field, and also had promised to fight with them:[1] and some other said it should be a great folly to fight, for it was hard to know every man's mind, and jeopardy of treason;[2] for, they said, if fortune were contrary to their king, as to lose the field, he then should put all his whole realm in a jeopardy to be lost; and though he did discomfit his enemies, yet for all that he should be never the nearer of the realm of England, nor of such lands pertaining to any of those lords that be with him allied.

Thus in striving of divers opinions the day passed till it was past noon; and then suddenly there started an hare among the Frenchmen, and such as saw her cried and made great bruit, whereby such as were behind thought they before had been fighting, and so put on their helms and took their spears in their hands; and so there were made divers new knights, and specially the earl of Hainault made fourteen, who were ever after called knights of the hare. Thus that battle stood still all that Friday; and beside this strife between the councillors of France there was brought in letters to the host of recommendation to the French king and to his council from king Robert of Sicily, the which king, as it was said, was a great astronomer and full of great science. He had oftentimes sought his books on the estate of the kings of England and of France, and he found by his astrology and by the influence of the heavens, that if the French king ever fought with king Edward of England, he should be discomfited: wherefore he, like a king of great wisdom and as he that doubted the peril of the French king his cousin, sent oftentimes letters to king Philip and to his council, that in no wise he should make any battle against the Englishmen, whereas king Edward was personally present. So that, what for doubt, and for such writing from the king of Sicily, divers of the great lords of France were sore abashed; and also king Philip was informed thereof. Howbeit, yet he had great will to give battle; but he was so counselled to the contrary, that the day passed without battle, and every man withdrew to their lodgings.

And when the earl of Hainault saw that they should not fight, he departed with all his whole company and went back the same night to Quesnoy. And the king of England, the duke of Brabant and all the other lords returned and trussed all their baggages, and went the same night to Avesnes in Hainault. And the next day they took leave each of other; and the Almains and Brabances departed, and the king went into Brabant with the duke his cousin.

The same Friday that the battle should have been, the French king, when he came to his lodging, he was sore displeased because he departed without battle. But they of his council said how right nobly he had borne himself, for he had valiantly pursued his enemies and had done so much that he had put them out of his realm, and how that the king of England should make many such viages or he conquered the realm of France. The next day king Philip gave licence to all manner of men to depart, and he thanked right courteously the great lords of their aid and succour. Thus ended this great journey, and every man went to their own. The French king went to Saint-Omer's, and sent men of war to his garrisons, and specially to Tournay, to Lille, and to Douay, and to the other towns marching on the Empire. He sent to Tournay sir Godemar du Fay and made him captain there and regent of that country thereabout, and he sent sir Edward of Beaujeu to Mortagne; and when he had ordered part of his business then he drew toward Paris.

[1] Or rather, 'and also having followed them to the intent that they should fight with them'

[2] 'For he (*i.e.* the king) knew not each man's mind, nor whether there were any treason.'

CHAPTER XLIII

How king Edward took on him to bear the arms of France and the name, to be called king thereof.

WHEN that king Edward was departed from the Flamengerie and came into Brabant and went straight to Brussels, the duke of Gueldres, the marquis of Juliers, the marquis of Brandebourg, the earl of Mons, sir John of Hainault, the lord of Fauquemont, and all the lords of the Empire, such as had been at that journey, brought him thither to take advice and counsel what should be done more in the matter that they had begun. And to have expedition in the cause they ordained a parliament to be holden at the town of Brussels, and thither to come was desired Jaques d'Arteveld of Gaunt, who came thither with a great company, and all the counsels of the good towns of Flanders. There the king of England was sore desired of all his allies of the Empire that he should require them of Flanders to aid and to maintain his war, and to defy the French king and to go with him whereas he would have them; and in their so doing he to promise them to recover Lille, Douay and Bethune.

This request was well heard of the Flemings, and thereupon they desired to take counsel among themselves: and so they took counsel at good leisure, and then they said to the king: 'Sir, or this time ye have made to us request in this behalf: sir, if we might well do this, saving your honour and to save ourselves, we would gladly do this; but, sir, we be bound by faith and oath and on the sum of two millions of florins in the pope's chamber, that we may make nor move no war against the king of France, whosoever it be, on pain to lose the said sum and beside that to run in the sentence of cursing. But, sir, if ye will take on you the arms of France and quarter them with the arms of England and call yourself king of France, as ye ought to be of right, then we will take you for rightful king of France and demand of you quittance of our bonds, and so ye to give us pardon thereof as king of France: by this means we shall be assured and dispensed withal, and so then we will go with you whithersoever ye will have us.'

Then the king took counsel, for he thought it was a sore matter to take on him the arms of France and the name, and as then had conquered nothing thereof, nor could not tell what should fall thereof, nor whether he should conquer it or not; and on the other side, loth he was to refuse the comfort and aid of the Flemings, who might do him more aid than any other. So the king took counsel of the lords of the Empire and of the lord Robert d'Artois and with other of his special friends; so that finally, the good and the evil weighed, he answered to the Flemings that if they would swear and seal to this accord, and to promise to maintain his war, how he would do all this with a good will, and promised to get them again Lille, Douay and Bethune: and all they answered how they were content.

Then there was a day assigned to meet at Gaunt, at which day the king was there, and the most part of the said lords, and all the counsels generally in Flanders. And so then all these said matters were rehearsed, sworn and sealed; and the king quartered the arms of France with England, and from thenceforth took on him the name of the king of France, and so continued till he left it again by composition, as ye shall hear after in this book. And so at this council they determined that the next summer after they would make great war into France, promising to besiege the city of Tournay; whereof the Flemings were joyful, for they thought to be strong enough to get it, and that once gotten, they believed shortly after to win again Lille, Douay and Bethune, with the appurtenances pertaining or holden of the earl of Flanders.

Thus every man departed and went home: the king of England went to Antwerp, and the queen abode still at Gaunt and was oftentimes visited by Jaques d'Arteveld and by other lords, ladies and damosels of Gaunt. The king left in Flanders the earl of Salisbury and the earl of Suffolk:[1] they went to Ypres and there kept a great garrison and made sore war against them of Lille and thereabout. And when the

[1] Not really the earl of Suffolk but his eldest son: he is called earl of Suffolk also in the account of his capture at Lille, chap. 46.

king's ships were ready, he took the sea and so sailed into England and came to London about the feast of Saint Andrew, where he was honourably received. And there he had complaints made him of the destruction of Hampton, and he said that he trusted or a year longer that it should be well revenged.

CHAPTER XLIV

How the Frenchmen brent in the lands of sir John of Hainault.

Now let us speak of king Philip, who greatly fortified his navy that he had on the sea, whereof sir Quieret, Behuchet and Barbevaire[1] were captains; and they had under them a great retinue of Genoways, Normans, Bretons and Picards. They did that winter great damage to the realm of England: sometime they came to Dover, Sandwich, Winchelsea, Hastings and Rye, and did much sorrow to the Englishmen, for they were a great number, as a forty thousand men. There was none that could issue out of England, but they were robbed, taken or slain; so they won great pillage, and specially they won a great ship called the *Christofer*, laden with wools, as she was going into Flanders, the which ship had cost the king of England much money, and all they that were taken within the ship were slain and drowned; of the which conquest the Frenchmen were right joyous.

The French king then sent and wrote to the lord of Beaumont, the lord of Vervins,[2] to the viduame of Chalons, the lord John de la Have, the lord John and Gerard of Lor, that they should make an army and to ride into the lands of sir John of Hainault, and to burn and destroy there as much as they might. They obeyed, and gathered together to the number of five hundred spears; and so in a morning they came before the town of Chimay and gathered together there a great prey; for they of the country thought that the Frenchmen would not have come so far, nor to have passed the wood of Thierache. So the Frenchmen burnt the suburbs of Chimay and divers other villages thereabout, nigh all the land of Chimay except the fortresses: then they went to Aubenton in Thierache and there divided their booty.

In the same season the soldiers of Cambray came to a little strong house without Cambray, called Relenghes, pertaining to sir John of Hainault; and a bastard son of his kept the house with a fifteen soldiers with him: so they were assailed a whole day together, and the dikes were so frozen, that a man might well come to the walls; and so they within trussed all that they had and about midnight departed, and set fire themselves on the house. The next day, when they of Cambray came thither again and saw how it was brent, they did beat down all that stood. And the captain of the house and his company went to Valenciennes.

Ye have well heard before how sir Gaultier of Manny took the castle of Thun and set therein a brother of his called Giles of Manny: he made many skirmishes with them of Cambray, and did them much trouble. And so it happened on a day that he went from his garrison with a sixscore men of arms and came to the barriers of Cambray. And the brunt was so great, that many armed them within the city and came to the gate whereas the skirmish was, whereas sir Giles had put back them of Cambray. Then they issued out, and among the Cambreses there was a young squire, a Gascon, called William Marchand, who went out into the field well horsed, his shield about his neck and his spear in his hand. And when sir Giles of Manny saw him, he rode fiercely to him; and there sir Giles was stricken through all his harness to the heart, so that the spear went clean through his body, and so he fell to the earth. Then there was a fierce skirmish, and many stricken down on both parts; but finally they of Cambray obtained the place and drove away their enemies, and took with them sir Giles of Manny, hurt as he was, and so brought him to Cambray with great joy. Then incontinent they disarmed him and did get surgeons to dress his wound, for they would gladly that he might [have] escaped; but he died the next day after. Then they determined to send his body to his two brethren John and

[1] Hugh Quieret, Nicholas Behuchet and Pietro Barbavara.

[2] 'To the lord of Beaumont and Vervins': his name was Jean de Couey.

Thierry, who were in the garrison at Bouchain in Ostrevant; for though that the country of Hainault at that time was in no war, yet all the frontiers toward France were ever in good await. So then they ordained a horse litter right honourably and put his body therein, and caused two friars to convey it to his brethren, who received him with great sorrow. And they bare him to the Friars at Valenciennes, and there he was buried; and after that the two brethren of Manny came to the castle of Thun and made sore war against them of Cambray in counteravenging the death of their brother.

In this season captain of Tournay and Tournesis was sir Godemar du Fay, and of the fortresses thereabout; and the lord of Beaujeu was within Mortagne on the river of l'Escault, and the steward of Carcassonne was in the town of Saint-Amand, sir Aymar of Poitiers in Douay, the lord Galois de la Baume and the lord of Villars, the marshal of Mirepoix and the lord of Moreuil in the city of Cambray. And these knights, squires and soldiers of France desired none other thing, but that they might enter into Hainault and to roband pill the country. Also the bishop of Cambray, who was at Paris with the king, complained how the Hainowes had done him damage, brent and overrun his country, more than any other men. And then the king gave licence to the soldiers of Cambresis to make a road into Hainault. Then they of the garrisons made a journey and were to the number of six hundred men of arms. And on a Saturday in the morning they departed from Cambray, and also they of la Malmaison rode forth the same day, and met together and went to the town of Haspres, the which was a good town and a great, without walls. The people there were in no doubt, for they knew of no war towards them. So the Frenchmen entered and found men and women in their houses, and took them, and robbed the town at their pleasure, and then set fire in the town and brent it so clean, that nothing remained but the walls. Within the town there was a priory of black monks, with great buildings beside the church, which held of Saint-Vaast of Arras.[1] The Frenchmen also robbed the place and brent it to the earth, and with all their pillage they returned to Cambray.

These tidings anon came to the knowledge of the earl of Hainault, who was abed and asleep in his lodging, called the Salle; and suddenly he rose and armed him, and called up all such knights as were about him: but they were lodged so abroad that they were not so soon ready as the earl was; who without tarrying for any person came into the market-place of Valenciennes and caused the bells to be sowned alarum. Then every man arose and armed them, and followed the earl their lord, who was ridden out of the town in great haste and took the way toward Haspres: and by that time he had ridden a league, tidings came to him how the Frenchmen were departed. Then he rode to the abbey of Fontenelles, whereas the lady his mother was, and she had much ado to rappease him of his displeasure, for he said plainly that the destruction of Haspres should dearly be revenged in the realm of France. The good lady his mother did as much as she could to assuage his ire, and to excuse the king of that deed.

So when the earl had been there a certain space, he took leave of her and returned to Valenciennes, and incontinent wrote letters to the prelates and knights of his country to have their advice and counsel in that behalf. And when sir John of Hainault knew hereof, he took his horse and came to the earl his nephew; and as soon as the earl saw him, he said, 'Ah, fair uncle, your absence hath set the Frenchmen in a pride.' 'Ah, sir,' quoth he, 'with your trouble and annoyance I am sore displeased: howbeit in a manner I am glad thereof. Now ye be well rewarded for the service and love that ye have borne to the Frenchmen.' Now it behoveth you to make a journey into France against the Frenchmen. 'Ah, uncle,' quoth the earl, 'look into what quarter ye think best and it shall be shortly done.' So thus the day of parliament assigned at Mons came, and

[1] The latest revision has here: 'In the church of Haspres they honour Saint Agaire, who is a very cruel saint and much to be feared, and they have the remains of the saint within the church, which is a provostry ruled by the monks of Saint-Vaast of Arras. The provost had taken such care, that the shrine of Saint Agaire and the reliquary and the richest ornaments of the church he had caused to be brought with him to Valenciennes.'

thither resorted all the counsel of the country, and also of Holland and Zealand. There were divers opinions: some would that certain sufficient persons should be sent to the French king, to know if he were consenting to the hurt done in Hainault, or by what title he should make war into the earl's land without any defiance: and some other would that the earl should be revenged in like manner as the Frenchmen had begun. Howbeit finally, all reasons debated, it was thought that the earl could do no otherwise, but to make war into France. And it was ordained that the earl should make his defiance to the French king, and then to enter by force into the realm of France; and to bear these defiances was ordained the abbot Thibalt of Crespin.[1] So then the letters of defiance were written and sealed by the earl and by all the nobles of the country. Then the earl thanked all his lords and other of their good comfort and of their promise to aid to revenge him against the Frenchmen.

The abbot of Crespin came into France and brought these defiances to king Philip, who made light thereof and said how his nephew was but an outrageous fool, and how that he was a merchant to have his country brent.[2] The abbot returned to the earl and to his council and shewed how he had sped; and then the earl prepared for men of war in his country and in Brabant and in Flanders, so that he had a great number together: and so set forward toward the land of Chimay; for the earl's intent was to go and bren the lands of the lord of Vervins and also Aubenton in Thierache.

CHAPTER XLV

How the earl of Hainault took and destroyed Aubenton in Thierache.

THEY of Aubenton doubted greatly the earl of Hainault and sir John his uncle; and so they sent for some aid to the great bailly of Vermandois, and he sent to them the vidame of Chalons, the lord Bosmont, the lord de la Bove, the lord of Lor, and divers other to the number of three hundred men of arms, and so they repaired the town in certain places, and determined to abide the Hainowes and to defend the town, the which was a great town and full of drapery.[1] The Hainowes came on a Friday, and lodged near to Aubenton, and advised the town to see on what quarter it were most best to be taken; and in the morning they approached in three wards, their banners before them right ordinately, and also their cross-bows. The earl of Hainault led the first battle, and with him great number of the knights and squires of his country: his uncle sir John of Hainault had the second battle, whereas he had plenty of men of war: the third had the lord Fauquemont with a good number of Almains. And so thus every lord was under his own banner, and there began a sore assault, and the bows began to shoot both within and without, whereby divers were sore hurt. The earl and his company came to the gate: there was a great assault and a sore skirmish: there the vidame of Chalons did marvels, and he made at the gate three of his sons knights. But finally the earl and his company conquered the bails, and by force made their enemies to withdraw into the gate. And also at the gate toward Chimay was sir John la Bove and sir John Bosmont: there was also a cruel assault; they within were fain to withdraw in at their gates and to leave the barrier, and the Hainowes won it and the bridge also. There was a sore assault, for such as were fled and entered within went up on the gate and cast down bars of iron, stones, pots full of quicklime, whereby many were sore hurt. A squire of Hainault received such a stroke with a stone on his targe, that it was cloven clean asunder with the stroke and his arm broken, so that it was long after or he was whole.

The Saturday in the morning there was a great assault, and they within did their devoir to defend themselves; but finally the town was won by force and their pales and defences broken. And first entered into the town sir John of Hainault with his banner with great crying and shouting; then the vidame of Chalons withdrew him

[1] Not 'Saint Crispin' as given by the translator.

[2] 'Qu'il marchandoit bien de faire ardoir son pays.'

[1] *i.e.* a town in which much cloth was made.

and his company into the place before the minster, and there made semblant to defend himself as long as he might endure. But the lord of Vervins departed without order, for he knew well that sir John of Hainault was sore displeased with him, so that he thought, if he had been taken, that no ransom should have saved his life. And when sir John of Hainault knew that he was departed, that had done so much displeasure in his land of Chimay, he pursued after him; but the lord of Vervins fled fast and found the gate of his town open, and so entered in: and sir John of Hainault pursued him just to the gate with his sword in his hand; but when he saw that he was escaped, he returned again to Aubenton: and his men met certain of the lord Vervin's men, as they followed their master, and there they were slain without mercy. The earl and his company fought sore with them that were by the minster; and there the vidame of Chalons did marvels in arms, and so did two of his sons; but finally they were all slain, there escaped none but such as fled with the lord of Vervins, but all were slain or taken, and a two thousand[1] men of the town, and all the town robbed and pilled, and all the goods sent to Chimay, and the town brent.

And after the burning of Aubenton the Hainowes went to Maubert-Fontaine, and incontinent they won it, and robbed and brent the town, and also the town of Aubigny, and Signy the great, and Signy the little,[2] and all the hamlets thereabout, the which were more than forty. Then the earl went to Mons, and gave leave to his men of war to depart, and thanked them in such wise, that they were all well content. Then anon after the earl went to make a sure alliance with the king of England, to be the more stronger in his war against the Frenchmen. But first he made his uncle sir John of Hainault chief master and governour of Holland and Zealand: and sir John lay still at Mons and provided for the country, and sent to Valenciennes, to comfort and aid them, the lord Antoing, the lord of Wargny, the lord of Gommegnies and sir Henry of Houffalize; and the steward of Hainault with a hundred spears to the town of Landrecies;[1] and to Bouchain three brethren, Almains, called Conrad; and to Escaudeuvres sir Gerard Sassegnies; and into the town of Avesnes the lord of Fauquemont. And thus he did into every fortress on the frontiers of France.

[1] A better reading is 'two hundred.'
[2] Signy-l'Abbaye and Signy-le-Petit.

CHAPTER XLVI

How they of Tournay made a journey into Flanders.

WHEN the French king knew how the Hainowes had brent the country of Thierache, taken and slain his knights, and destroyed the good town of Aubenton, then he commanded the duke of Normandy his son that he should make a journey into Hainault, and bring the country into that case that it should never be recovered again. Also the king ordained the earl of l'Isle, Gascon, who was as then with the king at Paris, that he should make a voyage into Gascony as his lieutenant, and to make war to Bordeaux and to Bordelois, and to all the fortresses that held of the king of England. And also the French king enforced his great navy that he had on the sea, and commanded them to keep the bounds of Flanders and not to suffer the king of England to pass over the sea into Flanders, on pain of their lives.

And when the French king understood that the Flemings had made homage to the king of England, he sent unto them a prelate under the colour of the pope, shewing them that if they would return and knowledge themselves to hold of him and of the crown of France, and to forsake the king of England, who had enchanted them, then he said he would pardon them of all their trespasses, and would quit them of the great sum of money that they were bound unto him by obligation of old time, and also to give them many fair franchises. And the Flemings answered how they thought themselves right well assoiled and quitted in anything that they were bound

[1] The fuller text says that the seneschal of Hainault was sent to Maubeuge, the marshal of Hainault to Quesnoy, and the lord of Potelles to Landrecies.

to the king of France. Then the French king complained to pope Clement the sixth,[1] whereupon the pope did cast such a sentence of cursing, that no priest durst sing or say there any divine service; whereof the Flemings sent a great complaint unto the king of England, who to appease them sent them word, that when he came over the sea, he would bring priests out of his country to sing masses, whether the pope would or not, for he said he had privilege so to do: and so by that means the Flemings were somewhat appeased.

And when the French king saw that he could not turn the Flemings from their opinion, then he commanded them of the garrisons of Tournay, Lille, and Douay and other to make war on the Flemings and to overrun the country. And so sir John de Roye and sir Matthew de Trie, marshal of France, and sir Godemar du Fay, and divers other lords made an army of a thousand men of arms and three hundred crossbows, what of Tournay, Lille and Douay. And so in an evening they departed from Tournay, and by that it was day in the morning, they were before Courtray. By that time the sun was up, they had gathered together all the cattle thereabout; and some of them ran to the gates, and slew and hurt divers that they found without. And then they returned without any damage and drove before them all their preys, so that when they came to Tournay, they had more than ten thousand sheep and as many swine, beeves and kine, whereof the Flemings were sore troubled.

Then Jaques d'Arteveld sware that it should be dearly revenged; and incontinent he commanded the good towns of Flanders, that their men of war should be with him before Tournay at a day assigned: and he wrote to the earl of Salisbury and to the earl of Suffolk, who were at Ypres, that they should be there at the same. And so against the day limited he went out of Gaunt and came to a place between Oudenarde and Tournay called the Pont de Fer, and there he lodged and tarried for the earls of England and for them of the Franc of Bruges. The said two earls thought for their honour the enterprise should not be delayed by them, and so sent to Jaques d'Arteveld promising him not to fail to be at the day appointed. And so on a day they departed from Ypres with a fifty spears and a forty cross-bows, and went toward the place whereas Jaques d'Arteveld abode for them. And as they passed by the town of Lille, they were perceived; and they of the town issued out with a fifteen hundred men afoot and a-horseback, and went in three parts, to the intent that the earls should not scape them.[1] So these two earls rode forth by the guiding of sir Waflard de la Croix, who had kept long war against them of Lille, and he knew all the ways of the country and as then was at Ypres; and so he came forth with these earls to be their guide and he had well guided them. And they of Lille had newly made a great dike, whereas there was never none before: and when sir Waflard had brought them thither and saw how the way was newly stopped, he said to the earls of England, 'Sirs, I see well we cannot pass without the danger of them of Lille: wherefore I counsel, let us turn again and take some other way.' Then the lords said, 'Nay, sir Waflard, it shall never be said that we will go out of our way for fear of them of Lille; therefore ride on before: we have promised Jaques d'Arteveld to be with him this day.' And so the Englishmen rode forth without fear. Then sir Waflard said, 'Sirs, ye have taken me in this viage to be your guide, and I have been with you all this winter in Ypres, whereof I am much bound to you. But if they of Lille issue out upon us, have no trust that I will abide them, for I will save myself as soon as I can; for if I were taken, it should cost me my life, the which I love better than your company.' Then the lords did laugh at him and said, 'Well, an if it be so, we hold you well excused.' And as he imagined, so it befell; for or they were ware, they were in danger of the French bushment, who cried, 'Stop, sirs, for ye shall not pass this way without our licence,' and

[1] The pope at this time was in fact Benedict XII.: Clement VI. became pope in 1342.

[1] In the original: 'As they rode and were constrained to pass by the town of Lille, their coming was known in the town. Then they of the town armed themselves secretly and set forth from their town to the number of fifteen hundred afoot and a-horseback, and they set themselves in three bushments, so that they might not escape them.'

so began to shoot and to run on the Englishmen. And as soon as sir Waflard saw the manner, he had no list to ride any further, but returned as soon as he might and gat himself out of the press; and the two earls fell in the hands of their enemies like fishes in a net, for they were closed round about in a narrow strait passage among hedges, bushes and dikes, so that they could scape no manner of way forward nor backward. So when they saw that they were so hardly bestad, they alighted afoot and defended themselves as well as they might, and did hurt divers of them of Lille: but finally their defence could not avail them, for ever new fresh men of war came on them. So there they were taken by force, and with them a young squire of Limousin, nephew to pope Clement, called Raymond, who after that he was yielded prisoner was slain for covetise of his fair harness and fresh apparel.

These two earls were set in prison in the hall of Lille and after sent to the French king, who promised to them of Lille a great reward for the good service that they had done him. And when Jaques d'Arteveld, who was at Pont de Fer, knew those tidings, he was sore displeased, and so ceased his enterprise for that time and returned again to Gaunt.

CHAPTERS XLVII–XLIX

SUMMARY.—The duke of Normandy invaded Hainault at Easter, 1340. *He burnt many villages, but failed to take any fortresses except the castle of Escaudeuvres, which was surrendered to him with great suspicion of treason.*

The county of Hainault suffered much from the garrisons of Lille and Douay. Meanwhile the earl was gone to England and then to the emperor Louis of Bavaria. Sir John of Hainault asked for aid from the earl of Brabant and from Jaques d'Arteveld.

The duke of Normandy laid siege to Thun-l'Evesque. The earl of Hainault came to relieve it, and the duke of Normandy sent word to king Philip at Péronne. Philip sent twelve hundred spears, serving himself with them 'as a soldier,' that is, taking no command, because he had taken oath not to levy war on the Empire. The earl of Hainault received an addition of sixty thousand Flemings to his army, and offered battle, which the French refused.

CHAPTER L

Of the battle on the sea before Sluys in Flanders between the king of England and the Frenchmen.

Now let us leave somewhat to speak of the earl of Hainault and of the duke of Normandy, and speak of the king of England, who was on the sea to the intent to arrive in Flanders, and so into Hainault, to make war against the Frenchmen. This was on Midsummer-even in the year of our Lord MCCCXL., all the English fleet was departed out of the river of Thames and took the way to Sluys. And the same time between Blankenberghe and Sluys on the sea was sir Hugh Quieret, sir Peter Behuchet and Barbevaire, and more than sixscore great vessels, beside other; and they were of Normans, bidaus, Genoways and Picards about the number of forty thousand: there they were laid by the French king to defend the king of England's passage. The king of England and his came sailing till he came before Sluys: and when he saw so great a number of ships that their masts seemed to be like a great wood, he demanded of the master of his ship what people he thought they were. He answered and said, 'Sir, I think they be Normans laid here by the French king, and hath done great displeasure in England, brent your town of Hampton and taken your great ship the *Christofer*.' 'Ah,' quoth the king, 'I have long desired to fight with the Frenchmen, and now shall I fight with some of them by the grace of God and Saint George; for truly they have done me so many displeasures, that I shall be revenged, an I may.' Then the king set all his ships in order, the greatest before, well furnished with archers, and ever between two ships of archers he had one ship with men of arms; and then he made another battle to lie aloof, with archers, to comfort ever them that were most weary, if need were. And there were a great number of countesses, ladies, knights' wives and other damosels, that were going to see the

queen at Gaunt: these ladies the king caused to be well kept with three hundred men of arms and five hundred archers.

When the king and his marshals had ordered his battles, he drew up the sails and came with a quarter wind to have the vantage of the sun, and so at last they turned a little to get the wind at will.[1] And when the Normans saw them recule back, they had marvel why they did so, and some said, 'They think themselves not meet to meddle with us, wherefore they will go back.' They saw well how the king of England was there personally, by reason of his banners. Then they did apparel their fleet in order, for they were sage and good men of war on the sea, and did set the *Christofer*, the which they had won the year before, to be foremost, with many trumpets and instruments,[2] and so set on their enemies.

There began a sore battle on both parts: archers and cross-bows began to shoot, and men of arms approached and fought hand to hand: and the better to come together they had great hooks and grappers of iron, to cast out of one ship into another, and so tied them fast together. There were many deeds of arms done, taking and rescuing again, and at last the great *Christofer* was first won by the Englishmen, and all that were within it taken or slain. Then there was great noise and cry, and the Englishmen approached and fortified the *Christofer* with archers, and made him to pass on before to fight with the Genoways. This battle was right fierce and terrible; for the battles on the sea are more dangerous and fiercer than the battles by land: for on the sea there is no reculing nor fleeing; there is no remedy but to fight and to abide fortune, and every man to shew his prowess. Of a truth sir Hugh Quieret, and sir Behuchet and Barbevaire were right good and expert men of war. This battle endured from the morning till it was noon, and the Englishmen endured much pain, for their enemies were four against one, and all good men on the sea. There the king of England was a noble knight of his own hand; he was in the flower of his yongth: in like wise so was the earl of Derby, Pembroke, Hereford, Huntingdon, Northampton and Gloucester, sir Raynold Cobham, sir Richard Stafford, the lord Percy, sir Walter of Manny, sir Henry of Flanders, sir John Beauchamp, the lord Felton, the lord Bradestan, sir [John] Chandos, the lord Delaware, the lord of Multon, sir Robert d'Artois called earl of Richmond, and divers other lords and knights, who bare themselves so valiantly with some succours that they had of Bruges and of the country thereabout, that they obtained the victory; so that the Frenchmen, Normans and other were discomfited, slain and drowned; there was not one that scaped, but all were slain.

When this victory was achieved, the king all that night abode in his ship before Sluys, with great noise of trumpets and other instruments. Thither came to see the king divers of Flanders, such as had heard of the king's coming. And then the king demanded of the burgesses of Bruges how Jaques d'Arteveld did: they answered that he was gone to the earl of Hainault against the duke of Normandy with sixty thousand Flemings. And on the next day, the which was Midsummer day, the king and all his took land, and the king on foot went a pilgrimage to our Lady of Ardembourg, and there heard mass and dined; and then took his horse and rode to Gaunt, where the queen received him with great joy; and all his carriage came after, little and little. Then the king wrote to the earl of Hainault and to them within the castle of Thun, certifying them of his arrival; and when the earl knew thereof, and that he had discomfited the army on the sea, he dislodged and gave leave to all the soldiers to depart, and took with him to Valenciennes all the great lords, and

[1] The original text says: 'They came with the wind on their quarter to have the advantage of the sun, which as they came was in their faces. They bethought them that this might damage them much, and therefore they turned a little out of their course till they had the wind at will.' But the true reading is, 'till they had it (*i.e.* the sun) at their will.' It must be supposed that they were coming over before a west wind, for which they would probably have waited. On this course they would have the sun directly in their faces at prime, when the battle began; and perceiving this they avoided the disadvantage by changing their course, so as to have the wind on their right quarter and so come in from the north-west instead of directly from the west. To do this they would have to sail first some little way to the northward, and it was this movement that caused the Normans to think that they were retiring.

[2] In the better text the *Christofer* is said to be filled with cross-bowmen and Genoese, and the 'trumpets and instruments' are mentioned only in general as sounded upon the advance of the fleet.

there feasted them honourably, and specially the duke of Brabant and Jaques d'Arteveld. And there Jaques d'Arteveld openly in the market-place, in the presence of all the lords and of all such as would hear him, declared what right the king of England had to the crown of France, and also what puissance the three countries were of, Flanders, Hainault and Brabant, surely joined in one alliance. And he did so by his great wisdom and pleasant words, that all people that heard him praised him much, and said how he had nobly spoken and by great experience. And thus he was greatly praised, and it was said that he was well worthy to govern the county of Flanders.

Then the lords departed, and promised to meet again within eight days at Gaunt, to see the king of England; and so they did. And the king feasted them honourably, and so did the queen, who was as then newly purified of a son called John, who was after duke of Lancaster by his wife, daughter to duke Henry of Lancaster. Then there was a council set to be at Vilvorde, and a day limited.

CHAPTER LI

How king Robert of Sicily did all that he might to pacify the kings of France and England.

WHEN the French king heard how his army on the sea was discomfited, he dislodged and drew to Arras, and gave leave to his men to depart till he heard other tidings; and sent sir Godemar du Fay to Tournay to see that there lacked nothing. He feared more the Flemings than any other, and sent the lord of Beaujeu to Mortagne to keep the frontiers against Hainault: and he sent many men of war to Saint-Omer's, to Aire and to Saint-Venant, and purveyed sufficiently for all the fortresses fronting on Flanders.

In this season there reigned a king in Sicily called Robert, who was reputed to be a great astronomer, and always he warned the French king and his council, that in no wise he should fight against the king of England; for he said it was given the king of England to be right fortunate in all his deeds. This king Robert would gladly have seen these two kings at a good accord; for he loved so much the crown of France, that he was right sorry to see the desolation thereof. This king of Sicily was at Avignon with pope Clement and with the college there, and declared to them the perils that were likely to fall in the realm of France by the war between the said two kings, desiring them that they would help to find some means to appease them: whereunto the pope and the cardinals answered how they would gladly intend thereto, so that the two kings would hear them.

CHAPTER LII

Of the council that the king of England and his allies held at Vilvorde.

AT this council holden at Vilvorde were these lords as followeth: the king of England, the duke of Brabant, the earl of Hainault, sir John his uncle, the duke of Gueldres, the earl of Juliers, the marquis of Brandebourg, the marquis of Meissen, the earl of Mons, sir Robert d'Artois, the lord of Fauquemont, sir William of Duvenvoorde, the earl of Namur, Jaques d'Arteveld, and many other great lords, and of every good town of Flanders a three or four personages in manner of a counsel. There was agreement made between the three countries, Flanders, Brabant and Hainault, that from thenceforth each of them should aid and comfort other in all cases. And there they made assurance each to other, that if any of them had to do with any country, the other two should give aid, and hereafter if any of them should be at discord one with another, the third should set agreement between them: and if he were not able so to do, then the matter should be put unto the king of England, in whose hands this matter was sworn and promised, and he to agree them. And in confirmation of love and amity they ordained a law to run throughout those three countries, the which was called the law of the companions or allies.[1] And there it was determined

[1] This should be: 'They ordained that coins should be struck to run in all the three countries, which be called *companions* or *allies*.' The translator has been misled by the expression 'faire une loys' ('loys' meaning 'standard of coinage'). In chap. 29 we are told that Jaques d'Arteveld's attendants had each day 'quatre compagnons ou gros de Flandres' for their wages.

that the king of England should remove about Maudlin-tide after, and lay siege to Tournay; and there to meet all the said lords and theirs, with the powers of all the good towns: and then every man departed to their own houses, to apparel them in that behalf.

CHAPTER LIII

How the king of England besieged the city of Tournay with great puissance.

THE French king after the departure of these lords from the council of Vilvorde he knew the most part of their determination. Then he sent to Tournay the chief men of war of all France, as the earl of Eu, constable of France, the young earl of Guines his son, the earl of Foix and his brethren, the earl Aimery of Narbonne, sir Aymar of Poitiers, sir Geoffrey of Charny, sir Gerard of Montfaucon, the two marshals, sir Robert Bertrand and sir Matthew de Trie, the lord of Cayeu, the seneschal of Poitou, the lord of Chatillon, and sir John of Landas, and these had with them valiant knights and squires. They came to Tournay and found there sir Godemar du Fay, who was there before. Then they took regard to the provision of the town, as well to the victuals as to the artillery and fortification; and they caused to be brought out of the country thereabout wheat, oats and other provision.

Now let us return to the king of England. When the time approached that he and his allies should meet before Tournay, and that the corn began to ripe, he departed from Gaunt with seven earls of his country, eight prelates, twenty-eight bannerets, two hundred knights, four thousand men of arms, and nine thousand archers, beside footmen. All his host passed through the town of Oudenarde, and so passed the river of l'Escault and lodged before Tournay at the gate called Saint-Martin, the way toward Lille and Douay. Then anon after came the duke of Brabant with more than twenty thousand men, knights, squires and commons; and he lodged at the bridge of Rieux by the river of l'Escault between the abbey of Saint Nicholas and the gate Valenciennois.[1] Next to him came the earl of Hainault with a goodly company of his country, with many of Holland and Zealand; and he was lodged between the king and the duke of Brabant. Then came Jaques d'Arteveld with more than sixty thousand Flemings, beside them of Ypres, Poperinghe, Cassel, Bergues; and they were set on the other side, as ye shall hear after. Jaques d'Arteveld lodged at the gate Sainte-Fontaine: the duke of Gueldres, the earl of Juliers, the marquis of Brandebourg, the marquis of Meissen, the earl of Mons, the earl of Salm, the lord of Fauquemont, sir Arnold of Baquehem and all the Almains were lodged on the other side, toward Hainault. Thus the city of Tournay was environed round about, and every host might resort each to other, so that none could issue out without spying.

[1] That is, the gate leading towards Valenciennes.

CHAPTER LIV

SUMMARY.—During the siege of Tournay the earl of Hainault rode into France and burnt some villages. The Flemings made assaults on Tournay from the river, but won nothing.

CHAPTER LV

How the Scots won again great part of Scotland while the siege was before Tournay.

NOW it is to be remembered how sir William Douglas, son of William Douglas' brother, who died in Spain, and the earl Patrick, the earl of Sutherland, sir Robert of Versy,[1] sir Simon Fraser and Alexander Ramsay, they were captains in such part of Scotland as was left unwon by the Englishmen. And they had continued in the forest of Gedeours the space of seven year, winter and summer, and as they might they made war against the Englishmen being there in garrison. Some time they had good adventure and some time evil: and while the king of England was at siege before Tournay, the French king sent men of war into Scotland, and they arrived at Saint John's

[1] Kervyn de Lettenhove makes it probable that this name, which frequently occurs among those of the leading barons of Scotland, is Froissart's corruption of Erskine.

town. And they desired the Scots in the French king's name, that they would set on and make such war in the realm of England, that the king might be fain to return home to rescue his own realm, and to leave up the siege at Tournay: and the French king promised them men and money to aid them so to do. And so the Scots departed out of the forest of Gedeours and passed through Scotland, and won again divers fortresses, and so passed the town of Berwick and the river of Tyne, and entered into the country of Northumberland, the which sometime was a realm. There they found great plenty of beasts, and wasted and brent all the country to Durham: then they returned by another way, destroying the country. In this voyage they destroyed more than three days' journey into the realm of England, and then returned into Scotland and conquered again all the fortresses that were holden by the Englishmen, except the city of Berwick and three other castles, the which did them great trouble. They were so strong, that it would have been hard to have found any such in any country: the one was Stirling, another Roxburgh, and the third the chief of all Scotland, Edinburgh, the which castle standeth on a high rock, that a man must rest once or twice or he come to the highest of the hill; and captain there was sir Walter [of Limoges, brother to sir Richard] Limousin, who had before so valiantly kept the castle of Thun against the Frenchmen.

So it was that sir William Douglas devised a feat, and discovered his intention to his companions, to the earl Patrick, to sir Simon Fraser and to Alexander Ramsay, and all they agreed together. Then they took a two hundred of the wild Scots and entered into the sea, and made provision of oats, meal, coals and wood; [1] and so peaceably they arrived at a port near to the castle of Edinburgh. And in the night they armed them and took a ten or twelve of their company, such as they did trust best, and did disguise them in poor torn coats and hats, like poor men of the country, and charged a twelve small horses with sacks, some with oats, some with wheat-meal and some with coals; and they did set all their company in a bushment in an old destroyed abbey thereby, near to the foot of the hill. And when the day began to appear, covertly armed as they were, they went up the hill with their merchandise. And when they were in the mid way, sir William Douglas and sir Simon Fraser, disguised as they were, went a little before and came to the porter and said: 'Sir, in great fear we have brought hither oats and wheat-meal; and if ye have any need thereof, we will sell it to you good cheap.' 'Marry,' said the porter, 'and we have need thereof; but it is so early, that I dare not awake the captain nor his steward. But let them come in and I shall open the outer gate.' And so they all entered into the gate of the bails: sir William Douglas saw well how the porter had the keys in his hands of the great gate of the castle. Then when the first gate was opened, as ye have heard, their horses with carriages entered in; and the two that came last, laden with coals, they made them to fall down on the ground-sill of the gate, to the intent that the gate should not be closed again. And then they took the porter and slew him so peaceably, that he never spake word. Then they took the great keys and opened the castle gate: then sir William Douglas blew a horn and did cast away their torn coats and laid all the other sacks overthwart the gate, to the intent that it should not be shut again. And when they of the bushment heard the horn, in all haste they might they mounted the hill. Then the watchman of the castle with noise of the horn awoke, and saw how the people were coming all armed to the castle-ward. Then he blew his horn and cried, 'Treason! treason! Sirs, arise and arm you shortly, for yonder be men of arms approaching to your fortress.' Then every man arose and armed them and came to the gate; but sir William Douglas and his twelve companions defended so the gate, that they could not close it: and so by great valiantness they kept the entry open, till their bushment came. They within defended the castle as well as they might, and hurt divers of them without; but sir William and the Scots did so much, that they conquered the fortress, and all the Englishmen within slain, except the captain and six other squires. So the Scots tarried there all that day, and made a knight of

[1] 'De charbon et de feuvre,' but the true reading is 'de charbon de feuvre,' *i.e.* charcoal for smiths' forges (*faber*).

the country captain there, called Simon Wisbey, and with him divers other of the country. These tidings came to the king of England before Tournay.

CHAPTER LVI

Of the great host that the French king assembled to raise the siege before Tournay.

Ye have heard before how the king of England had besieged the city of Tournay with more than six score thousand men of arms, with the Flemings. And because the victuals within the city began to minish, the French lords within caused to avoid out of the town all manner of poor people, such as were not furnished to abide the adventure of the siege. They were put out in the open day, and they passed through the duke of Brabant's host, who shewed them grace, for he caused them to be safely brought to the French host at Arras, whereas the king lay. And there he made a great assembly of men of his own country and part out of the Empire.[1] Thither came to him the king of Bohemia, the duke of Lorraine, the earl of Bar, the bishop of Metz and of Verdun, the earl of Montbeliard, sir John of Chalons, the earl of Geneva, the earl of Savoy and the lord Louis of Savoy his brother. All these lords came to serve the French king with all their powers. Also thither came the duke of Bretayne, the duke of Burgoyne, the duke of Bourbon, the earl of Alençon, the earl of Flanders, the earl Forez, the earl Armagnac, the earl of Blois, sir Charles of Blois, the earl of Harcourt, the earl Dammartin, the lord Coucy, and divers other lords and knights. And after came the king of Navarre with a goodly number of men of war out of the country in France that he held of the French king, and thereby he came to serve him: also there was the king of Scots with a certain number appointed to him.

CHAPTERS LVII, LVIII

SUMMARY.—The king of France with his army moved up from Arras towards Tournay. Two German knights of the garrison of Bouchain riding abroad with five-and-twenty spears routed and 'distrussed' certain French soldiers of Mortagne, who were returning with booty.

Sir William de Bailleul and sir Waflard de la Croix with a body of Hainaulters crossed the Pont-à-Tressin and attacked the French encampment. They were routed, chiefly by sir Robert de Bailleul, brother of sir William; and sir Waflard de la Croix being taken prisoner was put to death by the men of Lille.

CHAPTER LIX

How the earl of Hainault assailed the fortress of Mortagne in Picardy by divers manners.

Of this deed that sir Robert Bailleul had done the French king was right joyous. And within a season after the earl of Hainault, sir John his uncle, and the seneschal of Hainault with a six hundred spears, Hainowes and Almains, departed from the siege of Tournay. And the earl sent to them of Valenciennes, that they should come and meet with him before Mortagne, and to come between le Scarpe and l'Escault to assail Mortagne. And they came thither in great array, and brought with them great engines. The lord of Beaujeu, who was captain within Mortagne, greatly doubted assaulting, because the fortress stood near to the river and near to Hainault, as on all parts: therefore he caused twelve hundred piles to be driven in the river, to the intent that no passage should be that way. Howbeit for all that, the earl of Hainault and the Hainowes came thither on the one side, and they of Valenciennes on the other part, and incontinent they made an assault and approached the barriers; but there were such deep trenches, that they could not come near. Then some advised to pass the river of le Scarpe, and so to come on the side toward Saint-Amand, and to make an assault at the gate toward Maulde; and as they devised, a four hundred passed the river. So then Mortagne was closed in three parts; the weakest side was toward Maulde; howbeit there was strength enough. To

[1] The person spoken of is of course king Philip, but the translator has made the passage obscure by omitting the name.

that part came the lord Beaujeu himself to defend it, for he feared none of the other sides. He had in his hand a great glaive, sharp and well steeled, and above the blade there was a sharp hook of steel, that when he gave his stroke, the hook should take hold; and look, on whom that it fastened, he came to him or else fell in the water: by that means the same day he cast into the water more than twelve, at that gate the assault was fiercest. The earl of Hainault, who was on the other side, knew nothing of that assault: he was arranged along the river side of l'Escault and devised how they might get out of the river the piles by force or by subtilty; for then they might come just to the walls. They ordained to make a ship and a great engine to draw out the piles, each one after other: their carpenters were set awork and the engine made in a ship; and the same day they of Valenciennes raised on their side a great engine and did cast in stones, so that it sore troubled them within. Thus the first day passed and the night in assailing and devising how they might grieve them in the fortress; the next day they went to assault on all parts; and the third day the ship was ready and the engine to draw out the piles, and then did set awork to draw them out; but there were so many and such labour in the doing, or they could draw out one, that they were weary of that craft, and the lords would they had never begun it, and so commanded to cease their work. On the other part within Mortagne there was a cunning master in making of engines, who saw well how the engine of Valenciennes did greatly grieve them. He raised an engine in the castle, the which was not very great, but he trimmed it to a point;[1] and he cast therewith but three times; the first stone fell a twelve foot from the engine without, the second fell nearer, and the third stone hit so even that it brake clean asunder the shaft of the engine without. Then the soldiers of Mortagne made a great shout. So thus the Hainowes could get nothing there. Then the earl said how he would withdraw and go again to the siege of Tournay: and so they did, and they of Valenciennes returned to their town.

[1] 'L'attempra bien et à point': that is, he adjusted it to a nicety.

CHAPTERS LX, LXI

SUMMARY.—The earl of Hainault appointed the men of Valenciennes to meet him before Saint-Amand. When they arrived, they attacked the fortress without success and were mocked by those within, who said, 'Go away and drink your good ale!'[1] *They departed and next day the earl came from Tournay and took the town by battering down part of the abbey walls.*

Another day the earl entered France and burnt the abbey of Marchiennes.

Meanwhile the siege of Tournay continued, and some said the duke of Brabant allowed victuals to pass into the town.

In an attack on the French camp by certain knights of Almaine and Hainault the lord Charles of Montmorency was taken prisoner.

CHAPTER LXII

How the Flemings were before Saint-Omer's during the siege.

Now let us shew of an adventure that fell to the Flemings, of the which company there were captains sir Robert d'Artois and sir Henry of Flanders. They were in number a forty thousand, what of the towns of Ypres, Poperinghe, Messines, Cassel and of the chatelainy of Bergues; all these Flemings lay in the vale of Cassel in tents and pavilions, to counter-garrison the French garrisons, that the French king had laid at Saint-Omer's, at Aire, at Saint-Venant and in other towns and fortresses thereabout. And in Saint-Omer's there was the earl Dolphin of Auvergne, the lord of Chalençon, the lord of Montaigu, the lord of Rochfort, the viscount of Thouars, and divers other knights of Auvergne and Limousin. And in Aire and Saint-Venant there were also many soldiers, and oftentimes they issued out and skirmished with the Flemings.

On a day four thousand[2] went to the suburbs of Saint-Omer's and brake down

[1] 'Allez boire vostre god-ale, allez!' a scoffing allusion to their alliance with the English.

[2] That is, of the Flemings; but the better reading is 'environ troi mille.'

divers houses and robbed them. The fray anon was known in the town, and the lords within armed them and their company and issued out at another gate. They were a six banners and a two hundred men of arms and a six hundred footmen, and they came by a secret way on the Flemings, who were busy to rob and pill the town of Arques near to Saint-Omer's. There they were spread abroad without captain or good order: then the Frenchmen came on them in good order of battle, their banners displayed, crying, 'Clermont! the Dolphin of Auvergne!' wherewith the Flemings were abashed and beaten down by heaps; and the chase of them endured two leagues, and there were slain a four thousand and eight hundred,[1] and a four hundred taken prisoners and led to Saint-Omer's. And such as fled and scaped returned to the host and shewed their companions their adventure: and at last tidings thereof came to their captains, sir Robert d'Artois and sir Henry of Flanders, who said it was well employed, for they went forth without commandment or captain.

And the same night, or it was midnight, the Flemings lying in their tents asleep, suddenly generally among them all there fell such a fear in their hearts, that they rose in great haste and with such pain, that they thought not to be dislodged time enough. They beat down their own tents and pavilions and trussed all their carriages, and so fled away, not abiding one for another, without keeping of any right way. When these tidings came to their two captains, they rose hastily and made great fires, and took torches and mounted on their horses, and so came to these Flemings and said: 'Sirs, what aileth you? Do you want anything? Why do you thus fly away? Be you not well assured? Return in the name of God! Ye be to blame thus to fly, and no man chase you.' But for all their words every man fled the next way to their own houses. And when these lords saw none other remedy, they trussed all their harness in waggons and returned to the host before Tournay, and there shewed the adventure of the Flemings, whereof every man had marvel: some said they were overcome with fantasies.

[1] The better reading is, 'of the three thousand there were slain eighteen hundred.'

CHAPTER LXIII

How the siege before Tournay was broken up by reason of a truce.

THIS siege endured a long season, the space of eleven weeks three days less; and all that season the lady Jane of Valois, sister to the French king and mother to the earl of Hainault, travailed greatly, what on the one part and on the other, to have a respite and a peace between the parties, so that they might depart without battle. And divers times she kneeled at the feet of the French king in that behalf, and also made great labour to the lords of the Empire, and specially to the duke of Brabant and to the duke of Juliers, who had her daughter in marriage, and also to sir John of Hainault. So much the good lady procured with the aid and counsel of Louis d'Agimont, who was well beloved with both parties, that it was granted that each party should send four sufficient persons to treat on some good way to accord the parties, and a truce for three days: these appointers should meet in a little chapel standing in the fields called Esplechin. At the day appointed these persons met, and the good lady with them: of the French party there was Charles king of Bohemia, Charles earl d'Alençon, brother to the French king, and the bishop of Liege, the earl of Flanders and the earl of Armagnac. Of the English party there was the duke of Brabant, the bishop of Lincoln, the duke of Gueldres, the duke of Juliers and sir John of Hainault. And when they were all met, they made each to other great salutations and good cheer, and then entered into their treaty. And all that day they communed on divers ways of accord, and always the good lady of Valois was among them, desiring affectuously all the parties, that they would do their labour to make a peace. Howbeit the first day passed without anything doing, and so they returned and promised to meet again the next day; the which day they came together again in the same place and so fell again into their treaty, and so fell unto certain points agreeable; but it was as then so late, that they could not put it in writing as that day; and to make an end and to make perfect the matter if they might, the third

day they met again, and so finally accorded on a truce to endure for a year between all parties and all their men, and also between them that were in Scotland, and all such as made war in Gascoyne, Poitou and in Saintonge; and this truce to begin the fortieth day next ensuing, and within that space every party to give knowledge to his men without mal-engine; and if such companies will not keep the peace, let them be at their choice: but as for France, Picardy, Burgoyne, Bretayne and Normandy, to be bound to this peace without any exception: and this peace to begin incontinent between the hosts of the two kings. Also it was determined that both parties in each of their names should send four or five personages as their ambassadors and to meet at Arras, and the pope in like wise to send thither four, and there to make a full confirmation without any mean.[1] Also by this truce every party to enjoy and possess all and everything that they were as then in possession of.

This truce incontinent was cried in both hosts, whereof the Brabances were right glad, for they were sore weary with so long lying at the siege: so that the next day, as soon as it was daylight, ye should have seen tents taken down, chariots charged and people remove so thick, that a man would have thought to have seen a new world. Thus the good town of Tournay was safe without any great damage: howbeit they within endured great pain; their victuals began to fail, for, as it was said, they had as then scant to serve them a three or four days at the most. The Brabances departed quickly, for they had great desire thereto: the king of England departed sore against his mind, if he might have done otherwise; but in manner he was fain to follow the wills of the other lords and to believe their counsels. And the French king could abide no longer thereas he lay, for the evil air and the weather hot: so the Frenchmen had the honour of that journey,[2] because they had rescued Tournay and caused their enemies to depart. The king of England and the lords on his party said how they had the honour, by reason that they had tarried so long within the realm, and besieged one of the good towns thereof, and also had wasted and burnt in the French country, and that the French king had not rescued it in time and hour, as he ought to have done, by giving of battle, and finally agreed to a truce, their enemies being still at the siege and brenning his country.

Thus these lords departed from the siege of Tournay, and every man drew to his own. The king of England came to Gaunt to the queen his wife, and shortly after passed the sea, and all his, except such as should be at the parliament at Arras. The earl of Hainault returned to his country and held a noble feast at Mons in Hainault, and a great joust, in the which Gerard of Werchin, seneschal of Hainault, did joust, and was so sore hurt, that he died of the stroke: he had a son called John, who was after a good knight and a hardy, but he was but a while in good health. The French king gave leave to every man to depart, and went himself to Lille, and thither came they of Tournay, and the king received them joyously and did shew them great grace: he gave them freely their franchise, the which they had lost long before, wherewith they were joyous; for sir Godemar du Fay and divers other knights had been long governours there: then they made new provost and jurates according to their ancient usages. Then the king departed from Lille to go to Paris.

Now then came the season that the council should be at Arras: and for pope Clement thither came in legation the cardinal of Naples and the cardinal of Clermont, who came to Paris, whereas the king made them much honour, and so came to Arras: for the French king there was the earl of Alençon, the duke of Bourbon, the earl of Flanders, the earl of Blois, the archbishop of Sens, the bishop of Beauvais and the bishop of Auxerre: and for the king of England there was the bishop of Lincoln, the bishop of Durham, the earl of Warwick, sir Robert d'Artois, sir John of Hainault and sir Henry of Flanders. At the which treaty there were many matters put forth, and so continued a fifteen days and agreed of no point of effect. For the Englishmen demanded, and the Frenchmen would nothing give,

[1] 'And that which these parties should ordain, the two kings should hold and confirm without any exception taken.'

[2] 'And so the Frenchmen thought on their part that they had the honour,' etc.

but all only to render the county of Ponthieu, the which was given with queen Isabel in marriage with the king of England. So this parliament brake up and nothing done, but the truce to be relonged two years longer: that was all that the cardinals could get. Then every man departed, and the two cardinals went through Hainault at the desire of the earl, who feasted them nobly.

CHAPTER LXIV

Now speaketh the history of the wars of Bretayne, and how the duke died without heir, whereby the dissension fell.

WHEN that this said truce was agreed and sealed before the city of Tournay, every lord and all manner of people dislodged, and every man drew into his own country. The duke of Bretayne, who had been there with the French king, as well furnished as any other prince that was there, departed homeward; and in his way a sickness took him, so that he died: at which time he had no child, nor had never none, by the duchess, nor had no trust to have. He had a brother by the father's side called earl of Montfort, who was as then living, and he had to his wife [the] sister to the earl Louis of Flanders. This said duke had another brother, both by father and mother, who was as then dead; and he had a daughter alive, and the duke her uncle had married her to the lord Charles of Blois, eldest son of the earl Guy of Blois, that the same earl had by the sister of king Philip of France, who as then reigned, and had promised with her in marriage the duchy of Bretayne after his decease. For he doubted that the earl Montfort would claim the inheritance as next of blood, and yet he was not his proper brother-german, and the duke thought that the daughter of his brother-german ought by reason to be more near to the inheritance after his decease than the earl Montfort his brother. And because he feared that after his decease the earl of Montfort would take away the right from his young niece, therefore he married her with the said sir Charles of Blois, to the intent that king Philip, uncle to her husband, should aid to keep her right against the earl Montfort, if he meddle anything in the matter.

As soon as the earl Montfort knew that the duke his brother was dead, he went incontinent to Nantes, the sovereign city of all Bretayne; and he did so much to the burgesses and to the people of the country thereabout, that he was received as their chief lord, as most next of blood to his brother deceased, and so did to him homage and fealty. Then he and his wife, who had both the hearts of a lion, determined with their counsel to call a court and to keep a solemn feast at Nantes at a day limited, against the which day they sent for all the nobles and counsels of the good towns of Bretayne, to be there to do their homage and fealty to him as to their sovereign lord.

In the mean season, or this feast began, the earl Montfort with a great number of men of war departed from Nantes and went to Limoges;[1] for he was informed that the treasure that his father[2] had gathered many a day before was there kept secret. When he came there he entered into the city with great triumph, and did him much honour, and was nobly received of the burgesses, of the clergy and of the commons, and they all did him fealty as to their sovereign lord; and by such means as he found, that great treasure was delivered to him: and when he had tarried there at his pleasure, he departed with all his treasure and came to Nantes to the countess his wife. And so there they tarried in great joy till the day came of the feast, and made great provisions against the same. And when the day came and no man appeared for no commandment except one knight, called sir Hervé de Leon, a noble and a puissant man; so they kept the feast a three days as well as they might with such as were there. Then it was determined to retain soldiers a-horseback and afoot, and so to dispend his great treasure to attain to his purpose of the duchy and to constrain all rebels to come to mercy. So soldiers were retained on all sides and largely paid, so that they had a great number afoot and a-horseback, nobles and other of divers countries.

[1] The late duke of Brittany had been viscount of Limoges by right of his first wife.
[2] The true reading is 'frère.'

CHAPTER LXV

How the earl of Montfort took the town and castle of Brest.

CHAPTER LXVI

How the earl of Montfort took the city of Rennes.

CHAPTER LXVII

How the earl Montfort took the town and castle of Hennebont.

SUMMARY.—The earl of Montfort received the surrender of Hennebont, Vannes, Auray and other places, several being gained by the influence of Hervé de Léon.

CHAPTER LXVIII

How the earl Montfort did homage to the king of England for the duchy of Bretayne.

SUMMARY.—The earl of Montfort passed over to England and came to Windsor, where he was well received by the king and queen. He offered to do homage for the duchy of Brittany, fearing that the French king would support Charles of Blois. The king of England thought that he might more profitably enter France from Brittany than from Flanders, and accepted the homage, promising to defend him against every man, the French king or other. The earl then returned to Brittany.

CHAPTER LXIX

How the earl Montfort was summoned to be at the parliament of Paris at the request of the lord Charles of Blois.

SUMMARY.—Sir Charles of Blois, conceiving himself to be the rightful inheritor of Brittany by reason of his wife, came to Paris and complained to king Philip against the earl of Montfort. Philip summoned the earl to Paris, and he came with some four hundred horse. He appeared before the king and the peers of France, and denied having done homage to Edward III. for the duchy of Brittany, but maintained his pretensions, submitting at the same time to the judgment of the king. He was ordered not to quit Paris for fifteen days and promised to obey, but when he returned to his lodging he 'sat and imagined many doubts,' and finally left Paris secretly and returned to Brittany.

CHAPTER LXX

How the duchy of Bretayne was judged to sir Charles of Blois.

SUMMARY.—The French king was displeased when he knew that the earl of Montfort was so departed. When the day came for judgment to be given, the peers and great barons decided that the duchy of Brittany belonged clearly to the wife of Charles de Blois. Sir Charles of Blois desired his cousin the duke of Normandy, his uncle the earl of Alençon, with the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Bourbon and other lords present, to go with him into Brittany, and they departed to make them ready.

CHAPTER LXXI

The lords of France that entered into Bretayne with sir Charles of Blois.

SUMMARY.—The lords who have been mentioned assembled at Angers and proceeded to Ancenis, and so entered Brittany and took Champtoceaux. They then went towards Nantes, where the earl of Montfort was, and laid siege to it.

Skirmishes occurred divers times at the barriers, and on one occasion the men of the city commanded by Hervé de Léon suffered heavy loss. Hervé de Léon was blamed by the earl and was much displeased thereby.

CHAPTER LXXII

How the earl Montfort was taken at Nantes, and how he died.

As I heard reported, there were certain burgesses of the city saw how their goods went to waste both without and within, and had of their children and friends in prison, and doubted that worse should come to them after; then they advised and spake together secretly, so that finally they concluded to treat with the lords of France, so that they might come to have peace and to have their children and friends clearly delivered out of prison. They made this treaty so secretly, that at last it was agreed that they should have all the prisoners delivered and they to set open one of the gates, that the French lords might enter to take the earl of Montfort in the castle, without doing of any manner of hurt to the city or to the inhabitants or goods therein. Some said this was purchased by the means and agreement of sir Hervé de Leon, who had been before one of the earl's chief counsellors. Thus as it was devised, so it was done: in a morning the French lords entered and went straight to the castle and brake open the gates, and there took the earl of Montfort prisoner and led him clean out of the city into their field, without doing of any more hurt in the city. This was the year of our Lord God MCCCXLI., about the feast of All Saints.

Then the lords of France entered into the city with great joy; and all the burgesses and other did fealty and homage to the lord Charles of Blois as to their right sovereign lord; and there they tarried a three days in great feast. Then sir Charles of Blois was counselled to abide there about the city of Nantes till the next summer; and so he did, and set captains in such garrisons as he had won. Then the other lords went to Paris to the king and delivered him the earl of Montfort as prisoner. The king set him in the castle of Louvre, whereas he was long, and at last, as I heard reported, there he died.

Now let us speak of the countess his wife, who had the courage of a man and the heart of a lion. She was in the city of Rennes when her lord was taken, and howbeit that she had great sorrow at her heart, yet she valiantly recomforted her friends and soldiers, and shewed them a little son that she had, called John, and said: 'Ah! sirs, be not too sore abashed of the earl my lord, whom we have lost: he was but a man. See here my little child, who shall be by the grace of God his restorer, and he shall do for you all; and I have riches enough; ye shall not lack; and I trust I shall purchase for such a captain, that ye shall be all recomforted.' When she had thus comforted her friends and soldiers in Rennes, then she went to all her other fortresses and good towns, and led ever with her John her young son, and did to them as she did at Rennes, and fortified all her garrisons of everything that they wanted, and paid largely and gave freely, whereas she thought it well employed. Then she went to Hennebont, and there she and her son tarried all that winter. Oftentimes she sent to visit her garrisons, and paid every man full well and truly their wages.

CHAPTER LXXIII

How the king of England the third time made war on the Scots.

SUMMARY.—The Scots had taken again divers fortresses from the English, and had laid siege to Stirling. So soon as Edward returned, he rode towards Scotland and assembled his army at York. The Scots assaulted Stirling with more urgency and compelled the garrison to surrender. Edward moved on to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, where he was much in want of provisions, because his ships were scattered by tempest and now winter was at hand. The Scots, being but few and without a head, sent to make a truce with Edward; and it was agreed that they should send messengers to king David, and if he came not to defend his realm within the month of May following, they should yield them to the king of England. The king of England returned and disbanded his host.

Meanwhile, without knowing of these messengers, king David set sail from France and landed in Scotland.

CHAPTER LXXIV

How king David of Scotland came with a great host to Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

SUMMARY.—King David was received with great joy and gathered a great host. They marched into England, leaving Roxburgh and Berwick aside, and came to Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Here an attack was made upon them from the town and the earl of Moray was taken prisoner. The Scots assaulted the town to no purpose.

CHAPTER LXXV

How king David of Scotland destroyed the city of Durham.

SUMMARY.—The Scots left Newcastle and came to Durham, mad at having lost the earl of Moray. Sir John Nevill, captain at Newcastle, rode within five days from thence to Chertsey, where the king lay, and brought a report of the Scots. The king ordered a general levy to defend the realm, and himself hastened northward. Meanwhile the Scots took Durham by assault and destroyed it utterly, with the churches, putting to death men, women and children, and not sparing monks, prelates or canons.

CHAPTER LXXVI

How the Scots besieged a castle of the earl of Salisbury's.

SUMMARY.—King David drew toward Carlisle and passed by a castle of the earl of Salisbury's,[1] *whereof sir William Montague, nephew to the earl of Salisbury, was captain. This sir William Montague attacked the rear-guard of the Scots and carried off some of their plunder, wherefore an assault was made on the castle. There was within the noble countess of Salisbury, who was reputed for the sagest and fairest lady of all England. Her husband, as we have heard, had been taken prisoner before Lille in France. This lady comforted them greatly within, 'for by the regard of such a lady and by her sweet comforting a man ought to be worth two men at need.' After the first day it was proposed to send for aid to king Edward, who lay at York, and sir William Montague himself offered to ride thither, and passed through the host of the Scots by night. After several days of fruitless assaults the king of Scots was advised to depart, for fear lest the king of England should come thither, and the Scots retired to the forest of Jedworth.*

[1] Probably Wark castle, but the whole of this narrative is very unhistorical.

CHAPTER LXXVII

How the king of England was in amours with the countess of Salisbury.

THE same day that the Scots departed from the said castle, king Edward came thither with all his host about noon, and came to the same place whereas the Scots had lodged, and was sore displeased that he found not the Scots there, for he came thither in such haste, that his horse and men were sore travailed. Then he commanded to lodge there that night, and said how he would go see the castle and the noble lady therein, for he had not seen her sith she was married before: then every man took his lodging as he list. And as soon as the king was unarmed, he took a ten or twelve knights with him and went to the castle, to salute the countess of Salisbury and to see the manner of the assaults of the Scots and the defence that was made against them.

As soon as the lady knew of the king's coming, she set open the gates and came out so richly beseen, that every man marvelled of her beauty and could not cease to regard her nobleness, with her great beauty and the gracious words and countenance that she made. When she came to the king, she kneeled down to the earth, thanking him of his succours, and so led him into the castle to make him cheer and honour, as she that could right well do it. Every man regarded her marvellously: the king himself could not withhold his regarding of her; for he thought that he never saw before so noble nor so fair a lady. He was stricken therewith to the heart

with a sparkle of fine love that endured long after: he thought no lady in the world so worthy to be beloved as she. Thus they entered into the castle hand in hand: the lady led him first into the hall and after into the chamber, nobly apparelled. The king regarded so the lady, that she was abashed: at last he went to a window to rest him, and so fell in a great study. The lady went about to make cheer to the lords and knights that were there, and commanded to dress the hall for dinner. When she had all devised and commanded, then she came to the king with a merry cheer, who was in a great study, and she said: 'Dear sir, why do ye study so for? Your grace not displeased, it appertaineth not to you so to do. Rather ye should make good cheer and be joyful, seeing ye have chased away your enemies, who durst not abide you. Let other men study for the remnant.' Then the king said: 'Ah! dear lady, know for truth that sith I entered into the castle, there is a study come to my mind, so that I cannot choose but to muse; nor I cannot tell what shall fall thereof: put it out of my heart I cannot.' 'Ah, sir,' quoth the lady, 'ye ought always to make good cheer to comfort therewith your people. God hath aided you so in your business, and hath given you so great graces, that ye be the most doubted and honoured prince in all Christendom; and if the king of Scots have done you any despite or damage, ye may well amend it when it shall please you, as ye have done divers times or this. Sir, leave your musing and come into the hall, if it please you: your dinner is all ready.' 'Ah! fair lady,' quoth the king, 'other things lieth at my heart, that ye know not of: but surely the sweet behaving, the perfect wisdom, the good grace, nobleness and excellent beauty, that I see in you, hath so sore surprised my heart, that I cannot but love you, and without your love I am but dead.' Then the lady said: 'Ah, right noble prince, for God's sake mock nor tempt me not. I cannot believe that it is true that ye say, nor that so noble a prince as ye be would think to dishonour me and my lord my husband, who is so valiant a knight and hath done your grace so good service, and as yet lieth in prison for your quarrel. Certainly, sir, ye should in this case have but a small praise, and nothing the better thereby. I had never as yet such a thought in my heart, nor I trust in God never shall have, for no man living. If I had any such intention, your grace ought not all only to blame me, but also to punish my body, yea and by true justice to be dismembered.'[1]

Therewith the lady departed from the king and went into the hall to haste the dinner. Then she returned again to the king and brought some of his knights with her, and said: 'Sir, if it please you to come into the hall, your knights abideth for you to wash: ye have been too long fasting.' Then the king went into the hall and washed, and sat down among his lords, and the lady also. The king ate but little; he sat still musing, and as he durst he cast his eyen upon the lady. Of his sadness his knights had marvel, for he was not accustomed so to be. Some thought it was because the Scots were scaped from him.[2]

All that day the king tarried there and wist not what to do. Sometime he imagined that honour and truth defended him to set his heart in such a case, to dishonour such a lady and so true a knight as her husband was, who had always well and truly served him. On the other part love so constrained him, that the power thereof surmounted honour and truth. Thus the king debated in himself all that day and all that night. In the morning he arose and dislodged all his host and drew after the Scots, to chase them out of his realm. Then he took leave of the lady, saying, 'My dear lady, to God I commend you till I return again, requiring you to advise you otherwise than you have said to me.' 'Noble prince,' quoth the lady, 'God the Father glorious be your conduct, and put you out of all villain thoughts. Sir, I am and ever shall be ready to do your grace service to your honour and to mine.' Therewith the king departed all abashed; and so followed the Scots till he came to the city of Berwick, and went and lodged within four leagues of the forest of Gedeours, whereas king

[1] 'Mon corps punir, justicier et desmembrer.'

[2] The celebrated game of chess, in which the king purposely loses a valuable ring to the countess, which she sends back to him on his departure, is only found in the (so-called) first redaction.

David and all his company were entered, in trust of the great wilderness. The king of England tarried there a three days, to see if the Scots would issue out to fight with him. In these three days there were divers skirmishes on both parties, and divers slain, taken and sore hurt among the Scots. Sir William Douglas was he that did most trouble to the Englishmen: he bare azure, a comble silver, three stars gules.

CHAPTER LXXVIII

How the earl of Salisbury and the earl Moray were delivered out of prison by exchange.

IN these said three days there were noblemen on both parties that treated for a peace to be had between these two kings; and their treaty took such effect, that a truce was agreed, to endure two year, so that the French king would thereto agree; for the king of Scots was so sore allied to the French king, that he might take no peace without his consent. And if so be the French king would not agree to the peace, then the truce to endure to the first day of May following. And it was agreed that the earl of Moray should be quit for his prisonment, if the king of Scots could do so much, to purchase with the French king that the earl of Salisbury might in like manner be quit out of prison; the which thing should be done before the feast of Saint John Baptist next after. The king of England agreed the sooner to this truce, because he had war in France, in Gascoyne, in Poitou, in Saintonge, in Bretayne; and in every place he had men of war at his wages. Then the king of Scots sent great messengers to the French king, to agree to this truce. The French king was content, seeing it was the desire of the king of Scots. Then the earl of Salisbury was sent into England, and the king of England sent incontinent the earl Moray into Scotland.

CHAPTER LXXIX

How sir Charles de Blois with divers lords of France took the city of Rennes in Bretayne.

SUMMARY.—Sir Charles of Blois remained at Nantes for the winter, and then laid siege to Rennes. The countess of Montfort, who was at Hennebont, sent to get help from the king of England, who sent sir Walter of Manny with a body of men of arms and three thousand archers, but they were detained for sixty days on their passage by contrary winds. Meanwhile the burgesses of Rennes yielded up their town in the beginning of May MCCCXLII.

CHAPTER LXXX

How sir Charles de Blois besieged the countess of Montfort in Hennebont.

WHEN the city of Rennes was given up, the burgesses made their homage and fealty to the lord Charles of Blois. Then he was counselled to go and lay siege to Hennebont, whereas the countess was, saying that the earl being in prison, if they might get the countess and her son, it should make an end of all their war. Then they went all to Hennebont and laid siege thereto, and to the castle also, as far as they might by land. With the countess in Hennebont there was the bishop of Leon in Bretayne, also there was sir Ives of Tresiguidy, the lord of Landernau, sir William of Cadoudal, and the chatelain of Guingamp, the two brethren of Quirich, sir Henry and sir Oliver of Spinefort, and divers other. When the countess and her company understood that the Frenchmen were coming to lay siege to the town of Hennebont, then it was commanded to sound the watch-bell alarm, and every man to be armed and draw to their defence.

When sir Charles and the Frenchmen came near to the town, they commanded to lodge there that night. Some of the young lusty companions came skirmishing to the barriers, and some of them within issued out to them, so that there was a great affray; but the Genoways and Frenchmen lost more

than they won. When night came on, every man drew to their lodging. The next day the lords took counsel to assail the barriers, to see the manner of them within; and so the third day they made a great assault to the barriers from morning till it was noon. Then the assailants drew aback sore beaten and divers slain. When the lords of France saw their men draw aback, they were sore displeased, and caused the assault to begin again more fiercer than it was before, and they within defended themselves valiantly. The countess herself ware harness on her body and rode on a great courser from street to street, desiring her people to make good defence, and she caused damosels and other women to cut short their kirtles and to carry stones[1] and pots full of chalk to the walls, to be cast down to their enemies.

This lady did there an hardy enterprise. She mounted up to the height of a tower, to see how the Frenchmen were ordered without: she saw how that all the lords and all other people of the host were all gone out of their field to the assault: then she took again her courser, armed as she was, and caused three hundred men a-horseback to be ready, and she went with them to another gate, whereas there was none assault. She issued out and her company, and dashed into the French lodgings, and cut down tents and set fire in their lodgings: she found no defence there, but a certain of varlets and boys, who ran away. When the lords of France looked behind them and saw their lodgings afire and heard the cry and noise there, they returned to the field crying, 'Treason! treason!' so that all the assault was left.

When the countess saw that, she drew together her company, and when she saw she could not enter again into the town without great damage, she took another way and went to the castle of Brest, the which was not far thence. When sir Louis of Spain, who was marshal of the host, was come to the field, and saw their lodgings brenning and saw the countess and her company going away, he followed after her with a great number. He chased her so near, that he slew and hurt divers of them that were behind, evil horsed, but the countess and the most part of her company rode so well that they came to Brest, and there they were received with great joy.

The next day the lords of France, who had lost their tents and their provisions, then took counsel to lodge in bowers of trees more nearer to the town; and they had great marvel when they knew that the countess herself had done that enterprise. They of the town wist not where the countess was become, whereof they were in great trouble, for it was five days or they heard any tidings. The countess did so much at Brest that she gat together a five hundred spears, and then about midnight she departed from Brest, and by the sun-rising she came along by the one side of the host, and came to one of the gates of Hennebont, the which was opened for her, and therein she entered and all her company with great noise of trumpets and canayrs; whereof the French host had great marvel, and armed them and ran to the town to assault it, and they within ready to defend. There began a fierce assault and endured till noon, but the Frenchmen lost more than they within. At noon the assault ceased: then they took counsel that sir Charles de Blois should go from that siege and give assault to the castle of Auray, the which king Arthur made, and with him should go the duke of Bourbon, the earl of Blois, the marshal of France sir Robert Bertrand, and that sir Hervé de Leon, and part of the Genoways, and the lord Louis of Spain and the viscount of Rohan, with all the Spaniards, should abide still before Hennebont: for they saw well they could have no profit to assail Hennebont any more; but they sent for twelve great engines to Rennes, to the intent to cast into the town and castle day and night. So they divided their host, the one still before Hennebont, the other with sir Charles of Blois before Auray.

They within Auray were well fortified and were a two hundred companions, able for to maintain the war; and sir Henry of Spinefort and sir Oliver his brother were chief captains there. A four leagues from that

[1] A curious mistranslation. Froissart says: 'She made the women of the town, ladies and other, take up the pavement of the streets (despecer les chaussées) and carry stones to the battlements to cast upon their enemies.' The translator has confused 'chaussées' and 'chausses,' and so got the idea of cutting short the kirtles. In the next clause 'chalk' is his translation of 'chaulx vive,' 'quick-lime.'

castle was the good town of Vannes, pertaining to the countess, and captain there was sir Geoffrey of Malestroit. Not far thence also was the good town of Dinan: the chatelain of Guingamp was captain there: he was at Hennebont with the countess, and had left in the town of Dinan his wife and his children, and had left there captain in his stead Raynold his son. Between these two towns stood a strong castle pertaining to sir Charles de Blois, and was well kept with soldiers, Burgoynians: captain there was sir Gerard of Malain,[1] and with him another knight called Pierre Portebeuf. They wasted all the country about them and constrained sore the said two towns, for there could neither merchandise nor provision enter into any of them but in great danger. On a day they would ride toward Vannes, and another day toward Dinan; and on a day sir Raynold of Guingamp laid a bushment, and the same day sir Gerard of Malain rode forth and had taken a fifteen merchants and all their goods, and was driving of them towards their castle, called Roche-Pirion, and so fell in the bushment. And there sir Raynold of Guingamp took sir Gerard prisoner and a twenty-five of his company, and rescued the merchants and led forth their prisoners to Dinan, whereof sir Raynold was much praised and well worthy.

Now let us speak of the countess of Montfort, who was besieged in Hennebont by sir Louis of Spain, who kept the siege there; and he had so broken and bruised the walls of the town with his engines, so that they within began to be abashed. And on a day the bishop of Leon spake with sir Hervé of Leon his nephew, by whom, as it was said, that the earl Montfort was taken. So long they spake together, that they agreed that the bishop should do what he could to cause the company within to agree to yield up the town and castle to sir Charles de Blois, and sir Hervé de Leon on the other side should purchase peace for them all of sir Charles de Blois, and to lose nothing of their goods. Thus the bishop entered again into the town: the countess incontinent doubted of some evil purchase. Then she desired the lords and knights that were there, that for the love of God they should be in no doubt; for she said she was in surety that they should have succours within three days. However the bishop spake so much and shewed so many reasons to the lords, that they were in a great trouble all that night. The next morning they drew to council again, so that they were near of accord to have given up the town, and sir Hervé was come near to the town to have taken possession thereof. Then the countess looked down along the sea, out at a window in the castle, and began to smile for great joy that she had to see the succours coming, the which she had so long desired. Then she cried out aloud and said twice: 'I see the succours of England coming.' Then they of the town ran to the walls and saw a great number of ships great and small, freshly decked,[1] coming toward Hennebont. They thought well it was the succours of England, who had been on the sea sixty days by reason of contrary winds.

[1] The author calls him 'uns bons escuiers.'

CHAPTER LXXXI

How sir Walter of Manny brought the Englishmen into Bretayne.

When the seneschal of Guingamp, sir Ives of Tresiguidy, sir Galeran of Landernau, and the other knights saw these succours coming, then they said to the bishop: 'Sir, ye may well leave your treaty,' for they said they were not content as then to follow his counsel. Then the bishop said: 'Sirs, then our company shall depart, for I will go to him that hath most right, as me seemeth.' Then he departed from Hennebont and defied the countess and all her aiders, and so went to sir Hervé de Leon and shewed him how the matter went. Then sir Hervé was sore displeased, and caused incontinent to rear up the greatest engines that they had near to the castle, and commanded that they should not cease to cast day and night. Then he departed thence and brought the bishop to sir Louis of Spain, who received him with great joy, and so did sir Charles of Blois.

Then the countess dressed up halls and chambers to lodge the lords of England that were coming, and did send against them

[1] 'Bien bastillés,' well provided with battlements or bulwarks.

right nobly. And when they were aland, she came to them with great reverence and feasted them the best she might, and thanked them right humbly, and caused all the knights and other to lodge at their ease in the castle and in the town, and the next day she made them a great feast at dinner. All night and the next day also the engines never ceased to cast; and after dinner sir Gaultier of Manny, who was chief of that company, demanded of the state of the town and of the host without, and said: 'I have a great desire to issue out and to break down this great engine that standeth so near us, if any will follow me.' Then sir Ives of Tresiguidy said how he would not fail him at this his first beginning, and so said the lord of Landernau. Then they armed them, and so they issued out privily at a certain gate, and with them a three hundred archers, who shot so wholly together that they that kept the engine fled away; and the men of arms came after the archers and slew divers of them that fled, and beat down the great engine and brake it all to pieces. Then they ran in among the tents and lodgings and set fire in divers places and slew and hurt divers, till the host began to stir: then they withdrew fair and easily, and they of the host ran after them like mad-men. Then sir Gaultier said: 'Let me never be beloved with my lady, without I have a course with one of these followers'; and therewith turned his spear in the rest, and in likewise so did the two brethren of Levedale and the Hase of Brabant, sir Ives of Tresiguidy, sir Galeran of Landernau and divers other companions. They ran at the first comers: there might well a been legs seen turned upward. There began a sore meddling, for they of the host always increased, wherefore it behoved the Englishmen to withdraw toward their fortress. There might well a been seen on both parties many noble deeds, taking and rescuing. The Englishmen drew sagely to the dikes and there made a stall, till all their men were in safeguard; and all the residue of the town issued out to rescue their company, and caused them of the host to recule back. So when they of the host saw how they could do no good, they drew to their lodgings, and they of the fortress in like wise to their lodgings. Then the countess descended down from the castle with a glad cheer and came and kissed sir Gaultier of Manny and his companions one after another two or three times, like a valiant lady.

CHAPTERS LXXXII–LXXXVI

SUMMARY.—The French abandoned the siege of Hennebont and retired to Auray. The castle of Conquest was taken by the French and retaken the next day by sir Walter de Manny.

The French took Dinan, Guérande, Auray and Vannes. Sir Walter de Manny defeated sir Louis of Spain at Quimperlé. Carhaix was surrendered to sir Charles of Blois, who then returned to the siege of Hennebont. There he was joined by sir Louis of Spain, who was much angered by the defeat at Quimperlé.

CHAPTER LXXXVII

How sir John Butler and sir Hubert of Frenay were rescued from death before Hennebont.

On a day sir Louis of Spain came to the tent of sir Charles de Blois and desired of him a gift for all the service that ever he had done, in the presence of divers lords of France. And sir Charles granted him, because he knew himself so much bound to him. 'Sir,' quoth he, 'I require you cause the two knights that be in prison in Faouet to be brought hither, that is to say sir John Butler and sir Hubert Frenay, and to give them to me, to do with them at my pleasure. Sir, this is the gift that I desire of you: they have chased, discomfited and hurt me, and slain my nephew Alphonso. I cannot tell how otherwise to be revenged of them, but I shall strike off their heads before the town in the sight of their companions.' Of these words sir Charles was abashed and said: 'Certainly with right a good will I will give you the prisoners, sith ye have desired them; but surely it should be a shameful deed to put so to death such two valiant knights as they be, and it shall be an occasion to our enemies to deal in like wise with any of ours, if they

fall in like case; and we know not what shall daily fall; the chances of war be divers: wherefore, dear cousin, I require you to be better advised.' Then sir Louis said: 'Sir, if ye keep not promise with me, know ye for truth that I shall depart out of your company and shall never serve nor love you again, while I live.'

When sir Charles saw none other boot, he sent to Faouet for the two knights, and in a morning they were brought to sir Charles of Blois' tent: but for all that he could desire, he could not turn sir Louis of Spain from his purpose, but said plainly that they should be beheaded anon after dinner, he was so sore displeased with them.

All these words that was between sir Charles and sir Louis for the occasion of these two knights, anon was come to the knowledge of sir Walter of Manny by certain spies, that shewed the mischief that these two knights were in. Then he called his company and took counsel what was best to do. Some thought one thing, some thought another, but they wist not what remedy to find. Then sir Gaultier of Manny said: 'Sirs, it should be great honour for us, if we might deliver out of danger yonder two knights: and if we put it in adventure, though we fail thereof, yet king Edward our master will can us much thank therefor, and so will all other noble men that hereafter shall hear of the case. At least it shall be said how we did our devoir. Sirs, this is mine advice, if ye will follow it, for me thinketh a man should well adventure his body to save the lives of two such valiant knights: mine advice is that we divide ourselves into two parts, the one part incontinent to issue out at this gate and to arrange themselves on the dikes, to stir the host and to skirmish: I think that all the whole host will come running thither. And, sir Aymery, ye shall be captain of that company, and take with you a six thousand good archers and three hundred men of arms. And I shall take with me a hundred men of arms and five hundred archers, and I will issue out at the postern covertly and shall dash into the host among the lodgings behind, the which I think we shall find as good as void. I shall have such with me as shall well bring me to the tent of sir Charles de Blois, whereas I think we shall find the two knights prisoners; and I ensure you we shall do our devoir to deliver them.' This device pleased them all, and incontinent they armed them, and about the hour of dinner sir Aymery of Clisson issued out with his company and set open the chief gate towards the host, and some of them dashed suddenly into the host, and cut down tents, and slew and hurt divers. The host was in a sudden fray, and in haste armed them and drew towards the Englishmen and Bretons, who fair and easily reculed back. There was a sore skirmish, and many a man overthrown on both parties. Then sir Aymery drew his people along on the dikes within the barriers, and the archers ready on both sides the way to receive their enemies: the noise and cry was so great, that all the whole host drew thither, and left their tents void, saving a certain varlets.

In the mean season sir Gaultier of Manny and his company issued out at a postern privily and came behind the host, and entered into the lodgings of the French lords; for there were none to resist them, all were at the skirmish. Then sir Gaultier went straight to sir Charles of Blois' tent, and found there the two knights prisoners, sir Hubert of Frenay and sir John Butler, and made them incontinent to leap upon two good horses that they brought thither for the same intent, and returned incontinent and entered again into Hennebont the same way they issued out. The countess received them with great joy.

All this season they fought still at the gate. Then tidings came to the lords of France how the two knights prisoners were rescued. When sir Louis of Spain knew thereof, he thought himself deceived, and he demanded which way they were gone that made that rescue; and it was shewed him how they were entered into Hennebont. Then sir Louis departed from the assault and went to his lodging right sore displeased: then all other left the assault. In the retreat there were two knights that adventured themselves so forward, that they were taken by the Frenchmen, the lord Landernau and the chatelain of Guingamp, whereof sir Charles of Blois had great joy, and they were brought to his tent, and there they were so preached to, that they turned to sir Charles' party and did homage and fealty to him.

The third day after all the lords assembled in the lord Charles' tent to take counsel, for they saw well that Hennebont was so strong and so well fortified with men of war, that they thought they should win but little there; and also the country was so wasted, that they wist not whither to go to forage; and also winter was at hand: wherefore they all agreed to depart. Then they counselled sir Charles of Blois that he should send new provisions to all cities, towns and fortresses, such as he had won, and noble captains with good soldiers to defend their places from their enemies; and also if any man would treat for a truce to Whitsuntide, that it should not be refused.

CHAPTERS LXXXVIII-XC

SUMMARY.—The town of Jugon was betrayed to sir Charles of Blois by a rich burgess.

A truce was made, and the countess of Montfort passed over into England.

A feast and jousts were held in London in honour of the countess of Salisbury.

The king of England sent Robert of Artois with a force of men of arms and archers to aid the countess of Montfort. The lord Louis of Spain and the Genoese waited for him on the sea about Guernsey.

CHAPTER XCI

Of the battle of Guernsey between sir Robert d'Artois and sir Louis of Spain on the sea.

SIR ROBERT D'ARTOIS earl of Richmond, and with him the earl of Pembroke, the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Suffolk, the earl of Oxford, the baron of Stafford, the lord Spenser, the lord Bourchier, and divers other knights of England and their companies were with the countess of Montfort on the sea, and at last came before the isle of Guernsey. Then they perceived the great fleet of the Genoways, whereof sir Louis of Spain was chief captain. Then their mariners said: 'Sirs, arm you quickly, for yonder be Genoways and Spaniards that will set on you.' Then the Englishmen sowned their trumpets and reared up their banners and standards with their arms and devices, with the banner of Saint George, and set their ships in order with their archers before: and as the wind served them, they sailed forth. They were a forty-six vessels, great and small; but sir Louis of Spain had nine greater than any of the other and three galleys. And in the three galleys were the three chief captains, as sir Louis of Spain, sir Charles and sir Ayton,[1] and when they approached near together, the Genoways began to shoot with their cross-bows, and the archers of England against them: there was sore shooting between them and many hurt on both parties. And when the lords, knights and squires came near together, there was a sore battle: the countess that day was worth a man; she had the heart of a lion, and had in her hand a sharp glaive, wherewith she fought fiercely.

The Spaniards and Genoways that were in the great vessels they cast down great bars of iron and pieces of timber, the which troubled sore the English archers. This battle began about the time of evensong, and the night departed them, for it was very dark, so that one could scant know another. Then they withdrew each from other and cast anchors and abode still in their harness, for they thought to fight again in the morning. But about midnight there rose such a tempest, so horrible, as though all the world should have ended. There was none so hardy but would gladly have been aland: the ships dashed so together, that they weened all would have riven in pieces. The lords of England demanded counsel of their mariners, what was best to do: they answered, to take land as soon as they might; for the tempest was so great, that if they took the sea, they were in danger of drowning. Then they drew up their anchors, and bare but a quarter sail, and drew from that place. The Genoways on the other side drew up their anchors and took the deep of the sea; for their vessels were greater than the English ships, they might better abide the brunt of the sea; for if the great vessels had come near the land, they were likely to have been broken. And as they departed, they took four English ships laded with victual and tailed them to their

[1] Louis de la Cerda, called d'Espagne, Charles Grimaldi and Ayton (Antonio) Doria.

ships. The storm was so hideous, that in less than a day they were driven a hundred leagues from the place where they were before. And the English ships took a little haven not far from the city of Vannes, whereof they were right glad.

CHAPTERS XCII-XCIV

SUMMARY.—The English laid siege to Vannes and took it by assault.

The countess of Montfort went with sir Walter de Manny to Hennebont: the earls of Salisbury and Pembroke laid siege to Rennes; and sir Robert d'Artois remained at Vannes.

Sir Hervé de Léon and the lord Clisson recovered Vannes, and sir Robert d'Artois was wounded in the defence. After staying for a time at Hennebont, he set sail for England and there died. The king of England, to avenge his death, landed with an army near Vannes, and laid siege to the town.

Charles of Blois sent for aid to the French king. The king of England left a force before Vannes and went on to Nantes. There also he left a part of his army and returning laid siege to Dinan.

CHAPTER XCV

How sir Hervé of Leon and the lord Clisson were taken prisoners before Vannes.

WHILE the king of England was thus in Bretayne, wasting and destroying the country, such as he had lying at siege before Vannes gave divers assaults, and specially at one of the gates. And on a day there was a great assault and many feats of arms done on both parties. They within set open the gate and came to the barriers, because they saw the earl of Warwick's banner and the earl of Arundel's, the lord Stafford's and sir Walter of Manny's, adventuring themselves jeopardously, as they thought: wherefore the lord Clisson, sir Hervé of Leon and other adventured themselves courageously. There was a sore skirmish: finally the Englishmen were put back: then the knights of Bretayne opened the barriers and adventured themselves, and left six knights with a good number to keep the town, and they issued out after the Englishmen. And the Englishmen reculed wisely, and ever fought as they saw their advantage. The Englishmen multiplied in such wise that at last the Frenchmen and Bretons were fain to recule back again to their town, not in so good order as they came forth. Then the Englishmen followed them again, and many were slain and hurt. They of the town saw their men recule again and chased: then they closed their barriers in so evil a time, that the lord Clisson and sir Hervé of Leon were closed without, and there they were both taken prisoners. And on the other side the lord Stafford was gone in so far, that he was closed in between the gate and the barriers, and there he was taken prisoner, and divers that were with him taken and slain. Thus the Englishmen drew to their lodgings, and the Bretons into the city of Vannes.

CHAPTERS XCVI-XCIX

SUMMARY.—The king of England took Dinan by assault.[1] *In the meantime sir Louis of Spain kept the sea and did much damage to the English ships.*

The duke of Normandy, the earl of Alençon, the duke of Bourbon and many other lords came to Nantes to help Charles of Blois. The king of England sent for his force which lay before Nantes to come to Vannes.

The duke of Normandy came up from Nantes and lay over against the king of England at Vannes. The king of England sent for them that lay at siege before Rennes. The two hosts lay one against the other till it was well onward in winter. Then by means of two cardinals sent by the pope Clement VI. a truce was agreed to for three years.

The lord Clisson was exchanged for the lord Stafford, but on suspicion of treason he was shortly after put to death by the French

[1] From Froissart's last redaction, with which lord Berners was not acquainted, we know that the captain of the town was made prisoner by the young knight John Bourchier, ancestor of our translator.

king, and so also were some other lords of Brittany and Normandy. The lord Clisson had a son called Oliver, who went to the countess of Montfort and her son, who was of his age.

CHAPTER C

Of the order of Saint George, that king Edward stablished in the castle of Windsor.

IN this season the king of England took pleasure to new re-edify the castle of Windsor, the which was begun by king Arthur, and there first began the Table Round, whereby sprang the fame of so many noble knights throughout all the world. Then king Edward determined to make an order and a brotherhood of a certain number of knights, and to be called knights of the Blue Garter, and a feast to be kept yearly at Windsor on Saint George's day. And to begin this order the king assembled together earls, lords and knights of his realm, and shewed them his intention: and they all joyously agreed to his pleasure, because they saw it was a thing much honourable and whereby great amity and love should grow and increase. Then was there chosen out a certain number of the most valiantest men of the realm, and they sware and sealed to maintain the ordinances, such as were devised; and the king made a chapel in the castle of Windsor, of Saint George, and stablished certain canons there to serve God, and endowed them with fair rent. Then the king sent to publish this feast by his heralds into France, Scotland, Burgoyne, Hainault, Flanders, Brabant, and into the Empire of Almaine, giving to every knight and squire that would come to the said feast fifteen days of safe-conduct before the feast and after: the which feast to begin at Windsor on Saint George day next after in the year of our Lord MCCCXLIV., and the queen to be there accompanied with three hundred ladies and damosels, all of noble lineage and apparelled accordingly.

CHAPTER CI

How the king of England delivered out of prison sir Hervé of Leon.

WHILE the king made this preparation at Windsor for this said feast, tidings came to him how the lord Clisson and divers other lords had lost their heads in France, wherewith the king was sore displeased, insomuch that he was in purpose to have served sir Hervé of Leon in like case, whom he had in prison; but his cousin the earl of Derby shewed to him before his council such reasons to assuage his ire and to refrain his courage, saying, 'Sir, though that king Philip in his haste hath done so foul a deed as to put to death such valiant knights, yet, sir, for all that blemish not your nobleness: and, sir, to say the truth, your prisoner ought to bear no blame for this deed; but, sir, put him to a reasonable ransom.'

Then the king sent for the knight prisoner to come to his presence, and then said to him: 'Ah, sir Hervé, sir Hervé, mine adversary Philip of Valois hath shewed his felony right cruel, to put to death such knights, wherewith I am sore displeased: and it is thought to us[1] that he hath done it in despite of us; and if I would regard his malice, I should serve you in like manner, for ye have done me more displeasure, and to mine in Bretayne, than any other person. But I will suffer it and let him do his worst, for to my power I will keep mine honour; and I am content ye shall come to a light ransom, for the love of my cousin of Derby, who hath desired me for you, so that ye will do that I shall shew you.' The knight answered and said: 'Sir, I shall do all that ye shall command me.' Then said the king: 'I know well ye be one of the richest knights in Bretayne, and if I would sore press you, ye should pay me thirty or forty thousand scutes. But ye shall go to mine adversary Philip of Valois, and shew him on my behalf that, sith he hath so shamefully put to death so valiant knights in the despite of me, I say and will make it good he hath broken the truce taken between me and him; wherefore also I renounce it on my part and defy him from this day forward. And so that ye will do

[1] 'It seems to some of our party.'

this message, your ransom shall be but ten thousand scutes, the which ye shall pay and send to Bruges within fifteen days after ye be past the sea: and moreover ye shall say to all knights and squires of those parts, that for all this they leave not to come to our feast at Windsor, for we would gladly see them, and they shall have sure and safe conduct to return fifteen days after the feast.' 'Sir,' said the knight, 'to the best of my power I shall accomplish your message, and God reward your grace for the courtesy ye shew me, and also I humbly thank my lord of Derby of his good-will.'

And so sir Hervé of Leon departed from the king and went to Hampton, and there took the sea, to the intent to arrive at Harfleur; but a storm took him on the sea, which endured fifteen days, and lost his horse, which were cast into the sea, and sir Hervé of Leon was so sore troubled that he had never health after. Howbeit at last he took land at Crotoy, and so he and all his company went afoot to Abbeville, and there they got horses: but sir Hervé was so sick that he was fain to go in a litter, and so came to Paris to king Philip and did his message from point to point: and he lived not long after, but died as he went into his country in the city of Angers: God assoil his soul.

CHAPTERS CII–CVI

SUMMARY.—On the day of Saint George the king held his feast at Windsor, to which came knights of divers countries, but none from France.

The king sent the earl of Derby to go into Gascony, and with him the earls of Pembroke and Oxford, sir Walter de Manny and others. The king sent sir Thomas Dagworth into Brittany and the earl of Salisbury into Ireland.

The earl of Derby came to Bordeaux; and meanwhile the lord de l'Isle gathered the lords of the French party together and they resolved to hold the passage of the river at Bergerac.[1]

The earl of Derby rode to Bergerac and took the town, the French lords departing to la Réole. Leaving Bergerac the earl of Derby conquered many fortresses in upper Gascony, and then returned to Bordeaux.

The earl de l'Isle laid siege to Auberoche, which had been captured by the earl of Derby. The garrison endeavoured to send a messenger to Bordeaux, but he was intercepted and shot back into the town from an engine.

[1] Froissart calls the river the Garonne, but it is the Dordogne.

CHAPTER CVII

How the earl of Derby took before Auberoche the earl of l'Isle and divers other earls and viscounts to the number of nine.

ALL the matter of taking of this messenger with the letter and necessity of them within Auberoche was shewed to the earl of Derby by a spy that had been in the French host. Then the earl of Derby sent to the earl of Pembroke, being at Bergerac, to meet with him at a certain place: also he sent for the lord Stafford and to sir Stephen Tombey, being at Libourne, and the earl himself, with sir Gaultier of Manny and his company, rode towards Auberoche, and rode so secretly with such guides as knew the country, that the earl came to Libourne and there tarried a day abiding the earl of Pembroke. And when he saw that he came not, he went forth, for the great desire that he had to aid them in Auberoche. Thus the earl of Derby, the earl of Oxford, sir Gaultier of Manny, sir Richard Hastings, sir Stephen Tombey, the lord Ferrers and the other issued out of Libourne and rode all the night, and in the morning they were within two little leagues of Auberoche. They entered into a wood and lighted from their horses and tied their horses to pasture, abiding for the earl of Pembroke, and there tarried till it was noon. They wist not well then what to do, because they were but three hundred spears and six hundred archers, and the Frenchmen before Auberoche were a ten or twelve thousand men; yet they thought it a great shame to lose their companions in Auberoche. Finally sir Gaultier of Manny said: 'Sirs, let us leap on our horses and let us coast under the covert of this wood, till we be on the same side that joineth to their host, and when we be near, put the spurs to the horses and cry our cries. We shall enter

while they be at supper and unware of us: ye shall see them be so discomfited, that they shall keep none array.'

All the lords and knights agreed to his saying: then every man took his horse and ordained all their pages and baggage to abide still thereas they were. So they rode still along by the wood, and came to a little river in a vale near to the French host. Then they displayed their banners and pennons and dashed their spurs to their horses, and came in a heap into the French host among the Gascons, who were nothing ware of that hashment. They were going to supper, and some ready set at their meat: the Englishmen cried, 'A Derby, a Derby!'[1] and overthrew tents and pavilions, and slew and hurt many. The Frenchmen wist not what to do, they were so hasted: when they came into the field and assembled together, they found the English archers there ready to receive them, who shot so fiercely, that they slew man and horse and hurt many. The earl of l'Isle was taken prisoner in his own tent and sore hurt, and the earl of Perigord and sir Roger his uncle in their tents: and there was slain the lord of Duras [and] sir Aymar of Poitiers, and the earl of Valentinois his brother was taken: every man fled that might best, but the earl of Comminges, the viscount of Caraman and of Villemur and of Bruniquel, and the lord de la Bard and of Terride, and other that were lodged on the other side of the castle, drew back and went into the fields with their banners. The Englishmen, who had overcome all the other, dashed in fiercely among them: there was many a proper feat of arms done, many taken and rescued again. When they within the castle heard that noise without and saw the English banners and pennons, incontinent they armed them and issued out, and rushed into the thickest of the press: they greatly refreshed the Englishmen that had fought there before. Whereto should I make long process? All those of the earl of l'Isle's party were nigh all taken or slain: if the night had not come on, there had but few scaped. There were taken that day, what earls and viscounts to the number of nine, and of lords, knights and squires taken so that there was no English man of arms but that had two or three prisoners. This battle was on Saint Lawrence night, the year of our Lord MCCCXLIV.[1] The Englishmen dealt like good companions with their prisoners and suffered many to depart on their oath and promise to return again at a certain day to Bergerac or to Bordeaux.

Then the Englishmen entered into Auberoche, and there the earl of Derby gave a supper to the most part of the earls and viscounts prisoners, and to many of the knights and squires. The Englishmen gave laud to God, in that that a thousand of them had overcome ten thousand of their enemies and had rescued the town of Auberoche and saved their companions that were within, who by all likelihood should have been taken within two days after.

The next day anon upon sun-rising thither came the earl of Pembroke with his company, a three hundred spears and a four thousand archers. Then he said to the earl of Derby: 'Certainly, cousin, ye have done me great uncourtesy to fight with our enemies without me: seeing that ye sent for me, ye might have been sure I would not fail to come.' 'Fair cousin,' quoth the earl of Derby, 'we desired greatly to have had you with us: we tarried all day till it was far past noon, and when we saw that ye came not, we durst not abide no longer; for if our enemies had known of our coming, they had been in a great advantage over us; and now we have the advantage of them. I pray you, be content, and help to guide us to Bordeaux.' So they tarried all that day and the next night in Auberoche; and the next day betimes they departed, and left captain in Auberoche a knight of Gascony called Alexander of Chaumont. Thus they rode to Bordeaux and led with them the most part of their prisoners.

[1] The French is 'Derbi, Derbi, au comte!'

CHAPTER CVIII

Of the towns that the earl of Derby won in Gascoyne, going toward the Reole.

SUMMARY. — The earl of Derby wintered at Bordeaux and in May 1345[2] *joined*

[1] The date is wrong: it was in 1345, as also this whole campaign, and probably on the 21st of October. St. Lawrence is 10th August.

[2] The earl of Derby did not winter at Bordeaux but continued his operations. La Réole was taken towards the end of 1345.

the earl of Pembroke at Bergerac and so on towards la Réole. Sainte-Bazeille submitted and la Roche Meilhan was taken by assault: Monségur was besieged for fifteen days and then a truce was agreed to with the captain there, to see if the king of France would send aid within a month. Aiguillon surrendered, for which the captain of it was charged with treason and hanged at Toulouse. Castelsagrat was taken by assault.

CHAPTER CIX

How the earl of Derby laid siege to the Reole, and how that the town was yielded to him.

THUS the earl of Derby came before the Reole and laid siege thereto on all sides, and made bastides in the fields and on the ways, so that no provision could enter into the town, and nigh every day there was assault. The siege endured a long space. And when the month was expired that they of Segur should give up their town, the earl sent thither, and they of the town gave up and became under the obeisance of the king of England: the captain, sir Hugh Badefol, became servant to the earl, with other that were within, upon certain wages that they had. The Englishmen, that had lien long before the Reole, more than nine weeks, had made in the mean space two belfries of great timber with three stages, every belfry on four great wheels, and the sides towards the town were covered with cure boly to defend them from fire and from shot, and into every stage there were pointed an hundred archers. By strength of men these two belfries were brought to the walls of the town, for they had so filled the dikes that they might well be brought just to the walls. The archers in these stages shot so wholly together, that none durst appear at their defence without they were well pavised; and between these two belfries there were a two hundred men with pick-axes to mine the walls, and so they brake through the walls. Then the burgesses of the town came to one of the gates to speak with some lord of the host. When the earl of Derby knew thereof, he sent to them sir Gaultier of Manny and the baron of Stafford; and when they came there, they found that they of the town would yield them, their lives and goods saved.

[When] sir Agot des Baux, who was captain within, knew that the people of the town would yield up, he went into the castle with his company of soldiers; and while they of the town were entreating, he conveyed out of the town great quantity of wine and other provision, and then closed the castle gates and said how he would not yield up so soon. The foresaid two lords returned to the earl of Derby shewing him how they of the town would yield themselves and the town, their lives and goods saved. Then the earl sent to know how the captain would do with the castle, and it was brought word again to him how he would not yield. Then the earl studied a little and said: 'Well, go take them of the town to mercy, for by the town we shall have the castle.' Then these lords went again to them of the town and received them to mercy, so that they should go out into the field and deliver the earl of Derby the keys of the town, saying, 'Sir, from henceforth we knowledge ourselves subjects and obeisant to the king of England': and so they did, and sware that they should give no comfort to them of the castle, but to grieve them to the best of their powers. Then the earl commanded that no man should do any hurt to the town of Reole nor to none of them within.

Then the earl entered into the town and laid siege round about the castle, as near as he might, and reared up all his engines, the which cast night and day against the walls, but they did little hurt, the walls were so strong of hard stone: it was said that of old time it had been wrought by the hands of the Saracens, who made their works so strongly that there is none such nowadays. When the earl saw that he could do no good with his engines, he caused them to cease: then he called to him his miners, to the intent that they should make a mine under all the walls, the which was not soon made.

CHAPTER CX

How sir Walter of Manny found in the town of the Reole the sepulchre of his father.

WHILE this siege endured and that the miners were a-work, the lord Gaultier of Manny remembered how that his father was slain going a pilgrimage to Saint James, and how he heard in his youth how he should be buried in the Reole or thereabout. Then he made it to be enquired in the town, if there were any man could shew him his father's tomb, he should have a hundred crowns for his labour: and there was an aged man came to sir Gaultier and said: 'Sir, I think I can bring you near to the place where your father was buried.' Then the lord of Manny said: 'If your words be true, I shall keep covenant and more.'

Now ye shall hear the manner how the lord Gaultier's father was slain. It was true that sometime there was a bishop in Cambresis, a Gascon born of the house of Mirepoix: and so it fortuned that in his days there was at a time a great tourneying before Cambray, whereas there were five hundred knights on both parties. And there was a knight Gascon tourneyed with the lord of Manny, father to sir Gaultier, and this knight of Gascoyne was so sore hurt and beaten, that he had never health after, but died. This knight was of kin to the said bishop; wherefore the lord of Manny was in his indignation and of all his lineage. A two or three year after certain good men laboured to make peace between them, and so they did: and for amends the lord of Manny was bound to go a pilgrimage to Saint James. And so he went thitherward; and as he came forby the town of Reole, the same season the earl Charles of Valois, brother to king Philip, lay at siege before the Reole, the which as then was English, and divers other towns and cities, then pertaining to the king of England, father to the king that laid siege to Tournay: so that the lord of Manny, after the returning of his pilgrimage, he came to see the earl of Valois, who was there as king. And as the lord of Manny went at night to his lodging, he was watched by the way by certain of them of the lineage of him that the lord of Manny had made his pilgrimage for, and so without the earl's lodging he was slain and murdered, and no man knew who did it. Howbeit they of that lineage were held suspect in the matter, but they were so strong and made such excuses, that the matter passed, for there was none that would pursue the lord of Manny's quarrel. Then the earl of Valois caused him to be buried in a little chapel in the field, the which as then was without the town of Reole; and when the earl of Valois had won the town, then the walls were made more larger, so that the chapel was within the town.

Thus was sir Gaultier of Manny's father slain; and this old man remembered all this matter, for he was present when he was buried. Then sir Gaultier of Manny went with this good aged man to the place whereas his father was buried, and there they found a little tomb of marble over him, the which his servants laid on him after he was buried. Then the old man said: 'Sir, surely under this tomb lieth your father.' Then the lord of Manny read the scripture on the tomb, the which was in Latin,[1] and there he found that the old man had said truth, and gave him his reward. And within two days after he made the tomb to be raised and the bones of his father to be taken up and put in a coffer, and after did send them to Valenciennes in the county of Hainault, and in the Friars there made them to be buried again honourably, and did there his obsequy right goodly, the which is yet kept yearly.

CHAPTER CXI

How the earl of Derby won the castle of the Reole.

Now let us return to the siege about the castle of the Reole, the which had endured eleven weeks. So long wrought the miners that at last they came under the base court, but under the donjon they could not get, for it stood on a hard rock.[2] Then sir Agot

[1] 'Then sir Walter of Manny caused the inscription, which was in Latin, to be read by a clerk of his.'

[2] 'So long wrought the miners . . . that they came beneath the castle and so far forth that they cast down a low court (*read* tower) in the outer circuit of the castle, but to the main tower of the donjon they could do no ill, for it was masoned upon rock, of which no bottom could be found.'

des Baux their captain said to his company: 'Sirs, we be undermined, so that we are in great danger.' Then they were all sore afraid, and said: Sir, ye are in a great danger, and we also, without ye find some remedy: ye are our chief and we will obey you truly. We have kept this house right honourably a long season, and though we now make a composition, we cannot be blamed. Assay if ye can get grant of the earl of Derby to let us depart, our lives and goods saved, and we to deliver to him this castle.'

Then sir Agot descended down from the high tower and did put out his head at a little window and made a token to speak with some of the host. Then he was demanded what he would have: he said he would fain speak with the earl of Derby or with the lord of Manny. When the earl knew thereof, he said to the lord of Manny and the lord Stafford: 'Let us go to the fortress and know what the captain will say.' Then they rode together, and when sir Agot saw them, he took off his cap and saluted them, each after other, and said: 'Lords, it is of truth that the French king sent me to this town to defend and to keep it, and the castle, to my power; and ye know right well how I have acquit myself in that behalf, and yet would if I might: but always a man may not abide in one place. Sir, if it will please you, I and all my company would depart, our lives and goods saved, and we shall yield unto you the fortress.'

Then the earl of Derby said: 'Sir Agot, ye shall not go so away: we know right well we have so sore oppressed you, that we may have you when we list; for your fortress standeth but upon stays. Yield you simply, and we will receive you.' Sir Agot said: 'Sir, if we did so, I think in you so much honour and gentleness, that ye would deal but courteously with us, as ye would the French king should deal with any of your knights. For God's sake, sir, blemish not your nobleness for a poor sort of soldiers that be here within, who hath won with much pain and peril their poor living, whom I have brought hither out of Provence, of Savoy, and out of Dauphiny. Sir, know for truth that if the least of us should not come to mercy, as well as the best, we will rather sell our lives in such wise that all the world should speak of us. Sir, we desire you to bear us some company of arms, and we shall pray for you.'

Then the earl and the other two lords went apart and spake together. They spake long together of divers things: finally they regarded the truth of sir Agot, and considered how he was a stranger, and also they saw that they could not undermine the donjon, [and so] they agreed to receive them to mercy. Then the earl said to sir Agot: 'Sir, we would gladly to all strangers bear good company of arms. I am content that ye and all your company depart with your lives saved, so that you bear away nothing but your armour.' 'So be it,' quoth sir Agot. Then he went to his company and shewed them how he had sped. Then they did on their harness and took their horses, whereof they had no more but six. Some bought horses of the Englishmen, the which they paid for truly. Thus sir Agot des Baux departed from the Reole and yielded up the castle to the Englishmen, and sir Agot and his company went to Toulouse.

CHAPTERS CXII, CXIII

SUMMARY. — The earl of Derby took Monpezat by assault, and Castelmoron by strategy. Thence he departed and took Villefranche and other towns and castles, and received the submission of Angoulême.[1] *Finally he retired to Bordeaux for the winter.*

CHAPTER CXIV

How sir Godfrey Harcourt was banished out of France.

IN this season sir Godfrey of Harcourt fell in the indignation of the French king, who was a great baron in Normandy and brother to the earl of Harcourt, lord of Saint-Saviour the Viscount and divers other towns in Normandy: and it was said all was but for envy, for a little before he was as great with the king and with the duke of Normandy as he would desire; but he was as then openly banished the realm of

[1] The capture of Angoulême is omitted in Froissart's last revision, and seems in fact to be imaginary.

France, and if the king could have got him in his ire, he would have served him as he did sir Oliver of Clisson, who was beheaded the year before at Paris. This sir Godfrey had some friends, who gave him warning secretly how the king was displeased with him. Then he avoided the realm as soon as he might, and went into Brabant to the duke there, who was his cousin, who received him joyfully. And there he tarried a long space and lived of such revenues as he had in Brabant; for out of France he could get nothing: the king had seized all his lands there of Cotentin, and took the profit thereof himself. The duke of Brabant could in no wise get again this knight into the king's favour, for nothing that he could do. This displeasure cost greatly the realm of France after, and specially the country of Normandy; for the tokens thereof remained a hundred year after, as ye shall hear in this history.

CHAPTER CXV

Of the death of Jaques d'Arteveld of Gaunt.

IN this season reigned in Flanders in great prosperity and puissance Jaques d'Arteveld of Gaunt, who was as great with the king of England as he would desire: and he had promised the king to make him lord and heritor of Flanders, and to endow his son the prince of Wales therewith, and to make the county of Flanders a dukedom. For the which cause about the feast of Saint John Baptist, the year of our Lord God MCCCXLV., the king of England was come to Sluys with many lords and knights, and had brought thither with him the young prince his son, on the trust of the promise of Jaques d'Arteveld. The king with all his navy lay in the haven of Sluys, and there he kept his house, and thither came to visit him his friends of Flanders. There were great councils between the king and Jaques d'Arteveld on the one party and the counsels of the good towns of Flanders on the other party; so that they of the country were not of the agreement with the king nor with Jaques d'Arteveld, who preached to them that they should disherit the earl Louis their own natural lord, and also his young son Louis, and to enherit the son of the king of England; the which thing they said surely they would never agree unto. And so the last day of their council, the which was kept in the haven of Sluys in the king's great ship, called the *Katherine*, there they gave a final answer by common accord, and said: 'Sir, ye have desired us to a thing that is great and weighty, the which hereafter may sore touch the country of Flanders and our heirs. Truly we know not at this day no person in the world that we love the preferment of so much as we do yours; but, sir, this thing we cannot do alone, without that all the commonalty of Flanders accord to the same. Sir, we shall go home, and every man speak with his company generally in every town, and as the most part agree, we shall be content: and within a month we shall be here with you again and then give you a full answer, so that ye shall be content.' The king nor Jaques d'Arteveld could as then have none other answer: they would fain have had a short day, but it would not be. So thus departed that council, and every man went home to their own towns.

Jaques d'Arteveld tarried a little season with the king, and still he promised the king to bring them to his intent; but he was deceived, for as soon as he came to Gaunt, he went no more out again. For such of Gaunt as had been at Sluys at the council there, when they were returned to Gaunt, or Jaques d'Arteveld was come into the town, great and small they assembled in the market-place; and there it was openly shewed what request the king of England had made to them by the setting on of Jaques d'Arteveld. Then every man began to murmur against Jaques, for that request pleased them nothing, and said that by the grace of God there should no such untruth be found in them, as willingly to disherit their natural lord and his issue, to enherit a stranger: and so they all departed from the market-place, not content with Jaques d'Arteveld.

Now behold and see what fortune fell. If he had been as welcome to Gaunt as he was to Bruges and Ipres, they would [have] agreed to his opinion, as they did; but he trusted so much in his prosperity and greatness, that he thought soon to reduce them to his pleasure.

When he returned, he came into Gaunt about noon. They of the town knew of his coming, and many were assembled together in the street whereas he should pass. And when they saw him, they began to murmur, and began to run together three heads in one hood and said: 'Behold yonder great master, who will order all Flanders after his pleasure, the which is not to be suffered.' Also there were words sown through all the town, how Jaques d'Arteveld had nine year assembled all the revenues of Flanders without any count given, and thereby hath kept his estate, and also sent great riches out of the country into England secretly. These words set them of Gaunt on fire, and as he rode through the street, he perceived that there was some new matter against him, for he saw such as were wont to make reverence to him as he came by, he saw them turn their backs toward him and enter into their houses. Then he began to doubt; and as soon as he was alighted in his lodging, he closed fast his gates, doors and windows. This was scant done but all the street was full of men, and specially of them of the small crafts: there they assailed his house both behind and before, and the house broken up. He and his within the house defended themselves a long space, and slew and hurt many without; but finally he could not endure, for three parts of the men of the town were at that assault. When Jaques saw that he was so sore oppressed, he came to a window with great humility bare-headed, and said with fair language: 'Good people, what aileth you? Why be you so sore troubled against me? In what manner have I displeased you? Shew me, and I shall make you amends at your pleasures.' Then such as heard him answered all with one voice: 'We will have account made of the great treasure of Flanders, that ye have sent out of the way without any title of reason.' Then Jaques answered meekly and said: 'Certainly, sirs, of the treasure of Flanders I never took nothing: withdraw yourselves patiently into your houses and come again to-morrow in the morning, and I shall make you so good account, that of reason ye shall be content.' Then all they answered and said: 'Nay, we will have account made incontinent; ye shall not scape us so: we know for truth that ye have sent great riches into England without our knowledge: wherefore ye shall die.' When he heard that word, he joined his hands together, and sore weeping said: 'Sirs, such as I am ye have made me, and ye have sworn to me or this to defend me against all persons, and now ye would slay me without reason. Ye may do it an ye will, for I am but one man among you all. For God's sake take better advice, and remember the time past, and consider the great graces and courtesies that I have done to you: ye would now render to me a small reward for the great goodness that I have done to you and to your town in time past. Ye know right well, merchandise was nigh lost in all this country, and by my means it is recovered: also I have governed you in great peace and rest, for in the time of my governing ye have had all things as ye would wish, corn, riches, and all other merchandise.' Then they all cried with one voice: 'Come down to us, and preach not so high, and give us account of the great treasure of Flanders that ye have governed so long without any account making, the which pertaineth not to an officer to do, as to receive the goods of his lord or of a country without account.'

When Jaques saw that he could not appease them, he drew in his head and closed his window, and so thought to steal out on the back side into a church that joined to his house: but his house was so broken, that four hundred persons were entered into his house; and finally there he was taken and slain without mercy, and one Thomas Denis gave him his death-stroke. Thus Jaques d'Arteveld ended his days, who had been a great master in Flanders. Poor men first mounteth up and unhappy men slayeth them at the end.[1] These tidings anon spread abroad the country: some were sorry thereof and some were glad.

In this season the earl Louis of Flanders was at Termonde, and he was right joyous when he heard of the death of Jaques d'Arteveld his old enemy: howbeit yet he durst not trust them of Flanders, nor go to Gaunt. When the king of England, who lay all this season at Sluys abiding

1 'Poor men first raised him up and evil men slew him at the end.'

the answer of the Flemings, heard how they of Gaunt had slain Jaques d'Arteveld his great friend, he was sore displeased. Incontinent he departed from Sluys and entered into the sea, sore threatening the Flemings and the country of Flanders, and said how his death should be well revenged. Then the counsels of the good towns of Flanders imagined well how the king of England would be sore displeased with this deed: then they determined to go and excuse themselves, specially they of Bruges, Ypres, Courtray, Oudenarde and of [the] Franc. They sent into England to the king for a safe-conduct, that they might come to their excuse: the king, who was as then somewhat assuaged of his displeasure, granted their desire. Then there came into England men of estate out of the good towns of Flanders, except of Gaunt. This was about the feast of Saint Michael, and the king being at Westminster beside London. There they so meekly excused them of the death of Jaques d'Arteveld, and sware solemnly that they knew nothing thereof till it was done; if they had, he was the man they would have defended to the best of their powers; and said how they were right sorry of his death, for he had governed the country right wisely; and also they said that though they of Gaunt had done that deed, they should make a sufficient amends, also saying to the king and his council that, though he be dead, yet the king was never the farther off from the love and favour of them of Flanders in all things except the inheritance of Flanders, the which in no wise they of Flanders will put away from the right heirs; saying also to the king: 'Sir, ye have fair issue, both sons and daughters. As for the prince of Wales your eldest son, he cannot fail but to be a great prince without the inheritance of Flanders. Sir, ye have a young daughter, and we have a young lord, who is heritor of Flanders; we have him in our keeping: may it please you to make a marriage between them two, so ever after the county of Flanders shall be in the issue of your child.' These words and such other appeased the king, and finally was content with the Flemings and they with him; and so little and little the death of Jaques d'Arteveld was forgotten.

CHAPTER CXVI

Of the death of William earl of Hainault, who died in Frise, and many with him.

In the same season the earl William of Hainault, being at siege before the town of Utrecht, and there had lien a long season, he constrained them so sore, what by assaults and otherwise, that finally he had his pleasure of them. And anon after in the same season, about the feast of Saint Remy, the same earl made a great assembly of men of arms, knights and squires of Hainault, Flanders, Brabant, Holland, Gueldres and Juliers; the earl and his company departed from Dordrecht in Holland with a great navy of ships, and so sailed towards Frise; for the earl of Hainault claimed to be lord there: and if the Frisons had been men to have brought to reason, the earl indeed had there great right; but there he was slain, and a great number of knights and squires with him.[1]

Sir John of Hainault arrived not there with his nephew, for he arrived at another place; and when he heard of the death of his nephew, like a man out of his mind he would have fought with the Frisons, but his servants, and especially sir Robert of Glennes, who as then was his squire, did put him into his ship again against his will. And so he returned again with a small company and came to Mount Saint Gertrude[2] in Holland, where the lady his niece was, wife to the said earl, named Joan, eldest daughter to the duke of Brabant: and then she went to the land of Binche, the which was her endowry. Thus the county of Hainault was void a certain space, and sir John of Hainault did govern it unto the time that Margaret of Hainault, mother to the duke Albert, came thither and took possession of that heritage, and all lords and other did to her fealty and homage. This lady Margaret was married to the lord Louis of Bavier, emperor of Almaine and king of [the] Romans.

[1] This defeat was at Staveren in September 1345.

[2] Gertruydenberg.

CHAPTER CXVII

How sir John of Hainault became French.

ANON after, the French king entreated and caused the earl of Blois to entreat this lord John of Hainault to become French, promising to give him more revenues in France than he had in England, to be assigned where he would himself devise. To this request he did not lightly agree, for he had spent all the flower of his youth in the service of the king of England, and was ever well beloved with the king. When the earl Louis of Blois, who had married his daughter and had by her three sons, Louis, John and Guy, saw that he could not win him by that means, he thought he would assay another way, as to win the lord of Fagnolle, who was chief companion and greatest of counsel with the lord John of Hainault; and so they between them devised to make him believe that they of England would not pay him his pension, wherewith sir John of Hainault was sore displeased, so that he renounced his service and good-will that he bare to the king of England. And when the French king knew thereof, incontinent he sent sufficient messengers to him, and so retained him of his council with certain wages, and recompensed him in France with as much or more than he had in England.

CHAPTER CXVIII

Of the great host that the duke of Normandy brought into Gascoyne against the earl of Derby.

SUMMARY.—Near the end of the year 1345 *the duke of Normandy gathered a great host at Toulouse, and after Christmas they rode forth. They took Miremont and Villefranche, and laid siege to Angoulême.*

CHAPTER CXIX

How John Norwich scaped from Angouleme, when the town was yielded to the Frenchmen.

SUMMARY.—John of Norwich, who was captain at Angoulême, seeing that he could not hold out, asked for a truce to last for the day of the Purification, and this being granted he and his company rode openly away through the French host, and came to Aiguillon. Angoulême surrendered, and the duke of Normandy went to Aiguillon.

CHAPTER CXX

How the duke of Normandy laid siege to Aiguillon with a hundred thousand men.

THE duke of Normandy and these lords of France did so much that they came to the castle of Aiguillon. There they laid their siege about the fair meadows along by the river able to bear ships, every lord among his own company and every constable by himself, as it was ordained by the marshals. This siege endured till the feast of Saint Remy: there were well a hundred thousand men of war, a-horseback and afoot:[1] they made lightly every day two or three assaults, and most commonly from the morning till it was near night without ceasing, for ever there came new assaulters that would not suffer them within to rest. The lords of France saw well they could not well come to the fortress without they passed the river, the which was large and deep. Then the duke commanded that a bridge should be made, whatsoever it cost, to pass the river: there were set awork more than three hundred workmen, who did work day and night. When the knights within saw this bridge more than half made over the river, they decked[2] three ships, and entered into them a certain, and so came on the workmen and chased them away with their defenders; and there they brake all to pieces, that had been long a-making. When the French lords saw that, then they apparelled other ships, to resist against their ships, and then the workmen began again to work on the bridge, on trust of their defenders. And when they had worked half a day and more, sir Gaultier of Manny

[1] The number is reduced to 60,000 in the latest revision of the first book, where the siege of Aiguillon is called 'le plus biau siége qui oncques les guerres durant de France et d'Engleterre euist esté fait ne tenu ens ou roiaulme de France.' It lasted in fact only till 20th August.

[2] 'Fisent apparillier.'

and his company entered into a ship, and came on the workmen and made them to leave work and to recule back, and brake again all that they had made. This business was nigh every day; but at last the Frenchmen kept so well their workmen, that the bridge was made perforce: and then the lords and all their army passed over in manner of battle, and they assaulted the castle a whole day together without ceasing, but nothing they won; and at night they returned to their lodgings: and they within amended all that was broken, for they had with them workmen enough.

The next day the Frenchmen divided their assaults into four parts, the first to begin in the morning and to continue till nine, the second till noon, the third to evensong time, and the fourth till night. After that manner they assailed the castle six days together: howbeit they within were not so sore travailed, but always they defended themselves so valiantly, that they without won nothing, but only the bridge without the castle. Then the Frenchmen took other counsel: they sent to Toulouse for eight great engines, and they made there four greater, and they made all twelve to cast day and night against the castle; but they within were so well pavised, that never a stone of their engines did them any hurt: it brake somewhat the covering of some houses. They within had also great engines, the which brake down all the engines without, for in a short space they brake all to pieces six of the greatest of them without.

During this siege oftentimes sir Walter of Manny issued out with a hundred or six score companions, and went on that side the river a foraging, and returned again with great preys in the sight of them without. On a day the lord Charles of Montmorency, marshal of the host, rode forth with a five hundred with him, and when he returned, he drave before him a great number of beasts that he had got together in the country to refresh the host with victual: and by adventure he encountered with sir Gaultier of Manny. There was between them a great fight and many overthrown, hurt and slain: the Frenchmen were five against one. Tidings thereof came unto Aiguillon: then every man that might issued out, the earl of Pembroke first of all and his company; and when he came, he found sir Gaultier of Manny afoot enclosed with his enemies, and did marvels in arms. Incontinent he was rescued and remounted again, and in the mean season some of the Frenchmen chased their beasts quickly into the host, or else they had lost them, for they that issued out of Aiguillon set so fiercely on the Frenchmen, that they put them to the flight and delivered their company that were taken and took many Frenchmen prisoners, and sir Charles of Montmorency had much work to scape. Then the Englishmen returned into Aiguillon.

Thus every day almost there were such rencounters beside the assaults. On a day all the whole host armed them, and the duke commanded that they of Toulouse, of Carcassonne, of Beaucaire should make assault from the morning till noon, and they of Rouergue, Cahors and Agenois from noon till night; and the duke promised, whosoever could win the bridge of the gate should have in reward a hundred crowns. Also the duke, the better to maintain this assault, he caused to come on the river divers ships and barges: some entered into them to pass the river, and some went by the bridge: at the last some of them took a little vessel and went under the bridge, and did cast great hooks of iron to the drawbridge, and then drew it to them so sore, that they brake the chains of iron that held the bridge, and so pulled down the bridge perforce. Then the Frenchmen leapt on the bridge so hastily, that one overthrew another, for every man desired to win the hundred crowns. They within cast down bars of iron, pieces of timber, pots of lime, and hot water, so that many were overthrown from the bridge into the water and into the dikes, and many slain and sore hurt. Howbeit the bridge was won perforce, but it cost more than it was worth, for they could not for all that win the gate. Then they drew aback to their lodgings, for it was late: then they within issued out, and new made again their drawbridge, stronger than ever it was before.

The next day there came to the duke two cunning men, masters in carpentry, and said: 'Sir, if ye will let us have timber and workmen, we shall make four scaffolds as high or higher than the walls.' The

duke commanded that it should be done, and to get carpenters in the country and to give them good wages: so these four scaffolds were made in four ships, but it was long first, and cost much or they were finished. Then such as should assail the castle in them were appointed and entered; and when they were passed half the river, they within the castle let go four martinets, that they had newly made to resist against these scaffolds. These four martinets did cast out so great stones, and so often fell on the scaffolds, that in a short space they were all to broken, so that they that were within them could not be pavised by them, so that they were fain to draw back again, and or they were again at land one of the scaffolds drowned in the water, and the most part of them that were within it; the which was great damage, for therein were good knights, desiring their bodies to advance.

When the duke saw that he could not come to his intent by that means, he caused the other three scaffolds to rest. Then he could see no way how he might get the castle, and he had promised not to depart thence till he had it at his will, without the king his father did send for him. Then he sent the constable of France and the earl of Tancarville to Paris to the king, and there they shewed him the state of the siege of Aiguillon. The king's mind was that the duke should lie there still, till he had won them by famine, sith he could not have them by assault.

CHAPTER CXXI

How the king of England came over the sea again, to rescue them in Aiguillon.

THE king of England, who had heard how his men were sore constrained in the castle of Aiguillon, then he thought to go over the sea into Gascoyne with a great army. There he made his provision and sent for men all about his realm and in other places, where he thought to speed for his money. In the same season the lord Godfrey of Harcourt came into England, who was banished out of France: he was well received with the king and retained to be about him, and had fair lands assigned him in England to maintain his degree. Then the king caused a great navy of ships to be ready in the haven of Hampton, and caused all manner of men of war to draw thither. About the feast of Saint John Baptist the year of our Lord God MCCCXLVI., the king departed from the queen and left her in the guiding of the earl of Kent his cousin; and he stablished the lord Percy and the lord Nevill to be wardens of his realm with [the archbishop of Canterbury,] the archbishop of York, the bishop of Lincoln and the bishop of Durham; for he never voided his realm but that he left ever enough at home to keep and defend the realm, if need were. Then the king rode to Hampton and there tarried for wind: then he entered into his ship and the prince of Wales with him, and the lord Godfrey of Harcourt, and all other lords, earls, barons and knights, with all their companies. They were in number a four thousand men of arms and ten thousand archers, beside Irishmen and Welshmen that followed the host afoot.

Now I shall name you certain of the lords that went over with king Edward in that journey. First, Edward his eldest son, prince of Wales, who as then was of the age of thirteen years or thereabout,[1] the earls of Hereford, Northampton, Arundel, Cornwall, Warwick, Huntingdon, Suffolk, and Oxford; and of barons the lord Mortimer, who was after earl of March, the lords John, Louis and Roger of Beauchamp, and the lord Raynold Cobham; of lords the lord of Mowbray, Ros, Lucy, Felton, Bradestan, Multon, Delaware, Manne,[2] Basset, Berkeley, and Willoughby, with divers other lords; and of bachelors there was John Chandos, Fitz-Warin, Peter and James Audley, Roger of Wetenhale, Bartholomew of Burghersh, and Richard of Pembridge, with divers other that I cannot name. Few there were of strangers: there was the earl Hainault,[3] sir Wulfart of Ghistelles, and five or six other knights of Almaine, and many other that I cannot name.

Thus they sailed forth that day in the name of God. They were well onward on their way toward Gascoyne, but on the third day there rose a contrary wind and drave them

[1] He was in fact sixteen; born 15th June 1330.
[2] Probably 'Mohun.'
[3] The usual confusion between 'comté' and 'comte.' It means, 'of the county of Hainault there was sir Wulfart of Ghistelles,' etc.

on the marches of Cornwall, and there they lay at anchor six days. In that space the king had other counsel by the means of sir Godfrey Harcourt: he counselled the king not to go into Gascoyne, but rather to set aland in Normandy, and said to the king: 'Sir, the country of Normandy is one of the plenteous countries of the world: sir, on jeopardy of my head, if ye will land there, there is none that shall resist you; the people of Normandy have not been used to the war, and all the knights and squires of the country are now at the siege before Aiguillon with the duke. And, sir, there ye shall find great towns that be not walled, whereby your men shall have such winning, that they shall be the better thereby twenty year after; and, sir, ye may follow with your army till ye come to Caen in Normandy: sir, I require you to believe me in this voyage.'

The king, who was as then but in the flower of his youth, desiring nothing so much as to have deeds of arms, inclined greatly to the saying of the lord Harcourt, whom he called cousin. Then he commanded the mariners to set their course to Normandy, and he took into his ship the token of the admiral the earl of Warwick, and said how he would be admiral for that viage, and so sailed on before as governour of that navy, and they had wind at will. Then the king arrived in the isle of Cotentin, at a port called Hogue Saint-Vaast.[1]

Tidings anon spread abroad how the Englishmen were aland: the towns of Cotentin sent word thereof to Paris to king Philip. He had well heard before how the king of England was on the sea with a great army, but he wist not what way he would draw, other into Normandy, Bretayne or Gascoyne. As soon as he knew that the king of England was aland in Normandy, he sent his constable the earl of Guines, and the earl of Tancarville, who were but newly come to him from his son from the siege at Aiguillon, to the town of Caen, commanding them to keep that town against the Englishmen. They said they would do their best: they departed from Paris with a good number of men of war, and daily there came more to them by the way, and so came to the town of Caen, where they were received with great joy of men of the town and of the country thereabout, that were drawn thither for surety. These lords took heed for the provision of the town, the which as then was not walled. The king thus was arrived at the port Hogue Saint-Vaast near to Saint-Saviour the Viscount[1] the right heritage to the lord Godfrey of Harcourt, who as then was there with the king of England.

[1] Saint-Vaast-de la Hogue.

CHAPTER CXXII

How the king of England rode in three battles through Normandy.

WHEN the king of England arrived in the Hogue Saint-Vaast, the king issued out of his ship, and the first foot that he set on the ground, he fell so rudely, that the blood brast out of his nose. The knights that were about him took him up and said: 'Sir, for God's sake enter again into your ship, and come not aland this day, for this is but an evil sign for us.' Then the king answered quickly and said: 'Wherefore? This is a good token for me, for the land desireth to have me.' Of the which answer all his men were right joyful. So that day and night the king lodged on the sands, and in the meantime discharged the ships of their horses and other baggages: there the king made two marshals of his host, the one the lord Godfrey of Harcourt and the other the earl of Warwick, and the earl of Arundel constable. And he ordained that the earl of Huntingdon should keep the fleet of ships with a hundred men of arms and four hundred archers: and also he ordained three battles, one to go on his right hand, closing to the sea-side, and the other on his left hand, and the king himself in the midst, and every night to lodge all in one field.

Thus they set forth as they were ordained, and they that went by the sea took all the ships that they found in their ways: and so long they went forth, what by sea and what by land, that they came to a good port and to a good town called Barfleur, the which incontinent was won, for they within gave up for fear of death. Howbeit, for all that, the town was robbed, and much gold and silver there found, and rich jewels: there

[1] Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte.

was found so much riches, that the boys and villains of the host set nothing by good furred gowns: they made all the men of the town to issue out and to go into the ships, because they would not suffer them to be behind them for fear of rebelling again. After the town of Barfleur was thus taken and robbed without brenning, then they spread abroad in the country and did what they list, for there was not to resist them. At last they came to a great and a rich town called Cherbourg: the town they won and robbed it, and brent part thereof, but into the castle they could not come, it was so strong and well furnished with men of war. Then they passed forth and came to Montebourg, and took it and robbed and brent it clean. In this manner they brent many other towns in that country and won so much riches, that it was marvel to reckon it. Then they came to a great town well closed called Carentan, where there was also a strong castle and many soldiers within to keep it. Then the lords came out of their ships and fiercely made assault: the burgesses of the town were in great fear of their lives, wives and children: they suffered the Englishmen to enter into the town against the will of all the soldiers that were there; they put all their goods to the Englishmen's pleasures, they thought that most advantage. When the soldiers within saw that, they went into the castle: the Englishmen went into the town, and two days together they made sore assaults, so that when they within saw no succour, they yielded up, their lives and goods saved, and so departed. The Englishmen had their pleasure of that good town and castle, and when they saw they might not maintain to keep it, they set fire therein and brent it, and made the burgesses of the town to enter into their ships, as they had done with them of Barfleur, Cherbourg and Montebourg, and of other towns that they had won on the sea-side. All this was done by the battle that went by the sea-side, and by them on the sea together.[1]

Now let us speak of the king's battle. When he had sent his first battle along by the sea-side, as ye have heard, whereof one of his marshals, the earl of Warwick, was captain, and the lord Cobham with him, then he made his other marshal to lead his host on his left hand, for he knew the issues and entries of Normandy better than any other did there. The lord Godfrey as marshal rode forth with five hundred men of arms, and rode off from the king's battle as six or seven leagues, in brenning and exiling the country, the which was plentiful of everything—the granges full of corn, the houses full of all riches, rich burgesses, carts and chariots, horse, swine, muttons and other beasts: they took what them list and brought into the king's host; but the soldiers made no count to the king nor to none of his officers of the gold and silver that they did get; they kept that to themselves. Thus sir Godfrey of Harcourt rode every day off from the king's host, and for most part every night resorted to the king's field. The king took his way to Saint-Lo in Cotentin, but or he came there he lodged by a river, abiding for his men that rode along by the sea-side; and when they were come, they set forth their carriage, and the earl of Warwick, the earl of Suffolk, sir Thomas Holland and sir Raynold Cobham, and their company rode out on the one side and wasted and exiled the country, as the lord Harcourt had done; and the king ever rode between these battles, and every night they lodged together.

CHAPTER CXXIII

Of the great assembly that the French king made to resist the king of England.

THUS by the Englishmen was brent, exiled, robbed, wasted and pilled the good, plentiful country of Normandy. Then the French king sent for the lord John of Hainault, who came to him with a great number: also the king sent for other men of arms, dukes, earls, barons, knights and squires, and assembled together the greatest number of people that had been seen in France a hundred year before. He sent for men into so far countries, that it was long or

[1] Froissart is mistaken in supposing that a division of the land army went to these towns: Barfleur and Cherbourg were visited only by the fleet. According to Michael of Northburgh, who accompanied the expedition, Edward disembarked 12th July and remained at Saint-Vaast till the 18th, and meanwhile the fleet went to Barfleur and Cherbourg. The army arrived at Caen on the 26th.

they came together, wherefore the king of England did what him list in the mean season. The French king heard well what he did, and sware and said how they should never return again unfought withal, and that such hurts and damages as they had done should be dearly revenged; wherefore he had sent letters to his friends in the Empire, to such as were farthest off, and also to the gentle king of Bohemia and to the lord Charles his son, who from thenceforth was called king of Almaine; he was made king by the aid of his father and the French king, and had taken on him the arms of the Empire: the French king desired them to come to him with all their powers, to the intent to fight with the king of England, who brent and wasted his country. These princes and lords made them ready with great number of men of arms, of Almains, Bohemians and Luxemburgers, and so came to the French king. Also king Philip sent to the duke of Lorraine, who came to serve him with three hundred spears: also there came the earl [of] Salm in Saumois, the earl of Sarrebruck, the earl of Flanders, the earl William of Namur, every man with a fair company.

Ye have heard herebefore of the order of the Englishmen, how they went in three battles, the marshals on the right hand and on the left, the king and the prince of Wales his son in the midst. They rode but small journeys and every day took their lodgings between noon and three of the clock, and found the country so fruitful, that they needed not to make no provision for their host, but all only for wine; and yet they found reasonably sufficient thereof.[1] It was no marvel though they of the country were afraid, for before that time they had never seen men of war, nor they wist not what war or battle meant. They fled away as far as they might hear speaking of the Englishmen,[2] and left their houses well stuffed, and granges full of corn, they wist not how to save and keep it. The king of England and the prince had in their battle a three thousand men of arms and six thousand archers and a ten thousand men afoot, beside them that rode with the marshals.

[1] Or rather, 'thus they found reasonably sufficient provisions.'

[2] That is, they fled as soon as they heard their using spoken of.

Thus as ye have heard, the king rode forth, wasting and brenning the country without breaking of his order. He left the city of Coutances[1] and went to a great town called Saint-Lo, a rich town of drapery and many rich burgesses. In that town there were dwelling an eight or nine score burgesses, crafty men. When the king came there, he took his lodging without, for he would never lodge in the town for fear of fire: but he sent his men before and anon the town was taken and clean robbed. It was hard to think the great riches that there was won, in clothes specially; cloth would there have been sold good cheap, if there had been any buyers.

Then the king went toward Caen, the which was a greater town and full of drapery and other merchandise, and rich burgesses, noble ladies and damosels, and fair churches, and specially two great and rich abbeys, one of the Trinity, another of Saint Stephen; and on the one side of the town one of the fairest castles of all Normandy, and captain therein was Robert of Wargny, with three hundred Genoways, and in the town was the earl of Eu and of Guines, constable of France, and the earl of Tancarville, with a good number of men of war. The king of England rode that day in good order and lodged all his battles together that night, a two leagues from Caen, in a town with a little haven called Austrehem, and thither came also all his navy of ships with the earl of Huntingdon, who was governour of them.

The constable and other lords of France that night watched well the town of Caen, and in the morning armed them with all them of the town: then the constable ordained that none should issue out, but keep their defences on the walls, gate, bridge and river, and left the suburbs void, because they were not closed; for they thought they should have enough to do to defend the town, because it was not closed but with the river. They of the town said how they would issue out, for they were

[1] That is, he did not turn aside to go to it. Froissart says, 'He did not turn aside to the city of Coutances, but went on toward the great town of Saint-Lo in Cotentin, which at that time was very rich and of great merchandise and three times as great as the city of Coutances.' Michael of Northburgh says that Barfleur was about equal in importance to Sandwich and Carentan to Leicester, Saint-Lo greater than Lincoln, and Caen greater than any city in England except London.

strong enough to fight with the king of England. When the constable saw their good wills, he said: 'In the name of God be it, ye shall not fight without me.' Then they issued out in good order and made good face to fight and to defend them and to put their lives in adventure.

CHAPTER CXXIV

Of the battle of Caen, and how the Englishmen took the town.

THE same day the Englishmen rose early and apparelled them ready to go to Caen.[1] The king heard mass before the sun-rising and then took his horse, and the prince his son, with sir Godfrey of Harcourt marshal and leader of the host, whose counsel the king much followed. Then they drew toward Caen with their battles in good array, and so approached the good town of Caen. When they of the town, who were ready in the field, saw these three battles coming in good order, with their banners and standards waving in the wind, and the archers, the which they had not been accustomed to see, they were sore afraid and fled away toward the town without any order or good array, for all that the constable could do: then the Englishmen pursued them eagerly. When the constable and the earl Tancarville saw that, they took a gate at the entry and saved themselves[2] and certain with them, for the Englishmen were entered into the town. Some of the knights and squires of France, such as knew the way to the castle, went thither, and the captain there received them all, for the castle was large. The Englishmen in the chase slew many, for they took none to mercy.

Then the constable and the earl of Tancarville, being in the little tower at the bridge foot, looked along the street and saw their men slain without mercy: they doubted to fall in their hands. At last they saw an English knight with one eye called sir Thomas Holland, and a five or six other knights with him: they knew them, for they had seen them before in Pruce, in Granade, and in other viages. Then they called to sir Thomas and said how they would yield themselves prisoners. Then sir Thomas came thither with his company and mounted up into the gate, and there found the said lords with twenty-five knights with them, who yielded them to sir Thomas, and he took them for his prisoners and left company to keep them, and then mounted again on his horse and rode into the streets, and saved many lives of ladies, damosels, and cloisterers from defoiling, for the soldiers were without mercy. It fell so well the same season for the Englishmen, that the river, which was able to bear ships, at that time was so low, that men went in and out beside the bridge. They of the town were entered into their houses, and cast down into the street stones, timber and iron, and slew and hurt more than five hundred Englishmen, wherewith the king was sore displeased. At night when he heard thereof, he commanded that the next day all should be put to the sword and the town brent; but then sir Godfrey of Harcourt said: 'Dear sir, for God's sake assuage somewhat your courage, and let it suffice you that ye have done. Ye have yet a great voyage to do or ye come before Calais, whither ye purpose to go; and, sir, in this town there is much people who will defend their houses, and it will cost many of your men their lives, or ye have all at your will; whereby peradventure ye shall not keep your purpose to Calais, the which should redound to your rack. Sir, save your people, for ye shall have need of them or this month pass; for I think verily your adversary king Philip will meet with you to fight, and ye shall find many strait passages and rencounters; wherefore your men, an ye had more, shall stand you in good stead: and, sir, without any further slaying ye shall be lord of this town; men and women will put all that they have to your pleasure.' Then the king said: 'Sir Godfrey, you are our marshal, ordain everything as ye will.' Then sir Godfrey with his banner rode from street to street, and commanded in the king's name none to be so hardy to put fire in any house, to slay any person, nor to violate any woman. When they of the

[1] This was 26th July. Edward arrived at Poissy on 12th August: Philip of Valois left Paris on the 14th: the English crossed the Seine at Poissy on the 16th, and the Somme at Blanche-taque on the 24th.

[2] 'Set themselves for safety in a gate at the entry of the bridge.'

town heard that cry, they received the Englishmen into their houses and made them good cheer, and some opened their coffers and bade them take what them list, so they might be assured of their lives; howbeit there were done in the town many evil deeds, murders and robberies Thus the Englishmen were lords of the town three days and won great riches, the which they sent by barks and barges to Saint-Saviour by the river of Austrehem,[1] a two leagues thence, whereas all their navy lay. Then the king sent the earl of Huntingdon with two hundred men of arms and four hundred archers, with his navy and prisoners and riches that they had got, back again into England. And the king bought of sir Thomas Holland the constable of France and the earl of Tancarville, and paid for them twenty thousand nobles.

CHAPTER CXXV

How sir Godfrey of Harcourt fought with them of Amiens before Paris.

THUS the king of England ordered his business, being in the town of Caen, and sent into England his navy of ships charged with clothes, jewels, vessels of gold and silver, and of other riches, and of prisoners more than sixty knights and three hundred burgesses. Then he departed from the town of Caen and rode in the same order as he did before, brenning and exiling the country, and took the way to Evreux and so passed by it; and from thence they rode to a great town called Louviers: it was the chief town of all Normandy of drapery, riches, and full of merchandise. The Englishmen soon entered therein, for as then it was not closed; it was overrun, spoiled and robbed without mercy: there was won great riches. Then they entered into the country of Evreux and brent and pilled all the country except the good towns closed and castles, to the which the king made none assault, because of the sparing of his people and his artillery.

On the river of Seine near to Rouen there was the earl of Harcourt, brother to sir Godfrey of Harcourt, but he was on the French party, and the earl of Dreux with him, with a good number of men of war: but the Englishmen left Rouen and went to Gisors, where was a strong castle: they brent the town and then they brent Vernon and all the country about Rouen and Pont-de-l'Arche and came to Mantes and to Meulan, and wasted all the country about, and passed by the strong castle of Rolleboise; and in every place along the river of Seine they found the bridges broken. At last they came to Poissy, and found the bridge broken, but the arches and joists lay in the river: the king lay there a five days: in the mean season the bridge was made, to pass the host without peril. The English marshals ran abroad just to Paris, and brent Saint-Germain in Laye and Montjoie, and Saint-Cloud, and petty Boulogne by Paris, and the Queen's Bourg:[1] they of Paris were not well assured of themselves, for it was not as then closed.

Then king Philip removed to Saint-Denis, and or he went caused all the pentices in Paris to be pulled down; and at Saint-Denis were ready come the king of Bohemia, the lord John of Hainault, the duke of Lorraine, the earl of Flanders, the earl of Blois, and many other great lords and knights, ready to serve the French king. When the people of Paris saw their king depart, they came to him and kneeled down and said: 'Ah, sir and noble king, what will ye do? leave thus this noble city of Paris?' The king said: 'My good people, doubt ye not: the Englishmen will approach you no nearer than they be.' 'Why so, sir?' quoth they; 'they be within these two leagues, and as soon as they know of your departing, they will come and assail us; and we not able to defend them: sir, tarry here still and help to defend your good city of Paris.' 'Speak no more,' quoth the king, 'for I will go to Saint-Denis to my men of war: for I will encounter the Englishmen and fight against them, whatsoever fall thereof.'

The king of England was at Poissy, and lay in the nunnery there, and kept there the feast of our Lady in August and sat in his robes of scarlet furred with ermines; and after that feast he went forth in order as they were before. The lord Godfrey of

[1] Froissart says that they sent their booty in barges and boats 'on the river as far as Austrehem, a two leagues from thence, where their great navy lay.' He makes no mention of Saint-Sauveur here. The river in question is the Orne, at the mouth of which Austrehem is situated.

[1] Bourg-la-Reine.

Harcourt rode out on the one side with five hundred men of arms and thirteen[1] hundred archers; and by adventure he encountered a great number of burgesses of Amiens a-horseback, who were riding by the king's commandment to Paris. They were quickly assailed and they defended themselves valiantly, for they were a great number and well armed: there were four knights of Amiens their captains. This skirmish dured long: at the first meeting many were overthrown on both parts; but finally the burgesses were taken and nigh all slain, and the Englishmen took all their carriages and harness. They were well stuffed, for they were going to the French king well appointed, because they had not seen him a great season before. There were slain in the field a twelve hundred.

Then the king of England entered into the country of Beauvoisis, brenning and exiling the plain country, and lodged at a fair abbey and a rich called Saint-Messien[2] near to Beauvais: there the king tarried a night and in the morning departed. And when he was on his way he looked behind him and saw the abbey a-fire: he caused incontinent twenty of them to be hanged that set the fire there, for he had commanded before on pain of death none to violate any church nor to bren any abbey. Then the king passed by the city of Beauvais without any assault giving, for because he would not trouble his people nor waste his artillery. And so that day he took his lodging betime in a little town called Milly. The two marshals came so near to Beauvais, that they made assault and skirmish at the barriers in three places, the which assault endured a long space; but the town within was so well defended by the means of the bishop, who was there within, that finally the Englishmen departed, and brent clean hard to the gates all the suburbs, and then at night they came into the king's field.

The next day the king departed, brenning and wasting all before him, and at night lodged in a good village called Grandvilliers. The next day the king passed by Dargies: there was none to defend the castle, wherefore it was soon taken and brent. Then they went forth destroying the country all about, and so came to the castle of Poix, where there was a good town and two castles. There was nobody in them but two fair damosels, daughters to the lord of Poix; they were soon taken, and had been violated, an two English knights had not been, sir John Chandos and sir Basset; they defended them and brought them to the king, who for his honour made them good cheer and demanded of them whither they would fainest go. They said, 'To Corbie,' and the king caused them to be brought thither without peril. That night the king lodged in the town of Poix. They of the town and of the castles spake that night with the marshals of the host, to save them and their town from brenning, and they to pay a certain sum of florins the next day as soon as the host was departed. This was granted them, and in the morning the king departed with all his host except a certain that were left there to receive the money that they of the town had promised to pay. When they of the town saw the host depart and but a few left behind, then they said they would pay never a penny, and so ran out and set on the Englishmen, who defended themselves as well as they might and sent after the host for succour. When sir Raynold Cobham and sir Thomas Holland, who had the rule of the rearguard, heard thereof, they returned and cried, 'Treason, treason!' and so came again to Poix-ward and found their companions still fighting with them of the town. Then anon they of the town were nigh all slain, and the town brent, and the two castles beaten down. Then they returned to the king's host, who was as then at Airaines and there lodged, and had commanded all manner of men on pain of death to do no hurt to no town of Arsyn,[1] for there the king was minded to lie a day or two to take advice how he might pass the river of Somme; for it was necessary for him to pass the river, as ye shall hear after.

[1] A better reading is 'twelve.'

[2] Commonly called Saint-Lucien, but Saint-Maximianus (Messien) is also associated with the place.

[1] A mistranslation. The original is '[il avoit] deffendu sus le hart que nuls ne fourfesist rien à le ville d'arsin ne d'autre cose,' 'he had commanded all on pain of hanging to do no hurt to the town by burning or otherwise.' The translator has taken 'arsin' for a proper name.

CHAPTER CXXVI

How the French king followed the king of England in Beauvoisinois.

Now let us speak of king Philip, who was at Saint-Denis and his people about him, and daily increased. Then on a day he departed and rode so long that he came to Coppegueule, a three leagues from Amiens, and there he tarried. The king of England being at Airaines wist not where for to pass the river of Somme, the which was large and deep, and all bridges were broken and the passages well kept. Then at the king's commandment his two marshals with a thousand men of arms and two thousand archers went along the river to find some passage, and passed by Longpré, and came to the bridge of Remy,[1] the which was well kept with a great number of knights and squires and men of the country. The Englishmen alighted afoot and assailed the Frenchmen from the morning till it was noon; but the bridge was so well fortified and defended, that the Englishmen departed without winning of anything. Then they went to a great town called Fountains on the river of Somme, the which was clean robbed and brent, for it was not closed. Then they went to another town called Long-en-Ponthieu; they could not win the bridge, it was so well kept and defended. Then they departed and went to Picquigny, and found the town, the bridge, and the castle so well fortified, that it was not likely to pass there: the French king had so well defended the passages, to the intent that the king of England should not pass the river of Somme, to fight with him at his advantage or else to famish him there.

When these two marshals had assayed in all places to find passage and could find none, they returned again to the king, and shewed how they could find no passage in no place. The same night the French king came to Amiens with more than a hundred thousand men. The king of England was right pensive, and the next morning heard mass before the sun-rising and then dislodged; and every man followed the marshals' banners, and so rode in the country of Vimeu approaching to the good town of Abbeville, and found a town thereby, whereunto was come much people of the country in trust of a little defence that was there; but the Englishmen anon won it, and all they that were within slain, and many taken of the town and of the country. The king took his lodging in a great hospital[1] that was there. The same day the French king departed from Amiens and came to Airaines about noon; and the Englishmen were departed thence in the morning. The Frenchmen found there great provision that the Englishmen had left behind them, because they departed in haste. There they found flesh ready on the broaches, bread and pasties in the ovens, wine in tuns and barrels, and the tables ready laid. There the French king lodged and tarried for his lords.

That night the king of England was lodged at Oisemont. At night when the two marshals were returned, who had that day overrun the country to the gates of Abbeville and to Saint-Valery and made a great skirmish there, then the king assembled together his council and made to be brought before him certain prisoners of the country of Ponthieu and of Vimeu. The king right courteously demanded of them, if there were any among them that knew any passage beneath Abbeville, that he and his host might pass over the river of Somme: if he would shew him thereof, he should be quit of his ransom, and twenty of his company for his love. There was a varlet called Gobin Agace who stepped forth and said to the king: 'Sir, I promise you on the jeopardy of my head I shall bring you to such a place, whereas ye and all your host shall pass the river of Somme without peril. There be certain places in the passage that ye shall pass twelve men afront two times between day and night: ye shall not go in the water to the knees. But when the flood cometh, the river then waxeth so great, that no man can pass; but when the flood is gone, the which is two times between day and night, then the river is so low, that it may be passed without danger both a-horseback and afoot. The passage is hard in the bottom with white stones, so that all your carriage may go surely; therefore the

[1] Pont-à-Remy, corrupted here into 'bridge of Athyne.'

[1] That is, a house of the knights of Saint John.

passage is called Blanche-taque. An ye make ready to depart betimes, ye may be there by the sun-rising.' The king said: 'If this be true that ye say, I quit thee thy ransom and all thy company, and moreover shall give thee a hundred nobles.' Then the king commanded every man to be ready at the sound of the trumpet to depart.

CHAPTER CXXVII

Of the battle of Blanche-taque between the king of England and sir Godemar du Fay.

THE king of England slept not much that night, for at midnight he arose and sowned his trumpet: then incontinent they made ready carriages and all things, and at the breaking of the day they departed from the town of Oisemont and rode after the guiding of Gobin Agace, so that they came by the sun-rising to Blanche-taque; but as then the flood was up, so that they might not pass: so the king tarried there till it was prime; then the ebb came.

The French king had his currours in the country, who brought him word of the demeanour of the Englishmen. Then he thought to close the king of England between Abbeville and the river of Somme, and so to fight with him at his pleasure. And when he was at Amiens he had ordained a great baron of Normandy, called sir Godemar du Fay, to go and keep the passage of Blanche-taque, where the Englishmen must pass or else in none other place. He had with him a thousand men of arms and six thousand afoot, with the Genoways: so they went by Saint-Riquier in Ponthieu and from thence to Crotoy, whereas the passage lay; and also he had with him a great number of men of the country, and also a great number of them of Montreuil, so that they were a twelve thousand men one and other.

When the English host was come thither, sir Godemar du Fay arranged all his company to defend the passage. The king of England let not for all that; but when the flood was gone, he commanded his marshals to enter into the water in the name of God and Saint George. Then they that were hardy and courageous entered on both parties, and many a man reversed. There were some of the Frenchmen of Artois and Picardy that were as glad to joust in the water as on the dry land.

The Frenchmen defended so well the passage at the issuing out of the water, that they had much to do. The Genoways did them great trouble with their cross-bows: on the other side the archers of England shot so wholly together, that the Frenchmen were fain to give place to the Englishmen. There was a sore battle, and many a noble feat of arms done on both sides. Finally the Englishmen passed over and assembled together in the field. The king and the prince passed, and all the lords; then the Frenchmen kept none array, but departed, he that might best. When sir Godemar saw that discomfiture, he fled and saved himself: some fled to Abbeville and some to Saint-Riquiers. They that were there afoot could not flee, so that there were slain a great number of them of Abbeville, Montreuil, Rue and of Saint-Riquiers: the chase endured more than a great league. And as yet all the Englishmen were not passed the river, and certain currours of the king of Bohemia and of sir John of Hainault came on them that were behind and took certain horses and carriages and slew divers, or they could take the passage.

The French king the same morning was departed from Airaines, trusting to have found the Englishmen between him and the river of Somme: but when he heard how that sir Godemar du Fay and his company were discomfited, he tarried in the field and demanded of his marshals what was best to do. They said, 'Sir, ye cannot pass the river but at the bridge of Abbeville, for the flood is come in at Blanche-taque': then he returned and lodged at Abbeville.

The king of England when he was past the river, he thanked God and so rode forth in like manner as he did before. Then he called Gobin Agace and did quit him his ransom and all his company, and gave him a hundred nobles and a good horse. And so the king rode forth fair and easily, and thought to have lodged in a great town called Noyelles; but when he knew that the town pertained to the countess d'Aumale, sister to the lord Robert of Artois,[1] the

[1] She was in fact his daughter.

king assured the town and country as much as pertained to her, and so went forth; and his marshals rode to Crotoy on the sea-side and brent the town, and found in the haven many ships and barks charged with wines of Poitou, pertaining to the merchants of Saintonge and of Rochelle: they brought the best thereof to the king's host. Then one of the marshals rode to the gates of Abbeville and from thence to Saint-Riquiers, and after to the town of Rue-Saint-Esprit. This was on a Friday, and both battles of the marshals returned to the king's host about noon and so lodged all together near to Cressy in Ponthieu.

The king of England was well informed how the French king followed after him to fight. Then he said to his company; 'Let us take here some plot of ground, for we will go no farther till we have seen our enemies. I have good cause here to abide them, for I am on the right heritage of the queen my mother, the which land was given at her marriage: I will challenge it of mine adversary Philip of Valois.' And because that he had not the eighth part in number of men as the French king had, therefore he commanded his marshals to chose a plot of ground somewhat for his advantage: and so they did, and thither the king and his host went. Then he sent his currours to Abbeville, to see if the French king drew that day into the field or not. They went forth and returned again, and said how they could see none appearance of his coming: then every man took their lodging for that day, and to be ready in the morning at the sound of the trumpet in the same place. This Friday the French king tarried still in Abbeville abiding for his company, and sent his two marshals to ride out to see the dealing of the Englishmen, and at night they returned, and said how the Englishmen were lodged in the fields. That night the French king made a supper to all the chief lords that were there with him, and after supper the king desired them to be friends each to other. The king looked for the earl of Savoy, who should come to him with a thousand spears, for he had received wages for a three months of them at Troyes in Champagne.

CHAPTER CXXVIII

Of the order of the Englishmen at Cressy, and how they made three battles afoot.

On the Friday, as I said before, the king of England lay in the fields, for the country was plentiful of wines and other victual, and if need had been, they had provision following in carts and other carriages. That night the king made a supper to all his chief lords of his host and made them good cheer; and when they were all departed to take their rest, then the king entered into his oratory and kneeled down before the altar, praying God devoutly, that if he fought the next day, that he might achieve the journey to his honour: then about midnight he laid him down to rest, and in the morning he rose betimes and heard mass, and the prince his son with him, and the most part of his company were confessed and houselled; and after the mass said, he commanded every man to be armed and to draw to the field to the same place before appointed. Then the king caused a park to be made by the wood side behind his host, and there was set all carts and carriages, and within the park were all their horses, for every man was afoot; and into this park there was but one entry. Then he ordained three battles: in the first was the young prince of Wales, with him the earl of Warwick and Oxford, the lord Godfrey of Harcourt, sir Raynold Cobham, sir Thomas Holland, the lord Stafford, the lord of Mohun, the lord Delaware, sir John Chandos, sir Bartholomew de Burghersh, sir Robert Nevill, the lord Thomas Clifford, the lord Bourchier, the lord de Latimer, and divers other knights and squires that I cannot name: they were an eight hundred men of arms and two thousand archers, and a thousand of other with the Welshmen: every lord drew to the field appointed under his own banner and pennon. In the second battle was the earl of Northampton, the earl of Arundel, the lord Ros, the lord Lucy, the lord Willoughby, the lord Basset, the lord of Saint-Aubin, sir Louis Tufton, the lord of Multon, the lord Lascelles and divers other, about an eight hundred men of arms and twelve hundred archers. The third battle had the king: he had seven

hundred men of arms and two thousand archers. Then the king leapt on a hobby,[1] with a white rod in his hand, one of his marshals on the one hand and the other on the other hand: he rode from rank to rank desiring every man to take heed that day to his right and honour. He spake it so sweetly and with so good countenance and merry cheer, that all such as were discomfited took courage in the seeing and hearing of him. And when he had thus visited all his battles, it was then nine of the day: then he caused every man to eat and drink a little, and so they did at their leisure. And afterward they ordered again their battles: then every man lay down on the earth and by him his salet and bow, to be the more fresher when their enemies should come.

CHAPTER CXXIX

The order of the Frenchmen at Cressy, and how they beheld the demeanour of the Englishmen.

THIS Saturday the French king rose betimes and heard mass in Abbeville in his lodging in the abbey of Saint Peter, and he departed after the sun-rising. When he was out of the town two leagues, approaching toward his enemies, some of his lords said to him: 'Sir, it were good that ye ordered your battles, and let all your footmen pass somewhat on before, that they be not troubled with the horsemen.' Then the king sent four knights, the Moine [of] Bazeilles, the lord of Noyers, the lord of Beaujeu and the lord d'Aubigny to ride to aview the English host; and so they rode so near that they might well see part of their dealing. The Englishmen saw them well and knew well how they were come thither to aview them: they let them alone and made no countenance toward them, and let them return as they came. And when the French king saw these four knights return again, he tarried till they came to him and said: 'Sirs, what tidings?' These four knights each of them looked on other, for there was none would speak before his companion; finally the king said to [the] Moine, who pertained to the king of Bohemia and had done in his days so much, that he was reputed for one of the valiantest knights of the world: 'Sir, speak you.' Then he said: 'Sir, I shall speak, sith it pleaseth you, under the correction of my fellows. Sir, we have ridden and seen the behaving of your enemies: know ye for truth they are rested in three battles abiding for you. Sir, I will counsel you as for my part, saving your displeasure, that you and all your company rest here and lodge for this night: for or they that be behind of your company be come hither, and or your battles be set in good order, it will be very late, and your people be weary and out of array, and ye shall find your enemies fresh and ready to receive you. Early in the morning ye may order your battles at more leisure and advise your enemies at more deliberation, and to regard well what way ye will assail them; for, sir, surely they will abide you.'

Then the king commanded that it should be so done. Then his two marshals one rode before, another behind, saying to every banner: 'Tarry and abide here in the name of God and Saint Denis.' They that were foremost tarried, but they that were behind would not tarry, but rode forth, and said how they would in no wise abide till they were as far forward as the foremost: and when they before saw them come on behind, then they rode forward again, so that the king nor his marshals could not rule them. So they rode without order or good array, till they came in sight of their enemies: and as soon as the foremost saw them, they reculed then aback without good array, whereof they behind had marvel and were abashed, and thought that the foremost company had been fighting. Then they might have had leisure and room to have gone forward, if they had list: some went forth and some abode still. The commons, of whom all the ways between Abbeville and Cressy were full, when they saw that they were near to their enemies, they took their swords and cried: 'Down with them! let us slay them all.' There is no man, though he were present at the journey, that could imagine or shew the truth of the evil order that was among the French party, and yet they were a marvellous great number. That I write

[1] 'Un petit palefroi.

in this book I learned it specially of the Englishmen, who well beheld their dealing; and also certain knights of sir John of Hainault's, who was always about king Philip, shewed me as they knew.

CHAPTER CXXX

Of the battle of Cressy between the king of England and the French king.

THE Englishmen, who were in three battles lying on the ground to rest them, as soon as they saw the Frenchmen approach, they rose upon their feet fair and easily without any haste and arranged their battles. The first, which was the prince's battle, the archers there stood in manner of a herse and the men of arms in the bottom of the battle. The earl of Northampton and the earl of Arundel with the second battle were on a wing in good order, ready to comfort the prince's battle, if need were.

The lords and knights of France came not to the assembly together in good order, for some came before and some came after in such haste and evil order, that one of them did trouble another. When the French king saw the Englishmen, his blood changed, and said to his marshals: 'Make the Genoways go on before and begin the battle in the name of God and Saint Denis.' There were of the Genoways cross-bows about a fifteen thousand,[1] but they were so weary of going afoot that day a six leagues armed with their cross-bows, that they said to their constables: 'We be not well ordered to fight this day, for we be not in the case to do any great deed of arms: we have more need of rest.' These words came to the earl of Alençon, who said: 'A man is well at ease to be charged with such a sort of rascals, to be faint and fail now at most need.' Also the same season there fell a great rain and a clipse[2] with a terrible thunder, and before the rain there came flying over both battles a great number of crows for fear of the tempest coming. Then anon the air began to wax clear, and the sun to shine fair and bright, the which was right in the Frenchmen's eyen and on the Englishmen's backs. When the Genoways were assembled together and began to approach, they made a great leap[1] and cry to abash the Englishmen, but they stood still and stirred not for all that: then the Genoways again the second time made another leap and a fell cry, and stept forward a little, and the Englishmen removed not one foot: thirdly, again they leapt and cried, and went forth till they came within shot; then they shot fiercely with their cross-bows. Then the English archers stept forth one pace and let fly their arrows so wholly [together] and so thick, that it seemed snow. When the Genoways felt the arrows piercing through heads, arms and breasts, many of them cast down their cross-bows and did cut their strings and returned discomfited. When the French king saw them fly away, he said: 'Slay these rascals, for they shall let and trouble us without reason.' Then ye should have seen the men of arms dash in among them and killed a great number of them: and ever still the Englishmen shot whereas they saw thickest press; the sharp arrows ran into the men of arms and into their horses, and many fell, horse and men, among the Genoways, and when they were down, they could not relieve[2] again, the press was so thick that one overthrew another. And also among the Englishmen there were certain rascals that went afoot with great knives, and they went in among the men of arms, and slew and murdered many as they lay on the ground, both earls, barons, knights and squires, whereof the king of England was after displeased, for he had rather they had been taken prisoners.

The valiant king of Bohemia called Charles of Luxembourg, son to the noble emperor Henry of Luxembourg, for all that he was nigh blind, when he understood the order of the battle, he said to them about him: 'Where is the lord Charles

[1] Villani, a very good authority on the subject, says 6000, brought from the ships at Harfleur.

[2] A mistranslation of 'une esclistre,' 'a flash of lightning.'

[1] These 'leaps' of the Genoese are invented by the translator, and have passed from him into several respectable English text-books, sometimes in company with the eclipse above mentioned. Froissart says: 'Il commencièrent à juper moult epouvantablement'; that is, 'to utter cries.' Another text makes mention of the English cannons at this point: 'The English remained still and let off some cannons that they had, to frighten the Genoese.'

[2] The translator's word 'relieve' (relyuue) represents 'relever,' for 'se relever.'

my son?' His men said: 'Sir, we cannot tell; we think he be fighting.' Then he said: 'Sirs, ye are my men, my companions and friends in this journey: I require you bring me so far forward, that I may strike one stroke with my sword.' They said they would do his commandment, and to the intent that they should not lose him in the press, they tied all their reins of their bridles each to other and set the king before to accomplish his desire, and so they went on their enemies. The lord Charles of Bohemia his son, who wrote himself king of Almaine and bare the arms, he came in good order to the battle; but when he saw that the matter went awry on their party, he departed, I cannot tell you which way. The king his father was so far forward that he strake a stroke with his sword, yea and more than four, and fought valiantly and so did his company; and they adventured themselves so forward, that they were there all slain, and the next day they were found in the place about the king, and all their horses tied each to other.

The earl of Alençon came to the battle right ordinately and fought with the Englishmen, and the earl of Flanders also on his part. These two lords with their companies coasted the English archers and came to the prince's battle, and there fought valiantly long. The French king would fain have come thither, when he saw their banners, but there was a great hedge of archers before him. The same day the French king had given a great black courser to sir John of Hainault, and he made the lord Thierry of Senzeille to ride on him and to bear his banner. The same horse took the bridle in the teeth and brought him through all the currours of the Englishmen, and as he would have returned again, he fell in a great dike and was sore hurt, and had been there dead, an his page had not been, who followed him through all the battles and saw where his master lay in the dike, and had none other let but for his horse, for the Englishmen would not issue out of their battle for taking of any prisoner. Then the page alighted and relieved his master: then he went not back again the same way that they came, there was too many in his way.

This battle between Broye and Cressy this Saturday was right cruel and fell, and many a feat of arms done that came not to my knowledge. In the night[1] divers knights and squires lost their masters, and sometime came on the Englishmen, who received them in such wise that they were ever nigh slain; for there was none taken to mercy nor to ransom, for so the Englishmen were determined.

In the morning[2] the day of the battle certain Frenchmen and Almains perforce opened the archers of the prince's battle and came and fought with the men of arms hand to hand. Then the second battle of the Englishmen came to succour the prince's battle, the which was time, for they had as then much ado; and they with the prince sent a messenger to the king, who was on a little windmill hill. Then the knight said to the king: 'Sir, the earl of Warwick and the earl of Oxford, sir Raynold Cobham and other, such as be about the prince your son, are fiercely fought withal and are sore handled; wherefore they desire you that you and your battle will come and aid them; for if the Frenchmen increase, as they doubt they will, your son and they shall have much ado.' Then the king said: 'Is my son dead or hurt or on the earth felled?' 'No, sir,' quoth the knight, 'but he is hardly matched; wherefore he hath need of your aid.' 'Well,' said the king, 'return to him and to them that sent you hither, and say to them that they send no more to me for any adventure that falleth, as long as my son is alive: and also say to them that they suffer him this day to win his spurs;[3] for if God be pleased, I will this journey be his and the honour thereof, and to them that be about him.' Then the knight returned again to them and shewed the king's words, the which greatly encouraged them, and repoined[4] in that they had sent to the king as they did.

Sir Godfrey of Harcourt would gladly that the earl of Harcourt his brother might

[1] 'Sus le nuit,' 'towards nightfall.'

[2] The text has suffered by omissions. What Froissart says is that if the battle had begun in the morning, it might have gone better for the French, and then he instances the exploits of those who broke through the archers. The battle did not begin till four o'clock in the afternoon.

[3] 'Que il laissent à l'enfant gaegnier ses esperons.'

[4] *i.e.* 'they repoined': Fr. 'se reprisent.'

have been saved; for he heard say by them that saw his banner how that he was there in the field on the French party: but sir Godfrey could not come to him betimes, for he was slain or he could come at him, and so was also the earl of Aumale his nephew. In another place the earl of Alençon and the earl of Flanders fought valiantly, every lord under his own banner; but finally they could not resist against the puissance of the Englishmen, and so there they were also slain, and divers other knights and squires. Also the earl Louis of Blois, nephew to the French king, and the duke of Lorraine fought under their banners, but at last they were closed in among a company of Englishmen and Welshmen, and there were slain for all their prowess. Also there was slain the earl of Auxerre, the earl of Saint-Pol and many other.

In the evening the French king, who had left about him no more than a threescore persons, one and other, whereof sir John of Hainault was one, who had remounted once the king, for his horse was slain with an arrow, then he said to the king: 'Sir, depart hence, for it is time; lose not yourself wilfully: if ye have loss at this time, ye shall recover it again another season.' And so he took the king's horse by the bridle and led him away in a manner perforce. Then the king rode till he came to the castle of Broye. The gate was closed, because it was by that time dark: then the king called the captain, who came to the walls and said: 'Who is that calleth there this time of night?' Then the king said: 'Open your gate quickly, for this is the fortune of France.'[1] The captain knew then it was the king, and opened the gate and let down the bridge. Then the king entered, and he had with him but five barons, sir John of Hainault, sir Charles of Montmorency, the lord of Beaujeu, the lord d'Aubigny and the lord of Montsault. The king would not tarry there, but drank and departed thence about midnight, and so rode by such guides as knew the country till he came in the morning to Amiens, and there he rested.

This Saturday the Englishmen never departed from their battles for chasing of any man, but kept still their field, and ever defended themselves against all such as came to assail them. This battle ended about evensong time.

[1] 'C'est la fortune de France': but the better MSS. have 'c'est li infortunés rois de France.'

CHAPTER CXXXI

How the next day after the battle the Englishmen discomfited divers Frenchmen.

ON this Saturday, when the night was come and that the Englishmen heard no more noise of the Frenchmen, then they reputed themselves to have the victory, and the Frenchmen to be discomfited, slain and fled away. Then they made great fires and lighted up torches and candles, because it was very dark. Then the king avaled down from the little hill whereas he stood; and of all that day till then his helm came never on his head. Then he went with all his battle to his son the prince and embraced him in his arms and kissed him, and said: 'Fair son, God give you good perseverance; ye are my good son, thus ye have acquitted you nobly: ye are worthy to keep a realm.' The prince inclined himself to the earth, honouring the king his father.

This night they thanked God for their good adventure and made no boast thereof, for the king would that no man should be proud or make boast, but every man humbly to thank God. On the Sunday in the morning there was such a mist, that a man might not see the breadth of an acre of land from him. Then there departed from the host by the commandment of the king and marshals five hundred spears and two thousand archers, to see if they might see any Frenchmen gathered again together in any place. The same morning out of Abbeville and Saint-Riquiers in Ponthieu the commons of Rouen and of Beauvais issued out of their towns, not knowing of the discomfiture the day before. They met with the Englishmen weening they had been Frenchmen, and when the Englishmen saw them, they set on them freshly, and there was a sore battle; but at last the Frenchmen fled and kept none array. There were slain in the ways and in hedges and bushes more than seven thousand, and if the day had been clear

there had never a one scaped. Anon after, another company of Frenchmen were met by the Englishmen, the archbishop of Rouen and the great prior of France, who also knew nothing of the discomfiture the day before; for they heard that the French king should have fought the same Sunday, and they were going thitherward. When they met with the Englishmen, there was a great battle, for they were a great number, but they could not endure against the Englishmen; for they were nigh all slain, few scaped; the two lords were slain. This morning the Englishmen met with divers Frenchmen that had lost their way on the Saturday and had lain all night in the fields, and wist not where the king was nor the captains. They were all slain, as many as were met with; and it was shewed me that of the commons and men afoot of the cities and good towns of France there was slain four times as many as were slain the Saturday in the great battle.

CHAPTER CXXXII

How the next day after the battle of Cressy they that were dead were numbered by the Englishmen.

THE same Sunday, as the king of England came from mass, such as had been sent forth returned and shewed the king what they had seen and done, and said: 'Sir, we think surely there is now no more appearance of any of our enemies.' Then the king sent to search how many were slain and what they were. Sir Raynold Cobham and sir Richard Stafford with three heralds went to search the field and country: they visited all them that were slain and rode all day in the fields, and returned again to the host as the king was going to supper. They made just report of that they had seen, and said how there were eleven great princes dead, fourscore banners, twelve hundred knights, and more than thirty thousand other.[1] The Englishmen kept still their field all that night: on the Monday in the morning the king prepared to depart: the king caused the dead bodies of the great lords to be taken up and conveyed to Montreuil, and there buried in holy ground, and made a cry in the country to grant truce for three days, to the intent that they of the country might search the field of Cressy to bury the dead bodies.

Then the king went forth and came before the town of Montreuil-by-the-sea, and his marshals ran toward Hesdin and brent Waben and Serain, but they did nothing to the castle, it was so strong and so well kept. They lodged that night on the river of Hesdin towards Blangy. The next day they rode toward Boulogne and came to the town of Wissant: there the king and the prince lodged, and tarried there a day to refresh his men, and on the Wednesday the king came before the strong town of Calais.

CHAPTER CXXXIII

How the king of England laid siege to Calais, and how all the poor people were put out of the town.

IN the town of Calais there was captain a knight of Burgoyne called sir John de Vienne, and with him was sir Arnold d'Audrehem, sir John de Surie, sir Baldwin de Bellebrune, sir Geoffrey de la Motte, sir Pepin de Wierre and divers other knights and squires. When the king of England was come before Calais, he laid his siege and ordained bastides between the town and the river: he made carpenters to make houses and lodgings of great timber, and set the houses like streets and covered them with reed and broom, so that it was like a little town; and there was everything to sell, and a market-place to be kept every Tuesday and Saturday for flesh and fish, mercery ware, houses for cloth, for bread, wine and all other things necessary, such as came out of England or out of Flanders; there they might buy what they list. The Englishmen ran oftentimes into the country

[1] Another text makes the loss of persons below the rank of knight 15,000 or 16,000, including the men of the towns. Both estimates must be greatly exaggerated. Michael of Northburgh says that 1542 were killed in the battle and about 2000 on the next day. The great princes killed were the king of Bohemia, the duke of Lorraine, the earls of Alençon, Flanders, Blois, Auxerre, Harcourt, Saint-Pol, Aumale, the grand prior of France and the archbishop of Rouen.

of Guines, and into Ternois, and to the gates of Saint-Omer's, and sometime to Boulogne; they brought into their host great preys. The king would not assail the town of Calais, for he thought it but a lost labour: he spared his people and his artillery, and said how he would famish them in the town with long siege, without the French king come and raise his siege perforce.

When the captain of Calais saw the manner and the order of the Englishmen, then he constrained all poor and mean people to issue out of the town, and on a Wednesday there issued out of men, women and children more than seventeen hundred; and as they passed through the host, they were demanded why they departed, and they answered and said, because they had nothing to live on: then the king did them that grace that he suffered them to pass through his host without danger, and gave them meat and drink to dinner, and every person two pence sterling in alms, for the which divers many of them prayed for the king's prosperity.

CHAPTER CXXXIV

How the duke of Normandy brake up his siege before Aiguillon.

SUMMARY.—The French king sent for the duke of Normandy to return and defend France, so the French departed from that siege. As they departed, those within made a sally and took several prisoners, from whom sir Walter Manny heard of the king of England's campaign in France.

The king of France was displeased with sir Godemar du Fay, because he had not well kept the passage of Blanche-taque, and he would have lost his life, but sir John of Hainault excused him.

CHAPTER CXXXV

How sir Gaultier of Manny rode through all France by safe-conduct to Calais.

It was not long after, but that sir Gaultier of Manny fell in communication with a knight of Normandy, who was his prisoner, and demanded of him what money he would pay for his ransom. The knight answered and said he would gladly pay three thousand crowns. 'Well,' quoth the lord Gaultier, 'I know well ye be kin to the duke of Normandy and well beloved with him, [so] that I am sure, an if I would sore oppress you, I am sure ye would gladly pay ten thousand crowns; but I shall deal otherwise with you. I will trust you on your faith and promise: ye shall go to the duke your lord, and by your means get a safe-conduct for me and twenty other of my company to ride through France to Calais, paying courteously for all our expenses. And if ye can get this of the duke or of the king, I shall clearly quit you your ransom with much thank, for I greatly desire to see the king my master; nor I will lie but one night in a place till I come there. And if ye cannot do this, return again hither within a month, and yield yourself still as my prisoner.' The knight was content and so went to Paris to the duke his lord, and he obtained this passport for sir Gaultier of Manny and twenty horse with him all only. This knight returned to Aiguillon and brought it to sir Gaultier, and there he quitted the knight Norman of his ransom. Then anon after, sir Gaultier took his way and twenty horse with him, and so rode through Auvergne; and when he tarried in any place, he shewed his letter and so was let pass: but when he came to Orleans, for all his letter he was arrested and brought to Paris and there put in prison in the Chatelet.

When the duke of Normandy knew thereof, he went to the king his father and shewed him how sir Gaultier of Manny had his safe-conduct, wherefore he required the king as much as he might to deliver him, or else it should be said how he had betrayed him. The king answered and said how he should be put to death, for he reputed him for his great enemy. Then said the duke: 'Sir, if ye do so, surely I shall never bear armour against the king of England, nor all such as I may let.' And at his departing he said that he would never enter again into the king's host. Thus the matter stood a certain time.

There was a knight of Hainault called sir Mansart d'Esne: he purchased all that he might to help sir Walter of Manny, and went often in and out to the duke of Nor-

mandy. Finally the king was so counselled, that he was delivered out of prison and all his costs paid; and the king sent for him to his lodging of Nesle in Paris, and there he dined with the king, and the king presented him great gifts and jewels to the value of a thousand florins. Sir Gaultier of Manny received them on a condition, that when he came to Calais, that if the king of England his master were pleased that he should take them, then he was content to keep them, or else to send them again to the French king, who said he spake like a noble man. Then he took his leave and departed, and rode so long by his journeys that he came into Hainault, and tarried at Valenciennes three days; and so from thence he went to Calais and was welcome to the king. But when the king heard that sir Gaultier of Manny had received gifts of the French king, he said to him: 'Sir Gaultier, ye have hitherto truly served us, and shall do, as we trust. Send again to king Philip the gifts that he gave you; ye have no cause to keep them. We thank God we have enough for us and for you: we be in good purpose to do much good for you according to the good service that ye have done.' Then sir Gaultier took all those jewels and delivered them to a cousin of his called Mansart,[1] and said: 'Ride into France to the king there and recommend me unto him, and say how I thank him a thousand times for the gift that he gave me; but shew him how it is not the pleasure of the king my master that I should keep them; therefore I send them again to him.' This knight rode to Paris and shewed all this to the king, who would not receive again the jewels, but did give them to the same knight sir Mansart, who thanked the king and was not in will to say nay.

CHAPTER CXXXVI

How the earl of Derby the same season took in Poitou divers towns and castles, and also the city of Poitiers.

[1] This is the same sir Mansart d'Esne who has been mentioned above, but the translator, finding the name here written 'Mansac,' introduces him as a new person.

CHAPTER CXXXVII

How the king of Scots during the siege before Calais came into England with a great host.

It is long now sith we spake of king David of Scotland: howbeit till now there was none occasion why, for the truce that was taken was well and truly kept: so that when the king of England had besieged Calais and lay there, then the Scots determined to make war into England and to be revenged of such hurts as they had taken before. For they said then how that the realm of England was void of men of war; for they were, as they said, with the king of England before Calais, and some in Bretayne, Poitou and Gascoyne. The French king did what he could to stir the Scots to that war, to the intent that the king of England should break up his siege and return to defend his own realm.

The king of Scots made his summons to be at Saint-John's town on the river of Tay in Scotland: thither came earls, barons and prelates of Scotland, and there agreed that in all haste possible they should enter into England. To come in that journey was desired John of the out Isles, who governed the wild Scots, for to him they obeyed and to no man else. He came with a three thousand of the most outrageoust people in all the country. When all the Scots were assembled, they were of one and other a fifty thousand fighting men. They could not make their assembly so secret but that the queen of England, who was as then in the marches of the North about York, knew all their dealing. Then she sent all about for men and lay herself at York: then all men of war and archers came to Newcastle with the queen. In the mean season the king of Scots departed from Saint-John's town and went to Dunfermline the first day. The next day they passed a little arm of the sea and so came to Stirling, and then to Edinburgh. Then they numbered their company, and they were a three thousand men of arms, knights and squires, and a thirty thousand of other on hackneys. Then they came to Roxburgh, the first fortress English on that part: captain there was sir William Montague. The Scots passed by without any assault

making, and so went forth brenning and destroying the country of Northumberland; and their currours ran to York and brent as much as was without the walls, and returned again to their host within a day's journey of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

CHAPTER CXXXVIII

Of the battle of Newcastle-upon-Tyne between the queen of England and the king of Scots.

THE queen of England, who desired to defend her country, came to Newcastle-upon-Tyne and there tarried for her men, who came daily from all parts. When the Scots knew that the Englishmen assembled at Newcastle, they drew thitherward and their currours came running before the town; and at their returning they brent certain small hamlets thereabout, so that the smoke thereof came into the town of Newcastle. Some of the Englishmen would a issued out to have fought with them that made the fires, but the captains would not suffer them to issue out.

The next day the king of Scots with a forty thousand men one and other came and lodged within three little English mile of Newcastle in the land of the lord Nevill; and the king sent to them within the town, that if they would issue out into the field, he would fight with them gladly. The lords and prelates of England said they were content to adventure their lives with the right and heritage of the king of England their master. Then they all issued out of the town, and were in number a twelve hundred men of arms, three thousand archers, and seven thousand of other with the Welshmen. Then the Scots came and lodged against them near together: then every man was set in order of battle: then the queen came among her men [1] and there was ordained four battles, one to aid another. The first had in governance the bishop of Durham and the lord Percy; the second the archbishop of York and the lord Nevill; the third the bishop of Lincoln and the lord Mowbray; the fourth the lord Edward de Balliol, captain of Berwick, the archbishop of Canterbury and the lord Ros: every battle had like number after their quantity. The queen went from battle to battle desiring them to do their devoir to defend the honour of her lord the king of England, and in the name of God every man to be of good heart and courage, promising them that to her power she would remember them as well or better as though her lord the king were there personally. Then the queen departed from them, recommending them to God and to Saint George.

Then anon after, the battles of the Scots began to set forward, and in like wise so did the Englishmen. Then the archers began to shoot on both parties, but the shot of the Scots endured but a short space, but the archers of England shot so fiercely, so that when the battles approached, there was a hard battle. They began at nine and endured till noon: the Scots had great axes sharp and hard, and gave with them many great strokes. Howbeit finally the Englishmen obtained the place and victory, but they lost many of their men. There were slain of the Scots the earl of Fife, the earl of Buchan, the earl Patrick, the earl of Sutherland, the earl of Strathern, the earl of Mar, the earl John Douglas, and the lord Alexander Ramsay, who bare the king's banner, and divers other knights and squires. And there the king was taken, who fought valiantly and was sore hurt. A squire of Northumberland took him, called John Copeland; and as soon as he had taken the king, he went with him out of the field with eight of his servants with him, and so rode all that day, till he was a fifteen leagues from the place of the battle, and at night he came to a castle called Orgulus; [1] and then he said he would not deliver the king of Scots to no man nor woman living, but all only to the king of England his lord. The same day there was also taken in the field the earl Moray, the earl of March, the lord William Douglas, the lord Robert Versy, the bishop of Aberdeen, the bishop of Saint Andrews, and divers other knights and barons. And there were slain of one and other a fifteen thousand, and the other saved themselves as well as they might. This battle was

[1] The queen was not present at Nevill's Cross, but had already passed over to the Continent (Kervyn de Lettenhove, v. 487).

[1] Froissart's Chateau-Orgueilleux is the castle of Ogle in Northumberland (Kervyn de Lettenhove, v. 493).

beside Newcastle, the year of our Lord MCCCXLVI., the Saturday next after Saint Michael.

CHAPTER CXXXIX

How John Copeland had the king of Scots prisoner, and what profit he got thereby.

WHEN the queen of England being at Newcastle understood how the journey was for her and her men, she then rode to the place where the battle had been. Then it was shewed her how the king of Scots was taken by a squire called John Copeland, and he had carried away the king no man knew whither. Then the queen wrote to the squire commanding him to bring his prisoner the king of Scots, and how he had not well done to depart with him without leave. All that day the Englishmen tarried still in the same place and the queen with them, and the next day they returned to Newcastle. When the queen's letter was brought to John Copeland, he answered and said, that as for the king of Scots his prisoner, he would not deliver him to no man nor woman living, but all only to the king of England his sovereign lord: as for the king of Scots, he said he should be safely kept, so that he would give account for him.

Then the queen sent letters to the king to Calais, whereby the king was informed of the state of his realm: then the king sent incontinent to John Copeland, that he should come over the sea to him to the siege before Calais. Then the same John did put his prisoner in safe keeping in a strong castle, and so rode through England till he came to Dover, and there took the sea and arrived before Calais. When the king of England saw the squire, he took him by the hand and said: 'Ah! welcome, my squire, that by your valiantness hath taken mine adversary the king of Scots.' The squire kneeled down and said: 'Sir, if God by his grace have suffered me to take the king of Scots by true conquest of arms, sir, I think no man ought to have any envy thereat; for as well God may send by his grace such a fortune to fall to a poor squire as to a great lord: and, sir, I require your grace, be not miscontent with me, though I did not deliver the king of Scots at the commandment of the queen. Sir, I hold of you, as mine oath is to you, and not to her but in all good manner.' The king said: 'John, the good service that ye have done and your valiantness is so much worth, that it must countervail your trespass and be taken for your excuse, and shame have they that bear you any evil will therefor. Ye shall return again home to your house, and then my pleasure is that ye deliver your prisoner to the queen my wife; and in a reward I assign you near to your house, whereas ye think best yourself, five hundred pound sterling of yearly rent to you and to your heirs for ever, and here I make you squire for my body.' Then the third day he departed and returned again into England; and when he came home to his own house, he assembled together his friends and kin, and so they took the king of Scots and rode with him to the city of York, and there from the king his lord he presented the king of Scots to the queen, and excused him so largely, that the queen and her council were content.

Then the queen made good provision for the city of York, the castle of Roxburgh, the city of Durham, the town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and in all other garrisons on the marches of Scotland, and left in those marches the lord Percy and the lord Nevill as governour there: then the queen departed from York toward London. Then she set the king of Scots in the strong tower of London, and the earl Moray and all other prisoners, and set good keeping over them. Then she went to Dover and there took the sea, and had so good wind, that in a short space she arrived before Calais, three days before the feast of All Saints; for whose coming the king made a great feast and dinner to all the lords and ladies that were there. The queen brought many ladies and damosels with her, as well to accompany her as to see their husbands, fathers, brethren and other friends, that lay at siege there before Calais and had done a long space.

CHAPTER CXL

How the young earl of Flanders ensured the king's daughter of England.

THE siege before Calais endured long, and many things fell in the mean season, the

which I cannot write the fourth part. The French king had set men of war in every fortress in those marches, in the county of Guines, of Artois, of Boulogne, and about Calais, and had a great number of Genoways, Normans and other on the sea, so that when any of the Englishmen would go a-foraging, other afoot or horseback, they found many times hard adventures, and often there was skirmishing about the gates and dikes of the town, and oftentimes some slain and hurt on both parties; some day the one part lost and some day the other. The king of England caused engines to be made to oppress them within the town, but they within made other again to resist them, so that they took little hurt by them; but nothing could come into the town but by stealth, and that was by the means of two mariners, one called Marant and the other Mestriel, and they dwelt in Abbeville. By them two they of Calais were oftentimes recomforted and freshed by stealth; and oftentimes they were in great peril, chased and near taken, but always they scaped, and made many Englishmen to be drowned.

All that winter the king lay still at the siege, and thought and imagined ever to keep the commonty of Flanders in friendship; for he thought by their means the sooner to come to his intent. He sent oftentimes to them with fair promises, saying that if he might get Calais, he would help them to recover Lille and Douay with all their appurtenances; so by occasion of such promises, while the king was in Normandy towards Cressy and Calais, they went and laid siege to Bethune, and their captain was sir Oudart de Renty, who was banished out of France. They held a great siege before that town and sore constrained them by assault; but within were four knights captains set there by the French king to keep the town, that is to say, sir Geoffrey of Charny, sir Eustace of Ribemont, sir Baudwin d'Annequin and sir John of Landas: they defended the town in such wise, that the Flemings won nothing there, but so departed and returned again into Flanders. But while the king of England lay at siege before Calais, he sent still messengers to them of Flanders, and made them great promises to keep their amity with him and to oppress the drift of the French king, who did all that he could to draw them to his opinion.

The king of England would gladly that the earl Louis of Flanders, who was as then but fifteen year of age, should have in marriage his daughter Isabel. So much did the king that the Flemings agreed thereto; whereof the king was glad, for he thought by that marriage the Flemings would the gladlier help him; and the Flemings thought, by having of the king of England on their party, they might well resist the Frenchmen; they thought it more necessary and profitable for them, the love of the king of England, rather than the French king. But the young earl, who had been ever nourished among the noblemen of France, would not agree, and said plainly, he would not have to his wife the daughter of him that slew his father: also duke John of Brabant purchased greatly that the earl of Flanders should have his daughter in marriage, promising him that if he would take her to his wife, that he would cause him to enjoy the whole earldom of Flanders, other by fair means or otherwise: also the duke said to the French king, 'Sir, if the earl of Flanders will take my daughter, I shall find the means that all the Flemings shall take your part and forsake the king of England': by the which promise the French king agreed to that marriage. When the duke of Brabant had the king's good-will, then he sent certain messengers into Flanders to the burgesses of the good towns, and shewed them so fair reasons, that the counsels of the good towns sent to the earl their natural lord, certifying him that if he would come into Flanders and use their counsel, they would be to him true and good friends and deliver to him all the rights and jurisdictions of Flanders, as much as ever any earl had. The earl took counsel and went into Flanders, where he was received with great joy and given to him many great presents.

As soon as the king of England heard of this, he sent into Flanders the earl of Northampton, the earl of Arundel and the lord Cobham. They did so much with the officers and commons of Flanders, that they had rather that their lord the earl should take to his wife the king of England's daughter than the daughter of the

duke of Brabant; and so to do they affectuously desired their lord, and shewed him many fair reasons to draw him to that way, so that the burgesses that were on the duke of Brabant's party durst not say the contrary. But then the earl in no wise would consent thereto, but ever he said he would not wed her, whose father had slain his, though he might have half of the whole realm of England. When the Flemings saw that, they said how their lord was too much French and evil counselled, and also said how they would do no good to him, sith he would not believe their counsels. Then they took and put him in courteous prison, and said how he should never depart without he would follow and believe their counsels. Also they said that the earl his father believed and loved too much the Frenchmen; for if he would a believed them, he should have been the greatest lord in all Christendom, and recovered again Lille, Douay and Bethune, and yet alive. Thus the matter abode a certain space: the king of England lay still at the siege before Calais and kept a great court that Christmas; and about the beginning of Lent after, came thither out of Gascoyne the earl of Derby, the earl of Pembroke, the earl of Oxford and divers other knights and squires, that had passed the sea with the earl.

Thus the earl of Flanders was long in danger among the Flemings in courteous prison, and it greatly annoyed him. Then at last he said he would believe their counsel; for he knew well, he said, that he should have more profit there than in any other country. These words rejoiced greatly the Flemings: then they took him out of prison and suffered him to go a-hawking to the river, the which sport the earl loved well; but ever there was good watch laid on him, that he should not steal away from them, and they were charged on their lives to take good heed to him, and also they were such as were favourable to the king of England. They watched him so near, that he could do nothing without their knowledge. This endured so long that at last the earl said that he would gladly have to his wife the king of England's daughter. Then the Flemings sent word thereof to the king and to the queen, and pointed a day that they should come to Bergues, in the abbey, and to bring their daughter with them, and they would bring thither their lord the earl of Flanders; and there to conclude up the marriage. The king and the queen were glad thereof, and said that the Flemings were good men: so to Bergues between Newport and Gravelines came the most saddest men of the good towns in Flanders, and brought with them the earl their lord in great estate. The king of England and the queen were there ready: the earl courteously inclined to the king and to the queen: the king took the earl by the right hand right sweetly, and led him forth, saying: 'As for the death of the earl your father, as God help me, the day of the battle of Cressy nor the next day after I never heard word of him that he should be there.' The young earl by semblant made as though he had been content with the king's excuse. Then they fell in communication of the marriage: there were certain articles agreed unto by the king of England and the earl Louis of Flanders, and great amities there was sworn between them to be holden; and there the earl fianced Isabel the king of England's daughter, and promised to wed her. So that journey brake off, and a new day to be appointed at more leisure: the Flemings returned into Flanders with their lord, and the king of England with the queen went again to the siege of Calais.

Thus the matter stood a certain time, and the king and the queen prepared greatly again the marriage for jewels and other things to give away, according to their behaviours. The earl of Flanders daily passed the time at the river, and made semblant that this marriage pleased him greatly; so the Flemings thought that they were then sure enough of him, so that there was not so great watch made on him as was before. But they knew not well the condition of their lord, for whatsoever countenance he made outward, his inward courage was all French. So on a day he went forth with his hawks, the same week that the marriage should have been finished: his falconer cast off a falcon to an heron and the earl cast off another. So these two falcons chased the heron, and the earl rode after, as to follow his falcon. And when he was a good way off and had

the advantage of the fields, he dashed his spurs to his horse and galloped forth in such wise, that his keepers lost him. Still he galloped forthright, till he came into Artois, and there he was in surety; and so then he rode into France to king Philip and shewed him all his adventure. The king and the Frenchmen said how he had dealt wisely; the Englishmen on the other side said how he had betrayed and deceived them: but for all that, the king left not to keep the Flemings in amity, for he knew well the earl had done this deed not by their counsel, for they were sore displeased therewith; and the excuse that they made the king soon believed it in that behalf.

CHAPTER CXLI

How sir Robert of Namur did homage to the king of England before Calais.

CHAPTERS CXLII, CXLIII

SUMMARY.—The war began again in Brittany. The English took Rochelarien, and Charles of Blois laid siege to it. An army sent by the countess of Montfort to raise the siege surprised the French, who were defeated, and Charles of Blois was taken prisoner.

CHAPTERS CXLIV, CXLV

SUMMARY.—The French king raised an army to relieve Calais, but the passages were so well kept, that he could not approach. Negotiations for peace were without effect.

CHAPTER CXLVI

How the town of Calais was given up to the king of England.

AFTER that the French king was thus departed from Sangate, they within Calais saw well how their succour failed them, for the which they were in great sorrow. Then they desired so much their captain, sir John of Vienne, that he went to the walls of the town and made a sign to speak with some person of the host. When the king heard thereof, he sent thither sir Gaultier of Manny and sir Basset. Then sir John of Vienne said to them: 'Sirs, ye be right valiant knights in deeds of arms, and ye know well how the king my master hath sent me and other to this town and commanded us to keep it to his behoof in such wise that we take no blame, nor to him no damage; and we have done all that lieth in our power. Now our succours hath failed us, and we be so sore strained, that we have not to live withal, but that we must all die or else enrage for famine, without the noble and gentle king of yours will take mercy on us: the which to do we require you to desire him, to have pity on us and to let us go and depart as we be, and let him take the town and castle and all the goods that be therein, the which is great abundance.' Then sir Gaultier of Manny said: 'Sir, we know somewhat of the intention of the king our master, for he hath shewed it unto us: surely know for truth it is not his mind that ye nor they within the town should depart so, for it is his will that ye all should put yourselves into his pure will, to ransom all such as pleaseth him and to put to death such as he list; for they of Calais hath done him such contraries and despites, and hath caused him to dispend so much good, and lost many of his men, that he is sore grieved against them.' Then the captain said: 'Sir, this is too hard a matter to us. We are here within, a small sort of knights and squires, who hath truly served the king our master as well as ye serve yours in like case. And we have endured much pain and unease; but we shall yet endure as much pain as ever knights did, rather than to consent that the worst lad in the town should have any more evil than the greatest of us all: therefore, sir, we pray you that of your humility, yet that ye will go and speak to the king of England and desire him to have pity of us; for we trust in him so much gentleness, that by the grace of God his purpose shall change.'

Sir Gaultier of Manny and sir Basset returned to the king and declared to him all that had been said. The king said he would none otherwise but that they

should yield them up simply to his pleasure. Then sir Gaultier said: 'Sir, saving your displeasure, in this ye may be in the wrong, for ye shall give by this an evil ensample: if ye send any of us your servants into any fortress, we will not be very glad to go, if ye put any of them in the town to death after they be yielded; for in like wise they will deal with us, if the case fell like.' The which words divers other lords that were there present sustained and maintained. Then the king said: 'Sirs, I will not be alone against you all; therefore, sir Gaultier of Manny, ye shall go and say to the captain that all the grace that he shall find now in me is that they let six of the chief burgesses of the town come out bare-headed, barefooted, and bare-legged, and in their shirts, with halters about their necks, with the keys of the town and castle in their hands, and let them six yield themselves purely to my will, and the residue I will take to mercy.'

Then sir Gaultier returned and found sir John of Vienne still on the wall, abiding for an answer. Then sir Gaultier shewed him all the grace that he could get of the king. 'Well,' quoth sir John, 'sir, I require you tarry here a certain space, till I go into the town and shew this to the commons of the town, who sent me hither. Then sir John went unto the market-place and sowned the common bell: then incontinent men and women assembled there: then the captain made report of all that he had done, and said, 'Sirs, it will be none otherwise; therefore now take advice and make a short answer.' Then all the people began to weep and to make such sorrow, that there was not so hard a heart, if they had seen them, but that would have had great pity of them: the captain himself wept piteously. At last the most rich burgess of all the town, called Eustace of Saint-Pierre, rose up and said openly: 'Sirs, great and small, great mischief it should be to suffer to die such people as be in this town, other by famine or otherwise, when there is a mean to save them. I think he or they should have great merit of our Lord God that might keep them from such mischief. As for my part, I have so good trust in our Lord God, that if I die in the quarrel to save the residue, that God would pardon me: wherefore to save them I will be the first to put my life in jeopardy.' When he had thus said, every man worshipped him and divers kneeled down at his feet with sore weeping and sore sighs. Then another honest burgess rose and said: 'I will keep company with my gossip Eustace.' He was called John d'Aire. Then rose up Jaques of Wissant, who was rich in goods and heritage; he said also that he would hold company with his two cousins. In like wise so did Peter of Wissant his brother: and then rose two other;[1] they said they would do the same. Then they went and apparelled them as the king desired.

Then the captain went with them to the gate: there was great lamentation made of men, women and children at their departing: then the gate was opened and he issued out with the six burgesses and closed the gate again, so that they were between the gate and the barriers. Then he said to sir Gaultier of Manny: 'Sir, I deliver here to you as captain of Calais by the whole consent of all the people of the town these six burgesses, and I swear to you truly that they be and were to-day most honourable, rich and most notable burgesses of all the town of Calais. Wherefore, gentle knight, I require you pray the king to have mercy on them, that they die not.' Quoth sir Gaultier: 'I cannot say what the king will do, but I shall do for them the best I can.' Then the barriers were opened, the six burgesses went towards the king, and the captain entered again into the town.

When sir Gaultier presented these burgesses to the king, they kneeled down and held up their hands and said: 'Gentle king, behold here we six, who were burgesses of Calais and great merchants; we have brought to you the keys of the town and of the castle and we submit ourselves clearly into your will and pleasure, to save the residue of the people of Calais, who have suffered great pain. Sir, we beseech your grace to have mercy and pity on us through your high nobless.' Then all the earls and barons and other that were there wept for pity. The king looked felly on them, for greatly he hated the

[1] In Froissart's last revision the names are given, Jean de Fiennes and Andrieu d'André.

people of Calais for the great damages and displeasures they had done him on the sea before. Then he commanded their heads to be stricken off: then every man required the king for mercy, but he would hear no man in that behalf: then sir Gaultier of Manny said: 'Ah, noble king, for God's sake refrain your courage: ye have the name of sovereign nobless; therefore now do not a thing that should blemish your renown, nor to give cause to some to speak of you villainy. Every man will say it is a great cruelty to put to death such honest persons, who by their own wills put themselves into your grace to save their company.' Then the king wryed away from him[1] and commanded to send for the hangman, and said: 'They of Calais have caused many of my men to be slain, wherefore these shall die in like wise.' Then the queen, being great with child, kneeled down and sore weeping said: 'Ah, gentle sir, sith I passed the sea in great peril, I have desired nothing of you; therefore now I humbly require you in the honour of the Son of the Virgin Mary and for the love of me that ye will take mercy of these six burgesses.' The king beheld the queen and stood still in a study a space, and then said: 'Ah, dame, I would ye had been as now in some other place; ye make such request to me that I cannot deny you. Wherefore I give them to you, to do your pleasure with them.' Then the queen caused them to be brought into her chamber, and made the halters to be taken from their necks, and caused them to be new clothed, and gave them their dinner at their leisure: and then she gave each of them six nobles and made them to be brought out of the host in safe-guard and set at their liberty.

CHAPTER CXLVII

How the king of England repeopled the town of Calais with Englishmen.

THUS the strong town of Calais was given up[2] to king Edward of England the year of our Lord God MCCCXLVI. in the month of August. The king of England called to him sir Gaultier of Manny and his two marshals, the earl of Warwick and the earl of Stafford, and said to them: 'Sirs, take here the keys of the town and castle of Calais: go and take possession there and put in prison all the knights that be there; and all other soldiers that came thither simply to win their living cause them to avoid the town, and also all other men, women and children, for I would repeople again the town with pure Englishmen. So these three lords with a hundred with them went and took possession of Calais, and did put in prison sir John de Vienne, sir John of Surie, sir Baldwin of Bellebrune and other. Then they made all the soldiers to bring all their harness into a place appointed and laid it all on a heap in the hall of Calais.[1] Then they made all manner of people to void, and kept there no more persons but a priest and two other ancient personages, such as knew the customs, laws and ordinances of the town, and to sign out the heritages how they were divided. Then they prepared the castle to lodge the king and queen, and prepared other houses for the king's company. Then the king mounted on his horse and entered into the town with trumpets, tabours, nacaires and hormyes, and there the king lay till the queen was brought a-bed of a fair lady named Margaret.

The king gave to sir Gaultier of Manny divers fair houses within the town, and to the earl Stafford, to the lord of Cobham, to sir Bartholomew of Burghersh and to other lords, to repeople again the town. The king's mind was, when he came into England to send out of London a thirty-six good burgesses to Calais to dwell there, and to do so much that the town might be peopled with pure Englishmen; the which intent the king fulfilled. Then the new town and bastide that was made without the town was pulled down, and the castle that stood on the haven rashed down, and the great timber and stones brought into the town. Then the king ordained men to keep the gates, walls and barriers, and amended all things within the town; and

[1] The original is 'se guigna,' either 'made a sign' or 'scowled.' The true reading is perhaps 'se grigna,' or 'grigna les dens.'

[2] The original says: 'Thus was the strong town of Calais besieged by king Edward of England in the year MCCCXLVI. in the month of August'; and the fuller text adds, 'and conquered in the year of grace MCCCXLVII. in the same month.'

[1] 'A la halle de Calais.'

sir John de Vienne and his company were sent into England and were half a year at London, then they were put to ransom. Methink it was great pity of the burgesses and other men of the town of Calais, and women and children, when they were fain to forsake their houses, heritages and goods, and to bear away nothing, and they had no restorement of the French king, for whose sake they lost all. The most part of them went to Saint-Omer's.

The cardinal Guy de Boulogne, who was come into France in legation and was with the French king his cousin in the city of Amiens, he purchased so much that a truce was taken between the kings of England and of France, their countries and heritages,[1] to endure two years. To this truce all parties were agreed, but Bretayne was clearly except, for the two ladies made still war one against the other. Then the king of England and the queen returned into England, and the king made captain of Calais sir Amery of Pavy, a Lombard born, whom the king had greatly advanced. Then the king sent from London thirty-six burgesses to Calais, who were rich and sage, and their wives and children, and daily increased the number,[2] for the king granted there such liberties and franchises, that men were glad to go and dwell there. The same time was brought to London sir Charles de Blois, who called himself duke of Bretayne: he was put in courteous prison in the Tower of London with the king of Scots and the earl of Moray; but he had not been there long but at the request of the queen of England sir Charles her cousin-german was received[3] on his faith and troth, and rode all about London at his pleasure, but he might not lie past one night out of London, without it were with the king or with the queen. Also the same time there was prisoner in England the earl of Eu and Guines, a right gentle knight; and his dealing was such, that he was welcome wheresoever he came, and with the king and queen, lords, ladies and damosels.[4]

[1] 'Adherens'; that is, 'followers,' or 'allies.'

[2] *i.e.* 'the number daily increased.'

[3] 'At the request of the queen of England, his cousin-german, he was received,' etc.

[4] The events of the years between 1347 and 1355 are very summarily related by Froissart, and the text followed by this translator does not include even the short notices which were given in later revisions, of the Black Death, the Flagellants, and the persecution of the Jews, or the narrative of the combat of the thirties.

CHAPTERS CXLVIII, CXLIX

SUMMARY.—The truce was broken in various parts by brigands, who won and plundered towns and castles for their own profit; and especially one named Bacon in Languedoc and another named Croquart in Brittany.

CHAPTERS CL, CLI

SUMMARY.—The king of England, having discovered a secret treaty between sir Amery of Pavia and the French party, whereby Calais should have been given up to them, passed over privately to Calais, and fighting under sir Walter de Manny's banner defeated those who came to receive the surrender. The king himself fought long with sir Eustace de Ribemont and took him prisoner.

CHAPTER CLII

Of a chaplet of pearls that the king of England gave to sir Eustace of Ribemont.

WHEN this battle was done, the king returned again to the castle of Calais and caused all the prisoners to be brought thither. Then the Frenchmen knew well that the king had been there personally himself under the banner of sir Gaultier of Manny. The king said he would give them all that night a supper in the castle of Calais: the hour of supper came and tables covered, and the king and his knights were there ready, every man in new apparel, and the Frenchmen also were there and made good cheer, though they were prisoners. The king sat down, and the lords and knights about him right honourably: the prince, lords and knights of England served the king at the first mess, and at the second they sat down at another table: they were all well served and at great leisure. Then when supper was done and the tables taken away, the king tarried still in the hall with

his knights and with the Frenchmen, and he was bare-headed saving a chaplet of fine pearls that he ware on his head. Then the king went from one to another of the Frenchmen, and when he came to sir Geoffrey of Charny, a little he changed his countenance and looked on him and said: 'Sir Geoffrey, by reason I should love you but a little, when ye would steal by night from me that thing which I have so dearly bought and hath cost me so much good. I am right joyous and glad that I have taken you with the proof.[1] Ye would have a better market than I have had, when ye thought to have Calais for twenty thousand crowns; but God hath holpen me and ye have failed of your purpose.' And therewith the king went from him, and he gave never a word to answer. Then the king came to sir Eustace of Ribemont, and joyously to him he said: 'Sir Eustace, ye are the knight in the world that I have seen most valiant assail his enemies and defend himself; nor I never found knight that ever gave me so much ado, body to body, as ye have done this day: wherefore I give you the prize above all the knights of my court by right sentence.' Then the king took the chaplet that was upon his head, being both fair, goodly and rich, and said: 'Sir Eustace, I give you this chaplet for the best doer in arms in this journey past of either party, and I desire you to bear it this year for the love of me. I know well ye be fresh and amorous, and oftentimes be among ladies and damosels. Say wheresoever ye come that I did give it you, and I quit you your prison and ransom and ye shall depart to-morrow, if it please you.'[2]

The same year a thousand three hundred XLIX, king Philip of France wedded his second wife, the Wednesday the twenty-ninth day of January, dame Blanche, daughter to king Philip of Navarre, who died in Spain: she was of the age of eighteen year or thereabout. Also the nineteenth day of February next after, in the beginning of Lent,[3] the duke of Normandy the king's eldest son wedded his second wife at Saint-Geneviève near to Saint-Germain in Laye, Jane countess of Boulogne, sometime wife to the lord Philip, son to the duke Eudes of Burgoyne, the which lord Philip died before Aiguillon a three year before that: she was daughter of the earl William of Boulogne and of the daughter of Louis earl of Evreux. This lady held in her hands the duchy of Burgoyne and the counties of Artois, Boulogne, Auvergne and divers other lands.

[1] 'A l'épreuve.'

[2] The printed text followed by the translator is here incomplete. The reply of Eustace de Ribemont and other matters are omitted.

[3] 'Qui fut le jour de Karesme prenant,' *i.e.* Ash-Wednesday.

CHAPTER CLIII

Of the death of king Philip of France, and of the coronation of his son John.

SUMMARY.—King Philip died 22nd August 1350, *and his son John was crowned 26th September. The earl of Eu and Guines was beheaded, and Charles of Spain made constable of France. In the next year was founded the fraternity of the Star, and there was also a great dearth throughout all France.*

CHAPTER CLIV

How the king of Navarre made sir Charles of Spain, constable of France, to be slain.

SUMMARY.—In the year 1352 *the duke of Lancaster should have fought with the duke of Brunswick at Paris on the 4th of September, but the king of France made peace between them in the lists. Pope Clement VI. died 6th December and was succeeded by Stephen Aubert, called Innocent VI. In the year* 1353 *the king Charles of Navarre, earl of Evreux, caused to be slain at Aigle in Normandy the lord Charles of Spain, constable of France. For this deed he excused himself to the king of France, and at length they were reconciled.*

CHAPTER CLV

Of an imposition and gabelle ordained in France by the three estates for the feats of the wars.

SUMMARY.—In the year 1355, *the prince of Wales made an expedition to Carcassonne*

and Narbonne, none opposing him. The same year the three estates assembled at Paris gave the king thirty thousand men for one year at their charges, and ordered to be levied 8d. on every pound value of estates throughout the realm, and that the gabelle of salt should run through the realm. Then, this not being sufficient, they ordered a graduated tax upon incomes.

CHAPTER CLVI

How the French king took the king of Navarre and beheaded the earl of Harcourt and other at Rouen.

SUMMARY.—In the year 1356 *the French king came to Rouen and caused to be taken the king of Navarre, the earl of Harcourt and others. The earl of Harcourt and others were beheaded, and the king of Navarre put in prison in the Louvre. The king of France made war in Normandy to win the castles there belonging to the king of Navarre, and the duke of Lancaster came over to help the king of Navarre's men.*

CHAPTER CLVII

Of the assembly that the French king made to fight with the prince of Wales, who rode in Berry.

SUMMARY.—The prince of Wales rode in Auvergne, Berry, Touraine, etc., with two thousand men of arms and six thousand archers. The king of France made a great assembly to fight with him, and meanwhile a body of Frenchmen, who had laid an ambush, were defeated by the English and fled to Romorantin.

CHAPTER CLVIII

How the prince of Wales took the castle of Romorantin.

SUMMARY.—The town of Romorantin being taken, the prince came and assailed the castle, which at length was captured by means of Greek fire.

CHAPTER CLIX

Of the great host that the French king brought to the battle of Poitiers.

AFTER the taking of the castle of Romorantin and of them that were therein, the prince then and his company rode as they did before, destroying the country, approaching to Anjou and to Touraine. The French king, who was at Chartres, departed and came to Blois and there tarried two days, and then to Amboise and the next day to Loches: and then he heard how that the prince was at Touraine[1] and how that he was returning by Poitou: ever the Englishmen were coasted by certain expert knights of France, who alway made report to the king what the Englishmen did. Then the king came to the Haye in Touraine and his men had passed the river of Loire, some at the bridge of Orleans and some at Meung, at Saumur, at Blois, and at Tours and whereas they might: they were in number a twenty thousand men of arms beside other; there were a twenty-six dukes and earls and more than sixscore banners, and the four sons of the king, who were but young, the duke Charles of Normandy, the lord Louis, that was from thenceforth duke of Anjou, and the lord John duke of Berry, and the lord Philip, who was after duke of Burgoyne. The same season, pope Innocent the sixth sent the lord Bertrand, cardinal of Perigord, and the lord Nicholas, cardinal of Urgel, into France, to treat for a peace between the French king and all his enemies, first between him and the king of Navarre, who was in prison: and these cardinals oftentimes spake to the king for his deliverance during the siege at Bretuel, but they could do nothing in that behalf. Then the cardinal of Perigord went to Tours, and there he heard how the French king hasted sore to find the Englishmen: then he rode to Poitiers, for he heard how both the hosts drew thitherward.

The French king heard how the prince hasted greatly to return, and the king feared that he should scape him and so departed from Haye in Touraine, and all his company, and rode to Chauvigny, where he tarried that Thursday in the town and with-

[1] 'En Touraine'

out along by the river of Creuse, and the next day the king passed the river at the bridge there, weening that the Englishmen had been before him, but they were not. Howbeit they pursued after and passed the bridge that day more than threescore thousand horses, and divers other passed at Chatelleraut, and ever as they passed they took the way to Poitiers.

On the other side the prince wist not truly where the Frenchmen were; but they supposed that they were not far off, for they could not find no more forage, whereby they had great fault in their host of victual, and some of them repented that they had destroyed so much as they had done before when they were in Berry, Anjou and Touraine, and in that they had made no better provision. The same Friday three great lords of France, the lord of Craon, the lord Raoul of Coucy and the earl of Joigny, tarried all day in the town of Chauvigny, and part of their companies. The Saturday they passed the bridge and followed the king, who was then a three leagues before, and took the way among bushes without a wood side to go to Poitiers.

The same Saturday the prince and his company dislodged from a little village thereby, and sent before him certain currours to see if they might find any adventure and to hear where the Frenchmen were. They were in number a threescore men of arms well horsed, and with them was the lord Eustace d'Aubrecicourt and the lord John of Ghistelles, and by adventure the Englishmen and Frenchmen met together by the foresaid wood side. The Frenchmen knew anon how they were their enemies; then in haste they did on their helmets and displayed their banners and came a great pace towards the Englishmen: they were in number a two hundred men of arms. When the Englishmen saw them, and that they were so great a number, then they determined to fly and let the Frenchmen chase them, for they knew well the prince with his host was not far behind. Then they turned their horses and took the corner of the wood, and the Frenchmen after them crying their cries and made great noise. And as they chased, they came on the prince's battle or they were ware thereof themselves; the prince tarried there to have word again from them that he sent forth. The lord Raoul de Coucy with his banner went so far forward that he was under the prince's banner: there was a sore battle and the knight fought valiantly; howbeit he was there taken, and the earl of Joigny, the viscount of Brosse, the lord of Chauvigny and all the other taken or slain, but a few that scaped. And by the prisoners the prince knew how the French king followed him in such wise that he could not eschew the battle:[1] then he assembled together all his men and commanded that no man should go before the marshals' banners. Thus the prince rode that Saturday from the morning till it was against night, so that he came within two little leagues of Poitiers. Then the captal de Buch, sir Aymenion of Pommiers, the lord Bartholomew of Burghersh and the lord Eustace d'Aubrecicourt, all these the prince sent forth to see if they might know what the Frenchmen did. These knights departed with two hundred men of arms well horsed: they rode so far that they saw the great battle of the king's, they saw all the fields covered with men of arms. These Englishmen could not forbear, but set on the tail of the French host and cast down many to the earth and took divers prisoners, so that the host began to stir, and tidings thereof came to the French king as he was entering into the city of Poitiers. Then he returned again and made all his host do the same, so that Saturday it was very late or he was lodged in the field. The English currours returned again to the prince and shewed him all that they saw and knew, and said how the French host was a great number of people. 'Well,' said the prince, 'in the name of God let us now study how we shall fight with them at our advantage.' That night the Englishmen lodged in a strong place among hedges, vines and bushes, and their host well watched, and so was the French host.

CHAPTER CLX

Of the order of the Frenchmen before the battle of Poitiers.

On the Sunday in the morning the French king, who had great desire to fight with the

[1] Or rather, 'that the French king had gone in front of them (les avoit advancez) and that he could in no way depart without being fought with.'

Englishmen, heard his mass in his pavilion and was houselled, and his four sons with him. After mass there came to him the duke of Orleans, the duke of Bourbon, the earl of Ponthieu, the lord Jaques of Bourbon,[1] the duke of Athens, constable of France, the earl of Tancarville, the earl of Sarrebruck, the earl of Dammartin, the earl of Ventadour, and divers other great barons of France and of other neighbours holding of France, as the lord Clermont, the lord Arnold d'Audrehem, marshal of France, the lord of Saint-Venant, the lord John of Landas, the lord Eustace Ribemont, the lord Fiennes, the lord Geoffrey of Charny, the lord Chatillon, the lord of Sully, the lord of Nesle, sir Robert Duras and divers other; all these with the king went to counsel. Then finally it was ordained that all manner of men should draw into the field, and every lord to display his banner and to set forth in the name of God and Saint Denis: then trumpets blew up through the host and every man mounted on horseback and went into the field, where they saw the king's banner wave with the wind. There might a been seen great nobless of fair harness and rich armoury of banners and pennons; for there was all the flower of France, there was none durst abide at home without he would be shamed for ever. Then it was ordained by the advice of the constable and marshals to be made three battles, and in each ward sixteen thousand men of arms all mustered and passed for men of arms. The first battle the duke of Orleans to govern, with thirty-six banners and twice as many pennons, the second the duke of Normandy and his two brethren the lord Louis and the lord John, the third the king himself: and while that these battles were setting in array, the king called to him the lord Eustace Ribemont, the lord John of Landas and the lord Richard of Beaujeu, and said to them: 'Sirs, ride on before to see the dealing of the Englishmen and advise well what number they be and by what means we may fight with them, other afoot or a-horseback.' These three knights rode forth and the king was on a white courser and said a-high to his men: 'Sirs, among you, when ye be at Paris, at Chartres, at Rouen or at Orleans, then ye do threat the Englishmen and desire to be in arms out against them. Now ye be come thereto: I shall now shew you them: now shew forth your evil will that ye bear them and revenge your displeasures and damages that they have done you, for without doubt we shall fight with them.' Such as heard him said: 'Sir, in God's name so be it; that would we see[1] gladly.'

Therewith the three knights returned again to the king, who demanded of them tidings. Then sir Eustace of Ribemont answered for all and said: 'Sir, we have seen the Englishmen: by estimation they be two thousand men of arms and four thousand archers and a fifteen hundred of other. Howbeit they be in a strong place, and as far as we can imagine they are in one battle; howbeit they be wisely ordered, and along the way they have fortified strongly the hedges and bushes: one part of their archers are along by the hedge, so that none can go nor ride that way, but must pass by them, and that way must ye go an ye purpose to fight with them. In this hedge there is but one entry and one issue by likelihood that four horsemen may ride afront. At the end of this hedge, whereas no man can go nor ride, there be men of arms afoot and archers afore them in manner of a herse, so that they will not be lightly discomfited.'[2] 'Well,' said the king, 'what will ye then counsel us to do?' Sir Eustace said: 'Sir, let us all be afoot, except three hundred men of arms, well horsed, of the best in your host and most hardiest, to the intent they somewhat to break and to open the archers, and then your battles to follow on quickly afoot and so to fight with their men of arms hand to hand. This

[1] That is, Jaques de Bourbon, earl of la Marche and Ponthieu.

[1] 'Verrons': but a better reading is 'ferons,' 'that will we do gladly.'

[2] The translation of this passage is unsatisfactory. It should be: 'Howbeit they have ordered it wisely, and have taken post along the road, which is fortified strongly with hedges and thickets, and they have beset this hedge on one side (*or according to another text*, on one side and on the other) with their archers, so that one cannot enter nor ride along their road except by them, and that way must he go who purposes to fight with them. In this hedge there is but one entry and one issue, where by likelihood four men of arms, as on the road, might ride a-front. At the end of this hedge among vines and thorn-bushes, where no man can go nor ride, are their men of arms all afoot, and they have set in front of them their archers in manner of a harrow, whom it would not be easy to discomfit.'

is the best advice that I can give you: if any other think any other way better, let him speak.'

The king said: 'Thus shall it be done': then the two marshals rode from battle to battle and chose out a three hundred knights and squires of the most expert men of arms of all the host, every man well armed and horsed. Also it was ordained that the battles of Almains should abide still on horseback to comfort the marshals, if need were, whereof the earl of Sarrebruck, the earl of Nidau and the earl of Nassau were captains. King John of France was there armed, and twenty other in his apparel; and he did put the guiding of his eldest son to the lord of Saint-Venant, the lord of Landas and the lord Thibault of Vaudenay; and the lord Arnold of Cervolles, called the archpriest,[1] was armed in the armour of the young earl of Alençon.

CHAPTER CLXI

How the cardinal of Perigord treated to make agreement between the French king and the prince before the battle of Poitiers.

WHEN the French king's battles was ordered and every lord under his banner among their own men, then it was commanded that every man should cut their spears to a five foot long and every man to put off their spurs. Thus as they were ready to approach, the cardinal of Perigord[2] came in great haste to the king. He came the same morning from Poitiers; he kneeled down to the king and held up his hands and desired him for God's sake a little to abstain setting forward till he had spoken with him: then he said: 'Sir, ye have here all the flower of your realm against a handful of Englishmen as to regard your company,[3] and, sir, if ye may have them accorded to you without battle, it shall be more profitable and honourable to have them by that manner rather than to adventure so noble chivalry as ye have here present. Sir, I require you in the name of God and humility that I may ride to the prince and shew him what danger ye have him in.' The king said: 'It pleaseth me well, but return again shortly.' The cardinal departed and diligently he rode to the prince, who was among his men afoot: then the cardinal alighted and came to the prince, who received him courteously. Then the cardinal after his salutation made he said: 'Certainly, fair son, if you and your council advise justly the puissance of the French king, ye will suffer me to treat to make a peace between you, an I may.' The prince, who was young and lusty, said: 'Sir, the honour of me and of my people saved, I would gladly fall to any reasonable way.' Then the cardinal said: 'Sir, ye say well, and I shall accord you, an I can; for it should be great pity if so many noblemen and other as be here on both parties should come together by battle.' Then the cardinal rode again to the king and said: 'Sir, ye need not to make any great haste to fight with your enemies, for they cannot fly from you though they would, they be in such a ground: wherefore, sir, I require you forbear for this day till to-morrow the sun-rising.' The king was loath to agree thereto, for some of his council would not consent to it; but finally the cardinal shewed such reasons, that the king accorded that respite: and in the same place there was pight up a pavilion of red silk fresh and rich, and gave leave for that day every man to draw to their lodgings except the constable's and marshals' battles.

That Sunday all the day the cardinal travailed in riding from the one host to the other gladly to agree them: but the French king would not agree without he might have four of the principallest of the Englishmen at his pleasure, and the prince and all the other to yield themselves simply: howbeit there were many great offers made. The prince offered to render into the king's hands all that ever he had won in that voyage, towns and castles, and to quit all prisoners that he or any of his men had taken in that season, and also to swear not to be armed against the French king in seven year after; but the king and his council would none thereof: the uttermost that he would do was, that the prince and a hundred of his knights should yield themselves into the king's prison; otherwise he

[1] Arnaud de Cervolles, one of the most celebrated adventurers of the 14th century, called the archpriest because though a layman he possessed the ecclesiastical fief of Vélines.

[2] Talleyrand de Périgord.

[3] The meaning is, 'Ye have here all the flower of your realm against a handful of people, for so the Englishmen are as compared with your company.'

would not: the which the prince would in no wise agree unto.

In the mean season that the cardinal rode thus between the hosts in trust to do some good, certain knights of France and of England both rode forth the same Sunday, because it was truce for that day, to coast the hosts and to behold the dealing of their enemies. So it fortuned that the lord John Chandos rode the same day coasting the French host, and in like manner the lord of Clermont, one of the French marshals, had ridden forth and aviewed the state of the English host; and as these two knights returned towards their hosts, they met together: each of them bare one manner of device, a blue lady embroidered in a sunbeam above on their apparel. Then the lord Clermont said: 'Chandos, how long have ye taken on you to bear my dèvice?' 'Nay, ye bear mine,' said Chandos, 'for it is as well mine as yours.' 'I deny that,' said Clermont, 'but an it were not for the truce this day between us, I should make it good on you incontinent that ye have no right to bear my device.' 'Ah, sir,' said Chandos, 'ye shall find me to-morrow ready to defend you and to prove by feat of arms that it is as well mine as yours.' Then Clermont said: 'Chandos, these be well the words of you Englishmen, for ye can devise nothing of new, but all that ye see is good and fair.' So they departed without any more doing, and each of them returned to their host.

The cardinal of Perigord could in no wise that Sunday make any agreement between the parties, and when it was near night he returned to Poitiers. That night the Frenchmen took their ease; they had provision enough, and the Englishmen had great default; they could get no forage, nor they could not depart thence without danger of their enemies. That Sunday the Englishmen made great dikes and hedges about their archers, to be the more stronger; and on the Monday in the morning the prince and his company were ready apparelled as they were before, and about the sun-rising in like manner were the Frenchmen. The same morning betimes the cardinal came again to the French host and thought by his preaching to pacify the parties; but then the Frenchmen said to him: 'Return whither ye will: bring hither no more words of treaty nor peace: an ye love yourself depart shortly.' When the cardinal saw that he travailed in vain, he took leave of the king and then he went to the prince and said: 'Sir, do what ye can: there is no remedy but to abide the battle, for I can find none accord in the French king.' Then the prince said: 'The same is our intent and all our people: God help the right!' So the cardinal returned to Poitiers. In his company there were certain knights and squires, men of arms, who were more favourable to the French king than to the prince: and when they saw that the parties should fight, they stale from their masters and went to the French host; and they made their captain the chatelain of Amposte,[1] who was as then there with the cardinal, who knew nothing thereof till he was come to Poitiers.

The certainty of the order of the Englishmen was shewed to the French king, except they had ordained three hundred men a-horseback and as many archers a-horseback to coast under covert of the mountain and to strike into the battle of the duke of Normandy, who was under the mountain afoot. This ordinance they had made of new, that the Frenchmen knew not of. The prince was with his battle down among the vines and had closed in the weakest part with their carriages.

Now will I name some of the principal lords and knights that were there with the prince: the earl of Warwick, the earl of Suffolk, the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Oxford, the lord Raynold Cobham, the lord Spencer, the lord James Audley, the lord Peter his brother, the lord Berkeley, the lord Basset, the lord Warin, the lord Delaware, the lord Manne, the lord Willoughby, the lord Bartholomew de Burghersh, the lord of Felton, the lord Richard of Pembroke, the lord Stephen of Cosington, the lord Bradetane and other Englishmen; and of Gascon there was the lord of Pommiers, the lord of Languiran, the captal of Buch, the lord John of Caumont, the lord de Lesparre, the lord of Rauzan, the lord of Condon, the lord of Montferrand, the lord of Landiras, the lord soudic of Latrau and other that I cannot name; and of Hainowes the lord Eustace d'Aubrecicourt, the lord John of Ghistelles, and two other strangers, the lord Daniel Pasele and the lord Denis of

[1] Amposta, a fortress in Catalonia.

Morbeke: all the prince's company passed not an eight thousand men one and other, and the Frenchmen were a sixty thousand fighting men, whereof there were more than three thousand knights.

CHAPTER CLXII

Of the battle of Poitiers between the prince of Wales and the French king.

WHEN the prince saw that he should have battle and that the cardinal was gone without any peace or truce making, and saw that the French king did set but little store by him, he said then to his men: 'Now, sirs, though we be but a small company as in regard to the puissance of our enemies, let us not be abashed therefor; for the victory lieth not in the multitude of people, but whereas God will send it. If it fortune that the journey be ours, we shall be the most honoured people of all the world; and if we die in our right quarrel, I have the king my father and brethren, and also ye have good friends and kinsmen; these shall revenge us. Therefore, sirs, for God's sake I require you do your devoirs this day; for if God be pleased and Saint George, this day ye shall see me a good knight.' These words and such other that the prince spake comforted all his people. The lord sir John Chandos that day never went from the prince, nor also the lord James Audley of a great season; but when he saw that they should needs fight, he said to the prince: 'Sir, I have served always truly my lord your father and you also, and shall do as long as I live. I say this because I made once a vow that the first battle that other the king your father or any of his children should be at, how that I would be one of the first setters on,[1] or else to die in the pain: therefore I require your grace, as in reward for any service that ever I did to the king your father or to you, that you will give me licence to depart from you and to set myself thereas I may accomplish my vow.' The prince accorded to his desire and said, 'Sir James, God give you this day that grace to be the best knight of all other,' and so took him by the hand. Then the knight departed from the prince and went to the foremost front of all the battles, all only accompanied with four squires, who promised not to fail him. This lord James was a right sage and a valiant knight, and by him was much of the host ordained and governed the day before. Thus sir James was in the front of the battle ready to fight with the battle of the marshals of France. In like wise the lord Eustace d'Aubrecicourt did his pain to be one of the foremost to set on. When sir James Audley began to set forward to his enemies, it fortuned to sir Eustace d'Aubrecicourt as ye shall hear after. Ye have heard before how the Almains in the French host were appointed to be still a-horseback. Sir Eustace being a-horseback laid his spear in the rest and ran into the French battle, and then a knight of Almaine, called the lord Louis of Recombes, who bare a shield silver, five roses gules, and sir Eustace bare ermines, two hamedes of gules,[1]—when this Almain saw the lord Eustace come from his company, he rode against him and they met so rudely, that both knights fell to the earth. The Almain was hurt in the shoulder, therefore he rose not so quickly as did sir Eustace, who when he was up and had taken his breath, he came to the other knight as he lay on the ground; but then five other knights of Almaine came on him all at once and bare him to the earth, and so perforce there he was taken prisoner and brought to the earl of Nassau, who as then took no heed of him; and I cannot say whether they sware him prisoner or no, but they tied him to a chare and there let him stand.[2]

Then the battle began on all parts, and the battles of the marshals of France approached, and they set forth that were appointed to break the array of the archers. They entered a-horseback into the way where the great hedges were on both sides set full of archers. As soon as the men of arms entered, the archers began to shoot on both sides and did slay and hurt horses and knights, so that the horses when they felt the sharp arrows they would in no wise go forward, but drew aback and flang and took on so fiercely, that many of them fell on their masters, so that for press they could not rise again; insomuch that the marshals' battle could never come at the prince.

1 'The first setter-on and the best combatant.'

1 That is, two hamedes gules on a field ermine.

2 'They tied him on to a cart with their harness.'

Certain knights and squires that were well horsed passed through the archers and thought to approach to the prince, but they could not. The lord James Audley with his four squires was in the front of that battle and there did marvels in arms, and by great prowess he came and fought with sir Arnold d'Audrehem under his own banner, and there they fought long together and sir Arnold was there sore handled. The battle of the marshals began to disorder by reason of the shot of the archers with the aid of the men of arms, who came in among them and slew of them and did what they list, and there was the lord Arnold d'Audrehem taken prisoner by other men than by sir James Audley or by his four squires; for that day he never took prisoner, but always fought and went on his enemies.

Also on the French party the lord John Clermont fought under his own banner as long as he could endure: but there he was beaten down and could not be relieved nor ransomed, but was slain without mercy: some said it was because of the words that he had the day before to sir John Chandos. So within a short space the marshals' battles were discomfited, for they fell one upon another and could not go forth;[1] and the Frenchmen that were behind and could not get forward reculed back and came on the battle of the duke of Normandy, the which was great and thick and were afoot, but anon they began to open behind;[2] for when they knew that the marshals' battle was discomfited, they took their horses and departed, he that might best. Also they saw a rout of Englishmen coming down a little mountain a-horseback, and many archers with them, who brake in on the side of the duke's battle. True to say, the archers did their company that day great advantage; for they shot so thick that the Frenchmen wist not on what side to take heed, and little and little the Englishmen won ground on them.

And when the men of arms of England saw that the marshals' battle was discomfited and that the duke's battle began to disorder and open, they leapt then on their horses, the which they had ready by them: then they assembled together and cried, 'Saint George! Guyenne!' and the lord Chandos said to the prince: 'Sir, take your horse and ride forth; this journey is yours: God is this day in your hands: get us to the French king's battle, for their lieth all the sore of the matter. I think verily by his valiantness he will not fly: I trust we shall have him by the grace of God and Saint George, so he be well fought withal: and, sir, I heard you say that this day I should see you a good knight.' The prince said, 'Let us go forth; ye shall not see me this day return back,' and said, 'Advance, banner, in the name of God and of Saint George.' The knight that bare it did his commandment: there was then a sore battle and a perilous, and many a man overthrown, and he that was once down could not be relieved again without great succour and aid. As the prince rode and entered in among his enemies, he saw on his right hand in a little bush lying dead the lord Robert of Duras and his banner by him,[1] and a ten or twelve of his men about him. Then the prince said to two of his squires and to three archers: 'Sirs, take the body of this knight on a targe and bear him to Poitiers, and present him from me to the cardinal of Perigord, and say how I salute him by that token.' And this was done. The prince was informed that the cardinal's men were on the field against him, the which was not pertaining to the right order of arms, for men of the church that cometh and goeth for treaty of peace ought not by reason to bear harness nor to fight for neither of the parties; they ought to be indifferent: and because these men had done so, the prince was displeased with the cardinal, and therefore he sent unto him his nephew the lord Robert of Duras dead: and the chatelain of Amposte was taken, and the prince would have had his head stricken off, because he was pertaining to the cardinal, but then the lord Chandos said: 'Sir, suffer for a season: intend to a greater matter: and peradventure the cardinal will make such excuse that ye shall be content.'

Then the prince and his company dressed them on the battle of the duke of Athens, constable of France. There was many a man slain and cast to the earth. As the

[1] 'Ne pooient aler avant.'

[2] 'Which was great and thick in front (pardevant), but anon it became open and thin behind.'

[1] The original adds, 'qui estoit de France au sentoir (sautoir) de gueulles.'

Frenchmen fought in companies, they cried, 'Mountjoy! Saint Denis!' and the Englishmen, 'Saint George! Guyenne!' Anon the prince with his company met with the battle of Almains, whereof the earl of Sarrebruck, the earl Nassau and the earl Nidau were captains, but in a short space they were put to flight: the archers shot so wholly together that none durst come in their dangers: they slew many a man that could not come to no ransom: these three earls was there slain, and divers other knights and squires of their company, and there was the lord d'Aubrecicourt rescued by his own men and set on horseback, and after he did that day many feats of arms and took good prisoners. When the duke of Normandy's battle saw the prince approach, they thought to save themselves, and so the duke and the king's children, the earl of Poitiers and the earl of Touraine, who were right young, believed their governours and so departed from the field, and with them more than eight hundred spears, that strake no stroke that day. Howbeit the lord Guichard d'Angle and the lord John of Saintré, who were with the earl of Poitiers, would not fly, but entered into the thickest press of the battle. The king's three sons took the way to Chauvigny, and the lord John of Landas and the lord Thibauld of Vaudenay, who were set to await on the duke of Normandy, when they had brought the duke a long league from the battle, then they took leave of the duke and desired the lord of Saint-Venant that he should not leave the duke, but to bring him in safeguard, whereby he should win more thank of the king than to abide still in the field. Then they met also the duke of Orleans and a great company with him, who were also departed from the field with clear hands: there were many good knights and squires, though that their masters departed from the field, yet they had rather a died than to have had any reproach.

Then the king's battle came on the Englishmen: there was a sore fight and many a great stroke given and received. The king and his youngest son met with the battle of the English marshals, the earl of Warwick and the earl of Suffolk, and with them of Gascons the captal of Buch, the lord of Pommiers, the lord Amery of Tastes, the lord of Mussidan, the lord of Languiran and the lord de Latrau. To the French party there came time enough the lord John of Landas and the lord of Vaudenay; they alighted afoot and went into the king's battle, and a little beside fought the duke of Athens, constable of France, and a little above him the duke of Bourbon and many good knights of Bourbonnais and of Picardy with him, and a little on the one side there were the Poitevins, the lord de Pons, the lord of Partenay, the lord of Dammartin, the lord of Tannay-Bouton, the lord of Surgieres, the lord John Saintré, the lord Guichard d'Angle, the lord Argenton, the lord of Linieres, the lord of Montendre and divers other, also the viscount of Rochechouart and the earl of Aunay;[1] and of Burgoyne the lord James of Beaujeu, the lord de Chateau-Vilain and other: in another part there was the earl of Ventadour and of Montpensier, the lord James of Bourbon, the lord John d'Artois and also the lord James his brother, the lord Arnold of Cervolles, called the archpriest, armed for the young earl of Alençon; and of Auvergne there was the lord of Mercœur, the lord de la Tour, the lord of Chalençon, the lord of Montaigu, the lord of Rochfort, the lord d'Acier, the lord d'Acon; and of Limousin there was the lord de Melval, the lord of Mareuil, the lord of Pierrebuffiere; and of Picardy there was the lord William of Nesle, the lord Arnold of Rayneval, the lord Geoffrey of Saint-Dizier, the lord of Chauny, the lord of Helly, the lord of Montsault, the lord of Hangest and divers other: and also in the king's battle there was the earl Douglas of Scotland, who fought a season right valiantly, but when he saw the discomfiture, he departed and saved himself; for in no wise he would be taken of the Englishmen, he had rather been there slain. On the English part the lord James Audley with the aid of his four squires fought always in the chief of the battle: he was sore hurt in the body and in the visage: as long as his breath served him he fought; at last at the end of the battle his four squires took and brought him out of the field and laid him under a hedge side for to refresh him; and they unarmed him and bound up his wounds as well as they could. On the French party king John was that day a full right good

[1] 'Le conte d'Aulnoy,' but it should be 'visconte.'

knight: if the fourth part of his men had done their devoirs as well as he did, the journey had been his by all likelihood. Howbeit they were all slain and taken that were there, except a few that saved themselves, that were with the king.[1] There was slain the duke Peter of Bourbon, the lord Guichard of Beaujeu, the lord of Landas, and the duke of Athens, constable of France, the bishop of Chalons in Champagne, the lord William of Nesle, the lord Eustace of Ribemont, the lord de la Tour, the lord William of Montaigu, sir Grismouton of Chambly, sir Baudrin de la Heuse, and many other, as they fought by companies; and there were taken prisoners the lord of Vaudenay, the lord of Pompadour, and the archpriest, sore hurt, the earl of Vaudimont, the earl of Mons, the earl of Joinville, the earl of Vendome, sir Louis of Melval, the lord Pierrebuffiere and the lord of Serignac: there were at that brunt slain and taken more than two hundred knights.[2]

CHAPTER CLXIII

Of two Frenchmen that fled from the battle of Poitiers, and two Englishmen that followed them.

AMONG the battles, recounterings, chases and pursuits that were made that day in the field, it fortuned so to sir Oudart of Renty that when he departed from the field because he saw the field was lost without recovery, he thought not to abide the danger of the Englishmen; wherefore he fled all alone and was gone out of the field a league, and an English knight pursued him and ever cried to him and said, 'Return again, sir knight, it is a shame to fly away thus.' Then the knight turned, and the English knight thought to have stricken him with his spear in the targe, but he failed, for sir Oudart swerved aside from the stroke, but he failed not the English knight, for he strake him such a stroke on the helm with his sword, that he was astonied and fell from his horse to the earth and lay still. Then sir Oudart alighted and came to him or he could rise, and said, 'Yield you, rescue or no rescue, or else I shall slay you.' The Englishman yielded and went with him, and afterward was ransomed. Also it fortuned that another squire of Picardy called John de Hellenes was fled from the battle and met with his page, who delivered him a new fresh horse, whereon he rode away alone. The same season there was in the field the lord Berkeley of England, a young lusty knight, who the same day had reared his banner, and he all alone pursued the said John of Hellenes. And when he had followed the space of a league, the said John turned again and laid his sword in the rest instead of a spear, and so came running toward the lord Berkeley, who lift up his sword to have stricken the squire; but when he saw the stroke come, he turned from it, so that the Englishman lost his stroke and John strake him as he passed on the arm, that the lord Berkeley's sword fell into the field. When he saw his sword down, he lighted suddenly off his horse and came to the place where his sword lay, and as he stooped down to take up his sword, the French squire did pike his sword at him, and by hap strake him through both the thighs, so that the knight fell to the earth and could not help himself. And John alighted off his horse and took the knight's sword that lay on the ground, and came to him and demanded if he would yield him or not. The knight then demanded his name. 'Sir,' said he, 'I hight John of Hellenes; but what is your name?' 'Certainly,' said the knight, 'my name is Thomas and am lord of Berkeley, a fair castle on the river of Severn in the marches of Wales.' 'Well, sir,' quoth the squire, 'then ye shall be my prisoner, and I shall bring you in safe-guard and I shall see that you shall be healed of

1 'Howbeit they that stayed acquitted them as well as they might, so that they were all slain or taken. Few escaped of those that set themselves with the king': or according to the fuller text: 'Few escaped of those that alighted down on the sand by the side of the king their lord.'

2 The translator has chosen to rearrange the above list of killed, wounded or taken, which the French text gives in order as they fought, saying that in one part there fell the duke of Bourbon, sir Guichard of Beaujeu and sir John of Landas, and there were severely wounded or taken the archpriest, sir Thibaud of Vodenay and sir Baudouin d'Annequin; in another there were slain the duke of Athens and the bishop of Chalons, and taken the earl of Vaudemont and Joinville and the earl of Vendome: a little above this there were slain sir William de Nesle, sir Eustace de Ribemont and others, and taken sir Louis de Melval, the lord of Pierrebufière and the lord of Seregnach.

your hurt.' 'Well,' said the knight, 'I am content to be your prisoner, for ye have by law of arms won me.' There he swore to be his prisoner, rescue or no rescue. Then the squire drew forth the sword out of the knight's thighs and the wound was open: then he wrapped and bound the wound and set him on his horse and so brought him fair and easily to Chatelleraut, and there tarried more than fifteen days for his sake and did get him remedy for his hurt: and when he was somewhat amended, then he gat him a litter and so brought him at his ease to his house in Picardy. There he was more than a year till he was perfectly whole; and when he departed he paid for his ransom six thousand nobles, and so this squire was made a knight by reason of the profit that he had of the lord Berkeley.

CHAPTER CLXIV

How king John was taken prisoner at the battle of Poitiers.

OFTENTIMES the adventures of amours and of war are more fortunate and marvellous than any man can think or wish. Truly this battle, the which was near to Poitiers in the fields of Beauvoir and Maupertuis, was right great and perilous, and many deeds of arms there was done the which all came not to knowledge. The fighters on both sides endured much pain: king John with his own hands did that day marvels in arms: he had an axe in his hands wherewith he defended himself and fought in the breaking of the press. Near to the king there was taken the earl of Tancarville, sir Jaques of Bourbon earl of Ponthieu, and the lord John of Artois earl of Eu, and a little above that under the banner of the captal of Buch was taken sir Charles of Artois and divers other knights and squires. The chase endured to the gates of Poitiers: there were many slain and beaten down, horse and man, for they of Poitiers closed their gates and would suffer none to enter; wherefore in the street before the gate was horrible murder, men hurt and beaten down. The Frenchmen yielded themselves as far off as they might know an Englishman: there were divers English archers that had four, five or six prisoners: the lord of Pons, a great baron of Poitou, was there slain, and many other knights and squires; and there was taken the earl of Rochechouart, the lord of Dammartin, the lord of Partenay, and of Saintonge the lord of Montendre and the lord John of Saintré, but he was so sore hurt that he had never health after: he was reputed for one of the best knights in France. And there was left for dead among other dead men the lord Guichard d'Angle, who fought that day by the king right valiantly, and so did the lord of Charny, on whom was great press, because he bare the sovereign banner of the king's: his own banner was also in the field, the which was of gules, three scutcheons silver. So many Englishmen and Gascons came to that part, that perforce they opened the king's battle, so that the Frenchmen were so mingled among their enemies that sometime there was five men upon one gentleman. There was taken the lord of Pompadour and[1] the lord Bartholomew de Burghersh, and there was slain sir Geoffrey of Charny with the king's banner in his hands: also the lord Raynold Cobham slew the earl of Dammartin. Then there was a great press to take the king, and such as knew him cried, 'Sir, yield you, or else ye are but dead.' There was a knight of Saint-Omer's, retained in wages with the king of England, called sir Denis Morbeke, who had served the Englishmen five year before, because in his youth he had forfeited the realm of France for a murder that he did at Saint-Omer's. It happened so well for him, that he was next to the king when they were about to take him: he stept forth into the press, and by strength of his body and arms he came to the French king and said in good French, 'Sir, yield you.' The king beheld the knight and said: 'To whom shall I yield me? Where is my cousin the prince of Wales? If I might see him, I would speak with him.' Denis answered and said: 'Sir, he is not here; but yield you to me and I shall bring you to him.' 'Who be you?' quoth the king. 'Sir,' quoth he, 'I am Denis of Morbeke, a knight of Artois; but I serve the king of England because I am banished the realm

[1] This 'and' should be 'by,' but the French text is responsible for the mistake.

of France and I have forfeited all that I had there.' Then the king gave him his right gauntlet, saying, 'I yield me to you.' There was a great press about the king, for every man enforced him to say,[1] 'I have taken him,' so that the king could not go forward with his young son the lord Philip with him because of the press.

The prince of Wales, who was courageous and cruel as a lion, took that day great pleasure to fight and to chase his enemies. The lord John Chandos, who was with him, of all that day never left him nor never took heed of taking of any prisoner: then at the end of the battle he said to the prince: 'Sir, it were good that you rested here and set your banner a-high in this bush, that your people may draw hither, for they be sore spread abroad, nor I can see no more banners nor pennons of the French party; wherefore, sir, rest and refresh you, for ye be sore chafed.' Then the prince's banner was set up a-high on a bush, and trumpets and clarions began to sown. Then the prince did off his bassenet, and the knights for his body and they of his chamber were ready about him, and a red pavilion pight up, and then drink was brought forth to the prince and for such lords as were about him, the which still increased as they came from the chase: there they tarried and their prisoners with them. And when the two marshals were come to the prince, he demanded of them if they knew any tidings of the French king. They answered and said: 'Sir, we hear none of certainty, but we think verily he is other dead or taken, for he is not gone out of the battles.' Then the prince said to the earl of Warwick and to sir Raynold Cobham: 'Sirs, I require you go forth and see what ye can know, that at your return ye may shew me the truth.' These two lords took their horses and departed from the prince and rode up a little hill to look about them: then they perceived a flock of men of arms coming together right wearily:[2] there was the French king afoot in great peril, for Englishmen and Gascons were his masters; they had taken him from sir Denis Morbeke perforce, and such as were most of force said, 'I have taken him'; 'Nay,' quoth another, 'I have taken him': so they strave which should have him. Then the French king, to eschew that peril, said: 'Sirs, strive not: lead me courteously, and my son, to my cousin the prince, and strive not for my taking, for I am so great a lord to make you all rich.' The king's words somewhat appeased them; howbeit ever as they went they made riot and brawled for the taking of the king. When the two foresaid lords saw and heard that noise and strife among them, they came to them and said: 'Sirs, what is the matter that ye strive for?' 'Sirs,' said one of them, 'it is for the French king, who is here taken prisoner, and there be more than ten knights and squires that challengeth the taking of him and of his son.' Then the two lords entered into the press and caused every man to draw aback, and commanded them in the prince's name on pain of their heads to make no more noise nor to approach the king no nearer, without they were commanded. Then every man gave room to the lords, and they alighted and did their reverence to the king, and so brought him and his son in peace and rest to the prince of Wales.

[1] 'S'efforçoit de dire.' [2] 'Lentement.'

CHAPTER CLXV

Of the gift that the prince gave to the lord Audley after the battle of Poitiers.

As soon as the earl of Warwick and the lord Cobham were departed from the prince, as ye have heard before, then the prince demanded of the knights that were about him for the lord Audley, if any knew anything of him. Some knights that were there answered and said: 'Sir, he is sore hurt and lieth in a litter here beside.' 'By my faith,' said the prince, 'of his hurts I am right sorry: go and know if he may be brought hither, or else I will go and see him thereas he is.' Then two knights came to the lord Audley and said: 'Sir, the prince desireth greatly to see you, other ye must go to him or else he will come to you.' 'Ah, sir,' said the knight, 'I thank the prince when he thinketh on so poor a knight as I am.' Then he called eight of his servants and caused them to bear him in his litter to the place whereas the prince was. Then the prince took him in

his arms and kissed him and made him great cheer and said: 'Sir James, I ought greatly to honour you, for by your valiance ye have this day achieved the grace and renown of us all, and ye are reputed for the most valiant of all other.' 'Ah, sir,' said the knight, 'ye say as it pleaseth you: I would it were so: and if I have this day anything advanced myself to serve you and to accomplish the vow that I made, it ought not to be reputed to me any prowess.' 'Sir James,' said the prince, 'I and all ours take you in this journey for the best doer in arms, and to the intent to furnish you the better to pursue the wars, I retain you for ever to be my knight with five hundred marks of yearly revenues, the which I shall assign you on mine heritage in England.' 'Sir,' said the knight, 'God grant me to deserve the great goodness that ye shew me': and so he took his leave of the prince, for he was right feeble, and so his servants brought him to his lodging. And as soon as he was gone, the earl of Warwick and the lord Cobham returned to the prince and presented to him the French king. The prince made lowly reverence to the king and caused wine and spices to be brought forth, and himself served the king in sign of great love.

CHAPTER CLXVI

How the Englishmen won greatly at the battle of Poitiers.

THUS this battle was discomfited, as ye have heard, the which was in the fields of Maupertuis a two leagues from Poitiers the twenty-second day of September the year of our Lord MCCCLVI. It begun in the morning[1] and ended at noon, but as then all the Englishmen were not returned from the chase; therefore the prince's banner stood on a bush to draw all his men together, but it was nigh night or all came from the chase. And as it was reported, there was slain all the flower of France, and there was taken with the king and the lord Philip his son a seventeen earls, beside barons, knights and squires, and slain a five or six thousand of one and other.

[1] 'Environ heure de prime.'

When every man was come from the chase, they had twice as many prisoners as they were in number in all. Then it was counselled among them because of the great charge and doubt to keep so many, that they should put many of them to ransom incontinent in the field, and so they did: and the prisoners found the Englishmen and Gascons right courteous; there were many that day put to ransom and let go all only on their promise of faith and truth to return again between that and Christmas to Bordeaux with their ransoms. Then that night they lay in the field beside whereas the battle had been: some unarmed them, but not all, and unarmed all their prisoners, and every man made good cheer to his prisoner; for that day whosoever took any prisoner, he was clear his and might quit or ransom him at his pleasure. All such as were there with the prince were all made rich with honour and goods, as well by ransoming of prisoners as by winning of gold, silver, plate, jewels, that was there found: there was no man that did set anything by rich harness, whereof there was great plenty, for the Frenchmen came thither richly beseen, weening to have had the journey for them.

CHAPTER CLXVII

How the lord James Audley gave to his four squires the five hundred marks of revenues that the prince had given him.

WHEN sir James Audley was brought to his lodging, then he sent for sir Peter Audley his brother and for the lord Bartholomew of Burghersh, the lord Stephen of Cosington, the lord of Willoughby and the lord Ralph Ferrers, all these were of his lineage, and then he called before him his four squires, that had served him that day well and truly. Then he said to the said lords: 'Sirs, it hath pleased my lord the prince to give me five hundred marks of revenues by year in heritage, for the which gift I have done him but small service with my body. Sirs, behold here these four squires, who hath always served me truly and specially this day: that honour that I have is by their valiantness. Wherefore I will reward them: I give and

resign into their hands the gift that my lord the prince hath given me of five hundred marks of yearly revenues, to them and to their heirs for ever, in like manner as it was given me. I clearly disherit me thereof and inherit them without any repeal[1] or condition.' The lords and other that were there, every man beheld other and said among themselves: 'It cometh of a great nobleness to give this gift.' They answered him with one voice: 'Sir, be it as God will; we shall bear witness in this behalf wheresoever we be come.' Then they departed from him, and some of them went to the prince, who the same night would make a supper to the French king and to the other prisoners, for they had then enough to do withal, of that the Frenchmen brought with them,[2] for the Englishmen wanted victual before, for some in three days had no bread before.

CHAPTER CLXVIII

How the prince made a supper to the French king the same day of the battle.

THE same day of the battle at night the prince made a supper in his lodging to the French king and to the most part of the great lords that were prisoners. The prince made the king and his son, the lord James of Bourbon, the lord John d'Artois, the earl of Tancarville, the earl of Estampes, the earl Dammartin, the earl of Joinville and the lord of Partenay to sit all at one board, and other lords, knights and squires at other tables; and always the prince served before the king as humbly as he could, and would not sit at the king's board for any desire that the king could make, but he said he was not sufficient to sit at the table with so great a prince as the king was. But then he said to the king: 'Sir, for God's sake make none evil nor heavy cheer, though God this day did not consent to follow your will; for, sir, surely the king my father shall bear you as much honour and amity as he may do, and shall accord with you so reasonably that ye shall ever be friends together after. And, sir, methink ye ought to rejoice, though the journey be not as ye would have had it, for this day ye have won the high renown of prowess and have passed this day in valiantness all other of your party. Sir, I say not this to mock you, for all that be on our party, that saw every man's deeds, are plainly accorded by true sentence to give you the prize and chaplet.' Therewith the Frenchmen began to murmur and said among themselves how the prince had spoken nobly, and that by all estimation he should prove a noble man, if God send him life and to persevere in such good fortune.

[1] 'Rappel,' *i.e.* power of recalling the gift. The word 'repeal' is a correction of 'rebell.'

[2] 'Who was to give the king of France a supper of his own provisions; for the French had brought great abundance with them, and provisions had failed among the English,' etc.

CHAPTER CLXIX

How the prince returned to Bordeaux after the battle of Poitiers.

WHEN supper was done, every man went to his lodging with their prisoners. The same night they put many to ransom and believed them on their faiths and troths, and ransomed them but easily, for they said they would set no knight's ransom so high, but that he might pay at his ease and maintain still his degree. The next day, when they had heard mass and taken some repast and that everything was trussed and ready, then they took their horses and rode towards Poitiers. The same night there was come to Poitiers the lord of Roye with a hundred spears: he was not at the battle, but he met the duke of Normandy near to Chauvigny, and the duke sent him to Poitiers to keep the town till they heard other tidings. When the lord of Roye knew that the Englishmen were so near coming to the city, he caused every man to be armed and every man to go to his defence to the walls, towers and gates; and the Englishmen passed by without any approaching, for they were so laded with gold, silver and prisoners, that in their returning they assaulted no fortress; they thought it a great deed if they might bring the French king, with their other prisoners and riches that they had won, in safeguard to Bordeaux. They rode but small journeys because of their prisoners and great carriages that they had: they rode in a day no more but four

or five leagues and lodged ever betimes, and rode close together in good array saving the marshals' battles, who rode ever before with five hundred men of arms to open the passages as the prince should pass; but they found no encounterers, for all the country was so frayed that every man drew to the fortresses.

As the prince rode, it was shewed him how the lord Audley had given to his four squires the gift of the five hundred marks that he had given unto him: then the prince sent for him and he was brought in his litter to the prince, who received him courteously and said: 'Sir James, we have knowledge that the revenues that we gave you, as soon as ye came to your lodging, you gave the same to four squires: we would know why ye did so, and whether the gift was agreeable to you or not.' 'Sir,' said the knight, 'it is of truth I have given it to them, and I shall shew you why I did so. These four squires that be here present have a long season served me well and truly in many great businesses, and, sir, in this last battle they served me in such wise that an they had never done nothing else, I was bound to reward them, and before the same day they had never nothing of me in reward. Sir, I am but a man alone; but by the aid and comfort of them I took on me to accomplish my vow long before made. I had been dead in the battle an they had not been: wherefore, sir, when I considered the love that they bare unto me, I had not been courteous if I would not a rewarded them. I thank God I have had and shall have enough as long as I live: I will never be abashed for lack of good. Sir, if I have done this without your pleasure, I require you to pardon me, for, sir, both I and my squires shall serve you as well as ever we did.' Then the prince said: 'Sir James, for anything that ye have done I cannot blame you, but can you good thank therefor; and for the valiantness of these squires, whom ye praise so much, I accord to them your gift, and I will render again to you six hundred marks in like manner as ye had the other.'

Thus the prince and his company did so much that they passed through Poitou and Saintonge without damage and came to Blaye, and there passed the river of Gironde and arrived in the good city of Bordeaux. It cannot be recorded the great feast and cheer that they of the city with the clergy made to the prince, and how honourably they were there received. The prince brought the French king into the abbey of Saint Andrew's, and there they lodged both, the king in one part and the prince in the other. The prince bought of the lords, knights and squires of Gascoyne the most part of the earls of the realm of France, such as were prisoners, and paid ready money for them. There was divers questions and challenges made between the knights and squires of Gascoyne for taking of the French king; howbeit Denis Morbeke by right of arms and by true tokens that he shewed challenged him for his prisoner. Another squire of Gascoyne called Bernard of Truttes said how he had right to him: there was much ado and many words before the prince and other lords that were there, and because these two challenged each other to fight in that quarrel, the prince caused the matter to rest till they came in England and that no declaration should be made but afore the king of England his father; but because the French king himself aided to sustain the challenge of Denis Morbeke, for he inclined more to him than to any other, the prince therefore privily caused to be delivered to the said sir Denis two thousand nobles to maintain withal his estate.

Anon after the prince came to Bordeaux, the cardinal of Perigord came thither, who was sent from the pope in legation, as it was said. He was there more than fifteen days or the prince would speak with him because of the chatelain of Amposte and his men, who were against him in the battle of Poitiers. The prince believed that the cardinal sent them thither, but the cardinal did so much by the means of the lord of Caumont, the lord of Montferrand and the captal of Buch, who were his cousins, they shewed so good reasons to the prince, that he was content to hear him speak. And when he was before the prince, he excused himself so sagely that the prince and his council held him excused, and so he fell again into the prince's love and redeemed out his men by reasonable ransoms; and the chatelain was set to his ransom of ten thousand franks, the which he paid after. Then the cardinal began to treat on the deliverance of the

French king, but I pass it briefly because nothing was done. Thus the prince, the Gascons and Englishmen tarried still at Bordeaux till it was Lent in great mirth and revel, and spent foolishly the gold and silver that they had won. In England also there was great joy when they heard tidings of the battle of Poitiers, of the discomfiting of the Frenchmen and taking of the king: great solemnities were made in all churches and great fires and wakes throughout all England. The knights and squires, such as were come home from that journey, were much made of and praised more than other.

CHAPTER CLXX

How the three estates of France assembled together at Paris after the battle of Poitiers.

THE same season that the battle of Poitiers was, the duke of Lancaster was in the county of Evreux and on the marches of Cotentin, and with him the lord Philip of Navarre and the lord Godfrey of Harcourt. They made war in Normandy and had done all that season in the title of the king of Navarre, whom the French king held in prison. These lords did all that they might to have been at the journey of Poitiers with the prince, but they could not, for all the passages on the river of Loire were so well kept that they might not pass: but when they heard how the prince had taken the French king at the battle of Poitiers, they were glad and brake up their journey, because the duke of Lancaster and sir Philip of Navarre would go into England, and so they did; and they sent sir Godfrey of Harcourt to Saint-Saviour's-le-Viconte to keep there frontier war.[1]

Now let us speak of the French king's three sons, Charles, Louis and John, who were returned from the besynes at Poitiers. They were right young of age and of counsel; in them was but small recovery, nor there was none of them that would take on him the governance of the realm of France. Also the lords, knights and squires, such as fled from the battle, were so hated and blamed of the commons of the realm, that scant they durst abide in any good town. Then all the prelates of holy Church being in France, bishops, abbots, and all other noble lords and knights, and the provost of the merchants, the burgesses of Paris, and the counsels of other good towns, they all assembled at Paris, and there they would ordain how the realm should be governed till the king were delivered out of prison. Also they would know furthermore what was become of the great treasure that had been levied in the realm by dimes, maltotes, subsidies, forging of moneys, and in all other extortions, whereby the people hath been overlaid and troubled, and the soldiers evil paid, and the realm evil kept and defended: but of all this there were none that could give account. Then they agreed that the prelates should choose out twelve persons among them, who should have power by them and by all the clergy to ordain and to advise all things convenable to be done; and the lords and knights to choose other twelve among them of their most sagest and discreet persons, to determine all causes; and the burgesses to choose other twelve for the commons: the which six and thirty persons should oftentimes meet at Paris and there to commune and ordain for all causes of the realm, and every matter to be brought to them: and to these three estates all other prelates, lords and commons should obey.

So these persons were chosen out, but in the beginning there were divers in this election that the duke of Normandy was not content withal, nor his council. First these three estates defended evermore forging of money: also they required the duke of Normandy that he would arrest the chancellor of the king his father, the lord Robert of Lorris, and the lord Simon of Bucy, and divers other masters of the counts and other councillors of the king's, to the intent that they might make a true account of that they had taken and levied in the realm and by their counsels. When these masters and councillors heard of this matter, they departed out of the realm into other countries, to abide there till they heard other tidings.

[1] 'Tenir frontière.' The word 'frontière' means 'line of battle' or 'fortress' (in the face of the enemy), and hence the meaning 'boundary.' The expressions 'faire frontière' or 'tenir frontière' are used of opposing or making war against an enemy.

CHAPTERS CLXXI, CLXXII

SUMMARY.—The three estates received all taxes and coined new gold money called 'moutons.' They desired the duke of Normandy to set free the king of Navarre, but he would not. Then, seeing that Godfrey de Harcourt made war in Normandy, they sent a body of men to Coutances, where he was defeated and slain.

CHAPTER CLXXIII

How the prince conveyed the French king from Bordeaux into England.

AFTER the death of this knight sir Godfrey of Harcourt, the Frenchmen returned to Coutances with their prisoners and pillage, and anon after they went into France to the duke of Normandy, who as then was called regent of France, and to the three estates, who received them right honourably. So from thenceforth Saint-Saviour-le-Viconte was English and all the lands pertaining to sir Godfrey of Harcourt, for he had sold it to the king of England after his decease and disherited the lord Louis of Harcourt his nephew, because he would not take his part. As soon as the king of England heard tidings of the death of the lord Godfrey of Harcourt, he was sorry thereof: then he sent incontinent men of arms, knights, squires and archers more than three hundred by sea to go and take possession for him of Saint-Saviour-le-Viconte, the which was worth thirty thousand franks by year, and made captain of those lands the lord John Lisle. The three estates all that season studied on the ordinance of the realm of France, and it was all governed by them.

The same winter the prince of Wales and such of England as were with him at Bordeaux ordained for ships to convey the French king and his son and all other prisoners into England. And when the time of his departure approached, then he commanded the lord d'Albret, the lord of Mussidan, the lord de Lesparre, the lord of Pommiers and the lord of Rauzan to keep the country there till his return again. Then he took the sea, and certain lords of Gascoyne with him. The French king was in a vessel by himself, to be the more at his ease, accompanied with two hundred men of arms and two thousand archers; for it was shewed the prince that the three estates by whom the realm of France was governed had laid in Normandy and Crotoy two great armies, to the intent to meet with him and to get the French king out of his hands, if they might; but there were no such that appeared, and yet they were on the sea eleven days, and on the twelfth day they arrived at Sandwich. Then they issued out of their ship and lay there all that night and tarried there two days to refresh them, and on the third day they rode to Canterbury. When the king of England knew of their coming, he commanded them of London to prepare them and their city to receive such a man as the French king was. Then they of London arrayed themselves by companies and the chief mesters [with] clothing different [each] from the other. At Saint Thomas of Canterbury the French king and the prince made their offerings and there tarried a day, and then rode to Rochester and tarried there that day, and the next day to Dartford and the fourth day to London, where they were honourably received, and so they were in every good town as they passed. The French king rode through London on a white courser well apparelled, and the prince on a little black hobby by him. Thus he was conveyed along the city, till he came to the Savoy, the which house pertained to the heritage of the duke of Lancaster. There the French king kept his house a long season, and thither came to see him the king and the queen oftentimes and made him great feast and cheer. Anon after by the commandment of pope Innocent the sixth there came into England the lord Talleyrand, cardinal of Perigord, and the lord Nicholas, cardinal of Urgel: they treated for a peace between the two kings, but they could bring nothing to effect, but at last by good means they procured a truce between the two kings and all their assisters, to endure till the feast of Saint John the Baptist in the year of our Lord God MCCCLIX.; and out of this truce was excepted the lord Philip of Navarre and his allies, the countess of Montfort and the duchy of Bretayne. Anon after the French

king was removed from the Savoy to the castle of Windsor, and all his household, and went a-hunting and a-hawking thereabout at his pleasure, and the lord Philip his son with him: and all the other prisoners abode still at London and went to see the king at their pleasure and were received all only on their faiths.

CHAPTERS CLXXIV–CLXXVIII

SUMMARY.—The king of Scotland, who had been a prisoner in England more than nine years, was delivered by treaty.

The duke of Lancaster raised an army to aid the countess of Montfort in May 1357, *and laid siege to Rennes. During this siege a young bachelor named Bertrand du Guesclin fought with sir Nicholas Dagworth an Englishman.*

Sir William de Gauville won back the castle of Evreux for the king of Navarre.

At this time there was a company of armed men in Provence led by Arnold de Cervolles, called the archpriest, with whom the pope and cardinals fell in treaty for fear that Avignon should be plundered; another between the Loire and Seine had one Ruffin (Griffith) for their captain; and in Normandy there was a company of English and Navarrois under sir Robert Knolles.

CHAPTER CLXXIX

How the provost of the merchants of Paris slew three knights in the regent's chamber.

IN this season that the three estates thus ruled, there rose in divers countries certain manner of people calling themselves companions, and they made war to every man. The noblemen of the realm of France and the prelates of holy Church began to wax weary of the rule and ordinance of the three estates, and so gave up their rule and suffered the provost of the merchants to meddle with some of the burgesses of Paris, because they meddled farther than they were pleased withal.[1] So on a day the regent of France was in the palace of Paris with many noblemen and prelates with him. The provost then assembled a great number of the commons of Paris, such as were of his opinion, and all they ware hats of one colour, to the intent to be known. The provost came to the palace with his men about him and entered into the duke's chamber, and there eagerly he desired him that he would take on him the meddling of the business of the realm of France, that the realm, the which pertained to him by inheritance, might be better kept, and that such companions as goeth about the realm wasting, robbing and pilling the same might be subdued. The duke answered how he would gladly intend thereto, if he had wherewith, and said they that receive the profit and the rights pertaining to the realm ought to do it, if it be done or not I report me.[1] So they multiplied such words between them that three of the greatest of the duke's council were there slain so near him, that his clothes were all bloody with their blood and he himself in great peril: but there was set one of their hats on his head and he was fain there to pardon the death of his three knights, two of arms and the third of the law, the one called the lord Robert of Clermont, a right noble man, another the lord of Conflans, and the knight of the law the lord Simon of Bucy.

[1] 'So they suffered the provost of the merchants and some of the burgesses of Paris to deal as they would, because they (the three estates) meddled with affairs farther than they were pleased.'

CHAPTER CLXXX

How the king of Navarre came out of prison.

AFTER this foresaid adventure certain knights, as the lord John of Picquigny and other, under the comfort of the provost of Paris and of other councillors of the good towns, came to the strong castle of Arleux in Palluel, in Picardy, where the king of Navarre was in prison under the keeping of

[1] 'Mais celui qui faisoit lever les profits et les droitures appartenans au royaulme le devoit faire, s'il le fist, je ne sçay pourquoi ne comment ce fut, mais les paroles moultiplyèrent tant,' etc. The punctuation and reading are doubtful, but probably it should be, 'he that levied the profits and rights belonging to the realm ought to do it; so let him do it.' The translator's expression, 'If it be done or not, I report me,' is quite unintelligible. We may observe, however, that the same expression occurs again (ii. 91): 'I report me if I have not good cause to say,' where it is a translation of 'Regardez et imaginez,' etc.

the lord Tristram du Bos. They brought to them that kept the castle such tokens that they had the king of Navarre delivered into their hands, for the captain was not as then there; and they brought him with great joy into the city of Amiens, where he was well received, and lighted at a canon's house, who loved him entirely, called Guy Quieret: and the king tarried there a fifteen days till he had so provided for himself that he was assured of the duke of Normandy, then regent of France: for the provost of the merchants of Paris had gotten him his peace of the duke and of them of Paris. And then the king of Navarre was brought to Paris by the lord John of Picquigny and by other burgesses of Amiens, whereas every man was glad to see him and the duke made him great feast and cheer; for it behoved him so to do, for the provost and his sect exhorted him thereto: therefore the duke dissembled for the pleasure of the provost and other of Paris.

CHAPTER CLXXXI

How the king of Navarre preached solemnly in Paris.

WHEN the king of Navarre had been a certain time in Paris, on a day he assembled together prelates, knights and clerks of the university and there he shewed openly among them in Latin in the presence of the duke of Normandy his complaint and griefs, and violence done to him wrongfully without right or reason, and said how there was none that ought to doubt in him, but that he would live and die in the defence of the realm of France and the crown thereof, as he was bound to do: for he was extraught of father and mother of the right line of France, and said, if he would challenge the realm and crown of France, he could shew by right how he was more nearer thereto than the king of England. His sermon and language was so pleasant that he was greatly praised, and so little and little he entered into the favour of them of Paris, so that he was better beloved there than the regent the duke of Normandy, and also with divers other cities in the realm of France. But whatsoever semblant the provost and they of Paris made to the king of Navarre, for all that the lord Philip of Navarre would never trust them, nor would not come to Paris, for he always said that in a commonalty there was never no certainty, but finally shame, rebuke and dishonour.

CHAPTER CLXXXII

Of the beginning of the rising of the commons called Jaquery, in Beauvoisin.

ANON after the deliverance of the king of Navarre there began a marvellous tribulation in the realm of France, as in Beauvoisin, in Brie, on the river of Marne, in Laonnois, and about Soissons. For certain people of the common villages, without any head or ruler, assembled together in Beauvoisin. In the beginning they passed not a hundred in number: they said how the noblemen of the realm of France, knights and squires, shamed the realm, and that it should be a great wealth to destroy them all; and each of them said it was true, and said all with one voice: 'Shame have he that doth not his power to destroy all the gentlemen of the realm!'

Thus they gathered together without any other counsel, and without any armour saving with staves and knives, and so went to the house of a knight dwelling thereby, and brake up his house and slew the knight and the lady and all his children great and small and brent his house. And then they went to another castle, and took the knight thereof and bound him fast to a stake, and then violated his wife and his daughter before his face and then slew the lady and his daughter and all his other children, and then slew the knight by great torment and brent and beat down the castle. And so they did to divers other castles and good houses; and they multiplied so that they were a six thousand, and ever as they went forward they increased, for such like as they were fell ever to them, so that every gentleman fled from them and took their wives and children with them, and fled ten or twenty leagues off to be in surety, and left their houses void and their goods therein.

These mischievous people thus assembled without captain or armour robbed, brent and slew all gentlemen that they could lay

hands on, and forced and ravished ladies and damosels, and did such shameful deeds that no human creature ought to think on any such, and he that did most mischief was most praised with them and greatest master. I dare not write the horrible deeds that they did to ladies and damosels: among other they slew a knight and after did put him on a broach and roasted him at the fire in the sight of the lady his wife and his children; and after the lady had been enforced and ravished with a ten or twelve, they made her perforce to eat of her husband and after made her to die an evil death and all her children. They made among them a king, one of Clermont in Beauvoisin: they chose him that was the most ungraciousest of all other and they called him king Jaques Goodman, and so thereby they were called companions of the Jaquery. They destroyed and brent in the country of Beauvoisin about Corbie, Amiens and Montdidier more than threescore good houses and strong castles. In like manner these unhappy people were in Brie and Artois, so that all the ladies, knights and squires of that country were fain to fly away to Meaux in Brie, as well the duchess of Normandy and the duchess of Orleans as divers other ladies and damosels, or else they had been violated and after murdered. Also there were a certain of the same ungracious people between Paris and Noyon and between Paris and Soissons, and all about in the land of Coucy, in the county of Valois, in the bishopric of Laon,[1] Noyon and Soissons. There were brent and destroyed more than a hundred castles and good houses of knights and squires in that country.

CHAPTER CLXXXIII

How the provost of the merchants of Paris caused walls to be made about the city of Paris.

WHEN the gentlemen of Beauvoisin, of Corbiois, of Vermandois and of other lands, whereas these mischievous people were conversant, saw the woodness among them, they sent for succours to their friends into Flanders, to Brabant, to Hainault and to Hesbaye. So there came from all parts; and so all these gentlemen strangers with them of the country assembled together and did set on these people where they might find them, and slew and hanged them upon trees by heaps. The king of Navarre on a day slew of them more than three thousand beside Clermont in Beauvoisin. It was time to take them up, for an they had been all together assembled, they were more than a hundred thousand; and when they were demanded why they did so evil deeds, they would answer and say they could not tell, but that they did as they saw other do, thinking thereby to have destroyed all the nobles and gentlemen of the world.

In the same season the duke of Normandy departed from Paris and was in doubt of the king of Navarre and of the provost of the merchants and of his sect, for they were all of one accord. He rode to the bridge of Charenton on the river of Marne, and there he made a great summons of gentlemen and then defied the provost of the merchants and all his aiders. Then the provost was in doubt of him, that he would in the night-time come and overrun the city of Paris, the which as then was not closed. Then he set workmen a-work as many as he could get, and made great dikes all about Paris and began walls and gates: he had the space of one whole year a three hundred workmen continually working. It was a great deed to furnish an arm and to close with defence such a city as Paris: surely it was the best deed that ever any provost did there, for else it had been after divers times overrun and robbed by divers occasions.

CHAPTER CLXXXIV

Of the battle at Meaux in Brie, where the companions of the Jaquery were discomfited by the earl of Foix and the captal of Buch.

IN the season while these ungracious people reigned, there came out of Bruce the earl of Foix and the captal of Buch his cousin, and in their way they heard, as they should have entered into France, of the great mischief that fell among the noblemen by these

[1] The translator, partly following a corrupt text, says, 'bytwene Brieche and Loan.' The true reading is 'en l'éveschiet de Laon.'

unhappy people; and in the city of Meaux was the duchess of Normandy and the duchess of Orleans and a three hundred other ladies and damosels and the duke of Orleans also. Then the two said knights agreed to go and see these ladies and to comfort them to their powers: howbeit the captal was English, but as then it was truce between the two kings: they had in their company a threescore spears. And when they were come to Meaux in Brie, they were welcome to the ladies and damosels there: and when those of the Jaquery understood that there was at Meaux such a number of ladies, young damosels and noble children, then they assembled together and with them they of Valois, and so came to Meaux. And also certain of Paris that heard thereof went to them, so that they were in all a nine thousand and daily more resorted to them: so they came to the gates of the town of Meaux and the people of the town opened the gates and suffered them to enter, so that all the streets were full of them to the market-place, whereas these noble ladies were lodged in a strong place closed about with the river of Marne: there came such a number against them that the ladies were sore affrayed. Then these two knights and their company came to the gate of the market-place and issued out and set on those villains, who were but evil armed, the earl of Foix's banner and the duke of Orleans', and the captal's pennon. And when these villains saw these men of war well apparelled issued out to defend the place, the foremost of them began to recule back, and the gentlemen pursued them with their spears and swords: and when they felt the great strokes, they reculed all at once and fell for haste each on other. Then all the noblemen issued out of the barriers and anon won the place, and entered in among their enemies and beat them down by heaps and slew them like beasts and chased them all out of the town, and slew so many that they were weary, and made many of them by heaps to fly into the river. Briefly, that day they slew of them more than seven thousand, and none had scaped, if they would a followed the chase any farther. And when these men of arms returned again to the town, they set fire thereon and brent it clean and all the villains of the town that they could close therein, because they took part with the Jaquery. After this discomfiture thus done at Meaux they never assembled again together after; for the young Enguerrand lord of Coucy had about him certain men of war, and they ever slew them as they might meet with them without any mercy.

CHAPTERS CLXXXV, CLXXXVI

SUMMARY.—Paris, which held to the party of the king of Navarre, was besieged by the duke of Normandy, who made a private treaty with the king of Navarre by which Étienne Marcel, provost of the merchants, and twelve other burgesses should be given up to the duke of Normandy. A body of citizens was surprised and defeated by a company of English and Navarrois, and the provost and his party were much blamed for it.

CHAPTER CLXXXVII

Of the death of the provost of the merchants of Paris.

THE provost and his sect had among themselves divers counsels secretly, to know how they should maintain themselves; for they could find by no means any mercy in the duke of Normandy, for he sent word generally to all the commons of Paris that he would keep with them no longer peace, without he had delivered into his hands twelve of Paris, such as he would choose, to do with them his pleasure: the which thing greatly abashed the provost and his company. Finally, they saw well that it were better for them to save their lives, goods and friends, rather than to be destroyed, and that it were better for them to slay than to be slain. Then secretly they treated with the Englishmen, such as made war against Paris; and they agreed between them that the provost and his sect should be at the gate Saint-Honoré and at the gate Saint-Antoine at the hour of midnight and to let in the Englishmen and Navarrois provided ready to overrun the city and to destroy and rob it clean, except such houses as had certain signs limited

among them, and in all other houses without such tokens to slay men, women and children. The same night that this should have been done God inspired certain burgesses of the city, such as always were of the duke's party, as John Maillart and Simon his brother and divers other, who by divine inspiration, as it ought to be supposed, were informed that Paris should be that night destroyed. They incontinent armed them and shewed the matter in other places to have more aid, and a little before midnight they came to the gate Saint-Antoine and there they found the provost of the merchants with the keys of the gates in his hands. Then John Maillart said to the provost, calling him by his name: 'Stephen, what do you here at this hour?' The provost answered and said: 'John, what would ye? I am here to take heed to the town, whereof I have the governing.' 'By God,' said John, 'ye shall not go so: ye are not here at this hour for any good, and that may be seen by the keys of the gates that ye have in your hands. I think it be to betray the town.' Quoth the provost: 'John, ye lie falsely.' 'Nay,' said John, 'Stephen, thou liest falsely like a traitor': and therewith strake at him and said to his company: 'Slay the traitors!' Then every man strake at them. The provost would a fled, but John Maillart gave him with an axe on the head, that he fell down to the earth, and yet he was his gossip, and left not till he was slain and six of them that were there with him, and the other taken and put in prison. Then people began to stir in the streets, and John Maillart and they of his accord went to the gate Saint-Honoré and there they found certain of the provost's sect, and there they laid treason to them, but[1] their excuses availed nothing. There were divers taken and sent into divers places to prison, and such as would not be taken were slain without mercy. The same night they went and took divers in their beds, such as were culpable of the treason by the confession of such as were taken. The next day John Maillart assembled the most part of the commons in the market hall, and there he mounted on a stage and shewed generally the cause why he had slain the provost of the merchants; and there by the counsel of all the wise men all such as were of the sect of the provost were judged to the death, and so they were executed by divers torments of death.

Thus done, John Maillart, who was then greatly in the grace of the commons of Paris, and other of his adherents sent Simon Maillart and two masters of the parliament, sir Stephen Alphonse and master John Pastourel, to the duke of Normandy being at Charenton. They shewed the duke all the matter and desired him to come to Paris to aid and to counsel them of the city from thenceforth, saying that all his adversaries were dead. The duke said: 'With right a good will'; and so he came to Paris, and with him sir Arnold d'Audrehem, the lord of Roye and other knights, and he lodged at Louvre.[1]

[1] Or rather, 'and.'

CHAPTERS CLXXXVIII-CXCVII

SUMMARY.—The king of Navarre declared war on the realm of France and the Navarrois won many towns on the Seine, Marne and Oise, and defeated the French host at Mauconseil, 18th August 1358.

Amiens would have been delivered up to the Navarrois, but for the constable de Fiennes and the earl of Saint-Pol, who came in haste from Corbie and then laid siege to Saint-Valéry, which was at length surrendered. The French pursued the lord Philip of Navarre, who with difficulty recrossed the Somme and escaped. Meanwhile there was a great dearth in France, and the realm was full of Navarrois, who under the captal de Buch and others took many strong places.

Sir Peter Audley with some Navarrois made an attempt on Châlons, which failed.

At length a peace was made between the duke of Normandy and the king of Navarre, which, however, the lord Philip did not accept.

CHAPTERS CXCVIII-CCIV

SUMMARY.—For all this peace, there was as much war as before, because the truce between France and England had

[1] 'Au Louvre.'

expired. War was carried on in Champagne by sir Eustace d'Aubrecicourt for the English, who was defeated and taken prisoner, 23rd June, at Nogent-sur-Seine. He was afterwards ransomed by the English garrisons of Champagne and became their captain.

The brigands that held fortresses in France began marvellously to decline.

A treaty of peace agreed to in London by the kings of France and England was rejected by the duke of Normandy and the estates. The king of England prepared to invade France.

Sir Robert Knolles rode through Berry and Auvergne towards Avignon, pursued by the earl of Forez with a large force, but he escaped them and went into Limousin.

CHAPTERS CCV–CCXIV

SUMMARY. — Certain knights of the Empire came to join the king of England at Calais and rode into France with the duke of Lancaster, who came before the king. At All Saints they returned and met the English host marching in fine array, with the king and the prince of Wales. The king rode through Artois and Picardy, and so to Rheims, where he laid a siege. The king of Navarre quarrelled with the duke of Normandy and made war upon him. At length the king of England left the siege of Rheims, and going into Burgundy lay at Guillon till after mid-Lent. He then made a composition with the duke of Burgundy and retired towards Paris, encamping at Bourg-la-Reine.

The duke of Normandy refused battle, and the king retired towards Chartres. On the way negotiations were carried on for peace, and at length terms were arranged at Brétigny near Chartres.[1] *On payment of 600,000 francs and delivery of hostages the French king was released, and then went on foot in pilgrimage from Calais to Boulogne in company with the prince of Wales and his two brothers, Lionel and Edmund. Delivery was made of the ceded provinces and the king of England ordered his garrisons to leave their holds. These garrisons formed companies to plunder the country and the lord Jacques of Bourbon was sent against them. The companies drew together and marched towards Lyons.*

[1] The documents connected with the peace of Brétigny are given very incompletely and confusedly in the text which the translator followed.

CHAPTER CCXV

How the lord James of Bourbon and his company were discomfited by the companions, and how the pope made to be cried a croisey, after these companions had taken the Bridge Saint-Esprit, and of the answer that they made.

THE men of war thus assembled with the lord of Bourbon being at Lyons understood that the rout of the companions approached fast towards them, and had won the town and castle of Brignais and divers other holds, and how they sore wasted and exiled the country. These tidings greatly displeased the lord of Bourbon, because he had the governing of the earl of Forez' land and of his son's his nephew's.[1] Then they went into the field and saw well how they were a great number of men of arms, knights and squires, and so they sent out their currours to know what their enemies did and where they were and where they should be found. Now shall I shew you the great malice of these companions, who were lodged on a mountain, and there they had such a place that they could not be descried nor aviewed, and specially the chief of them, who were best harnessed, for the residue, who were worst harnessed, arranged along on the hill-side and suffered the French currours to approach near to them and to return again without any damage to the lord James of Bourbon, the earl d'Uzès, sir Raynold of Forez and to the other French company, to whom they reported as they had seen and said: 'Sirs, we have seen yonder company your enemies and to our powers well advised them, and all things seen and considered, to our estimation they pass not a five or six thousand persons and marvellously evil harnessed.' And when the lord of Bourbon heard that report, he said to the archpriest: 'Sir, ye have told me or this that they were to the

[1] Froissart says, 'because he had the governance of the county of Forez, his nephews' land.'

number of sixteen thousand fighting men, and now ye hear all contrary.' 'Sir,' quoth he, 'I thought them never under the said sum, and if they be not, God be thanked; it is the better for us. Therefore now take heed what ye will do.' 'In the name of God,' quoth the lord of Bourbon, 'we will go and fight with them': and there he ordered his battles and set them in good array ready to fight, for he might see his enemies before him; and there he made certain new knights, first his own eldest son Peter, and he raised his banner, and also his nephew the young earl of Forez, the lord of Tournon, the lord of Montelimar and the lord Groslée of Dauphiné; and there were also the lord Louis [and] sir Robert of Beaujeu, sir Louis of Chalon, sir Hugh of Vienne, the earl d'Uzès and divers other good knights and squires, all desiring to advance their honours and to overthrow these companions that thus pilled the country without any title of reason: and there it was ordained that the archpriest, sir Arnold of Cervolles, should govern the first battle, for he was a good and expert knight, and he had in that battle sixteen hundred fighting men. These routs of companions that were on the mountain saw right well the ordering of the Frenchmen, but they could not so well see them nor their guiding, nor approach well to them but to their great danger or damage; for these companions had in this mountain a thousand cartload of great stones, which was greatly to their advantage and profit. These Frenchmen that so sore desired to fight with their enemies, howsoever they did, they could not come to them the next way; therefore they were driven of necessity to coast about the mountain, where their enemies were: and when they came on that side, then they, who had great provision of stones, began to cast so sore down the hill on them that did approach, that they beat down, hurt and maimed a great number, in such wise that they might nor durst not pass nor approach any nearer to them: and so that first battle was so sore beaten and defoiled, that of all day after they did but little aid. Then to their succour approached the other battles with sir James of Bourbon, his son and his nephews, with their banners and a great number of good men of war, and all went to be lost; the which was great damage and pity, that they had not wrought by better advice and counsel than they did. The archpriest and divers other knights that were there had said before that it had been best to have suffered their enemies to have dislodged out of the hold that they were in, and then to have fought with them at more ease; but they could not be heard.

Thus, as the lord James of Bourbon and the other lords with their banners and pennons before them approached and coasted the said mountain, the worst armed of the companions cast still continually stones at them in such wise that the hardiest of them was driven aback; and thus, as they held them in that estate a great space, the great fresh battle of these companions found a way and came about the mountain well ranged and had cut their spears of six foot of length, and so came crying with one voice and brake in among the Frenchmen. So at the first meeting they overthrew many to the earth: there were sore strokes on both parts, and these companions fought so ardently that it was marvel, and caused the Frenchmen to recule back: and there the archpriest like a good knight fought valiantly, but he was taken prisoner by force of arms and sore hurt, and divers other knights and squires of his company. Whereto should I make longer rehearsal of this matter? In effect the Frenchmen had the worse; and the lord James of Bourbon was sore hurt, and sir Peter his son, and there was slain the young earl of Forez, and taken sir Raynold of Forez his uncle, the earl d'Uzès, sir Robert of Beaujeu, sir Louis of Chalon, and more than a hundred knights, and with much pain the lord of Bourbon and his son Peter were borne into the city of Lyons. This battle was about the year of our Lord God a thousand three hundred threescore and one, the Friday after Easter-day.

Greatly were they of the country abashed, when they heard that their people were discomfited, and there was none so hardy, nor so strong a castle, but trembled for fear; for the wise and discreet men supposed and imagined that great mischief should multiply thereby, without God put to some remedy. And

they of Lyons were greatly abashed when they knew that the companions had the victory; howbeit they received sweetly all them that returned and scaped from the battle, and were sore displeased for the hurts of the lord of Bourbon and of sir Peter his son, and they of the town, ladies and damosels, right goodly did visit him; but this lord James of Bourbon died a three days after the field and sir Peter his son lived not long after, and they were sore bewailed of every creature; and for the death of this lord of Bourbon the French king was right sore displeased, but he could not amend it, so it behoved him to pass over his sorrow as well as he might.

Now let us speak of these companions, who persevered still in their evil deeds as people rejoiced and comforted of their deeds, as well for winning of that journey as for the ransoming of many good prisoners: so thus these companions led their time at their pleasure in that country, for there were none that came against them; for incontinent after the discomfiture of Brignais they entered and spread abroad in the county of Forez and pilled and wasted all the country except the fortresses, and because they were so great a company, almost nothing held against them: and so they divided them into two parts, and sir Seguin of Badefol had the less part; howbeit he had in his company a three thousand fighting men, and he went and lay at Anse, a mile from Lyons,[1] and fortified the place marvellously, and so his company were thereabout in the marches, the which was one of the plentiful countries of the world, the which they overran, and ransomed the people at their pleasure, that is to say, all the countries on this side and beyond the river of Saone, the county of Macon, the archbishopric of Lyons and the land of the lord of Beaujeu and all the country to Marcigny-les-Nonnains and to the county of Nevers. The other part of the same company, as Naudan de Bageran, Espiote, Creswey,[2] Robert Briquet, Ortingo [and] Bernardet de la Salle, l'Amit, the bourg Camus, the bourg of Breteuil, the bourg of Lesparre, and divers other of one sort and affinity, drew them toward Avignon, and said how they would see the pope and cardinals and to have some of their money, or else to harry and to pill the country, and so they tarried here and there abiding for the ransom of such prisoners as they had taken, and also to see if the truce held between France and England; and as they went toward Avignon, they took by the way towns and fortresses, so that none held against them, for all the country was afraid; and also in that country they had used no war, so that such as were in these small holds wist not how to defend themselves from such men of war. And these companions heard how there was at the Bridge Saint-Esprit,[1] a seven leagues from Avignon, great treasure and riches of the country assembled there together on trust of the strong fortress; and so the companions advised among them that if they might win that hold, it should be greatly to their advantage and profit, for then they thought to be masters of Rhone and of them in Avignon. And on this purpose they studied, till at last they had cast their advice, as I have heard reported, in this manner. Guyot du Pin and the little Meschin rode with their company in one night a fifteen leagues, and in the morning at the breaking of the day they came to the town of the Bridge Saint-Spirit and suddenly took it and all that were within, the which was great pity, for there they slew many an honest person and defoiled many a damosels and won such riches that it could not be numbered and great purveyances to live thereby a whole year: and so by that means they might run at their ease without danger, one season into the realm of France and another time into the Empire. So there assembled together all the companions and every day ran to the gates of Avignon, whereby the pope and cardinals were in great affray and dread. And so those companions made there a sovereign captain among them, who was ever most commonly enemy to God and to the world.[2]

Beside these there were in France great

[1] 'A une lieue de Lyon,' but the distance is really about six leagues.

[2] The Englishman John Creswey (or Creswell).

[1] Pont-Saint-Esprit, a town on the right bank of the Rhone.

[2] Froissart says, 'who caused himself to be commonly called: Friend to God and enemy to all the world.'

number of pillers and robbers, what of Englishmen, Gascons and Almains, who said they must needs live; and they held still certain garrisons and fortresses, for all that the king of England's deputies had commanded them to avoid and depart; howbeit they would not all obey, wherewith the French king was sore displeased, and all his council. But when these companions in divers places heard how these other companions had overthrown the lord of Bourbon and a two thousand knights and squires, and taken many a good prisoner, and also had taken in the town Saint-Esprit so great riches that it was a thing incomparable, and thinking how they were likely to win Avignon or else to put to mercy the pope and cardinals and all the country of Provence, then they thought all to depart and go thither for covetise to win more and to do more evil deeds; so that was the cause that divers of them left up their fortresses and went to their companions, in hope to get more pillage. And when that pope Innocent the sixth and the college of Rome saw how they were vexed by these cursed people, they were greatly abashed and then ordained a croisey against these evil Christian people, who did their pain to destroy Christendom, as other bands had done before,[1] without title of any reason: for they wasted all the country without any cause, and robbed without sparing all that ever they could get, and violated and defoiled women, old and young, without pity, and slew men, women and children without mercy, doing to them no trespass;[2] and such as did most shamefullest deeds were reputed with them most valiant. So then the pope and the cardinals preached openly this croisey and assoiled *a pena et culpa* all those that would take on them this croisey and that would abandon their bodies willingly to destroy these evil people and their companions; and there was chosen among the cardinals sir Peter of Moustier, cardinal of Arras, called Ostia,[3] to be chief captain of the croisey, and incontinent he departed out of Avignon, and went and tarried at Carpentras, a seven mile from Avignon, and there he retained all manner of soldiers, such as would save their souls in attaining to these said pardons, but they should have none other wages; wherefore that journey brake, for every man departed, some into Lombardy, some to their own countries, and some went to the said evil company, so that daily they increased. So thus they harried the pope, the cardinals and the merchants about Avignon and did much evil, till it was far into the summer season in the year of our Lord God a thousand three hundred threescore and one.

Then the pope and the cardinals advised them of a noble gentle knight and a good warrior, the marquis of Montferrat, who kept war and had done a long space against the lords of Milan. The pope sent for him, and so he came to Avignon and was honourably received of the pope and cardinals, and so a treaty was made with him by reason of a sum of money that he should have, to the intent that he should get out of that country the said evil companions, and to retain them with him in his wars of Lombardy. So then the marquis treated with the captains of the companions, and by reason of threescore thousand florins that they should have among them and great wages that the marquis should give them, they agreed to depart and go with him into Lombardy, so they might be assoiled *a pena et culpa*. All this was agreed, accomplished, and the florins paid: and then they rendered up the town Saint-Esprit and left the march of Avignon and passed forth with the marquis, whereof king John of France and all the realm were right joyous, when they saw how they were delivered of these evil people. Howbeit there were many that returned to Burgoyne, and sir Seguin of Badefol departed not out of the garrison of Anse, for he would not leave it for no manner of entreaty nor promise; but the realm of France was in far better rest and peace than it was before. So when the most part of the companions were thus passed forth with the marquis into the land of Piedmont, there the marquis did well his devoir against the lords of Milan and conquered divers towns, castles, fortresses and countries against them, and had divers encounterings and skirmishes with them to his honour and profit, so that within a year by the help of these companions he

[1] 'Ensi comme les Wandeles fisent jadis.'
[2] 'Who had done them no ill.' [3] 'Dit d'Ostie.'

had the better hand, and in part had all his intent against the two lords of Milan, of sir Galeas and sir Bernabo, who after reigned in great prosperity.

So it fortuned that sir Seguin of Badefol, who was all that season in the garrison of Anse on the river of Saone, took by scaling a good city in Auvergne called Brioude, and therein he tarried more than a year and fortified it in such wise that he doubted nothing, and overran the country to Clermont, to Chilhac, to Puy, to Chaise-Dieu, to Montferrant, to Riom, to Nonnette, to Issoire, and to Vodables and the land of the count Dolphin,[1] the lord whereof was the same time in hostage in England, and in these countries he and his company did much evil; and when he had sore impoverished the country thereabout, then by treaty he departed and took with him great pillage and treasure and so went to Gascoyne, from whence he came first. Of this sir Seguin I can write no more, but that, as I heard recounted, he died marvellously: God forgive him all his trespasses. Amen.

CHAPTERS CCXVI–CCXIX

SUMMARY.—Henry duke of Lancaster died, and the lord John, son of the king of England, became duke in right of his wife. The pope Innocent VI. died and was succeeded by Urban V. The prince of Wales took the government of Acquitaine. The king of Cyprus went through the Empire and then to England to get help for a crusade against the infidels. He returned through France and so to Acquitaine.

King John of France came to London, where he fell sick and died.

The duke of Normandy sent the marshal Boucicquaut to join sir Bertrand du Guesclin against the king of Navarre. They took Nantes and Meulan by stratagem. The captal of Buch became commander of the Navarrois.

[1] The comte dauphin d'Auvergne.

CHAPTER CCXX

Here beginneth the feats of war done in the time of king Charles the V., whereof the beginning speaketh of the obsequy of king John and how the young king Charles was honourably crowned at Rheims, and of the great expenses that was done there; and of the beginning of the battle of Cocherel.

THUS, as ye have heard before, the king of Cypre returned into France and came to Paris to the duke of Normandy, and there was the duke's brethren, the duke of Anjou and the lord Philip, who was after duke of Burgoyne, and all they tarried for the body of the king their father, the which was coming out of England; and the king of Cypre holp them to complain the death of the king and was marvellously displeased therewith, because of the hindering of his viage of the croisey, and so he clothed himself with the vesture of dolour.

So the day came that the body of the French king approached to Paris, the which body was brought thither by the earl of Artois, the earl Dammartin and the great prior of France. The duke of Normandy and his brethren, the king of Cypre, and the most part of all the clergy of Paris went afoot and met with the body beyond Saint-Denis in France, and there he was solemnly buried and the archbishop of Sens sang the mass: and after the service done and the dinner, the which was right noble, the lords and prelates returned to Paris and there they held a parliament and general council to determine how the realm should be ordered, for the realm might not long be without a king: and then it was counselled by the advice of the prelates and nobles of the realm that they should draw to the city of Rheims and there to crown the duke of Normandy, who as yet was called none otherwise; and he wrote to his uncle Wenceslas duke of Brabant and of Luxembourg and also to the earl of Flanders, desiring them to be at his coronation on Trinity Sunday next coming.

In the same season, while the lords made their purveyance for the king's coronation, the Frenchmen and Navarrois approached near together in Normandy; for into the city of Evreux was come the captal of Buch,

who made there his assembly of men of war and of companions such as he could get. Now let us speak of him and of sir Bertram of Guesclin[1] and of a journey of battle between them the Tuesday before Trinity Sunday, that the duke of Normandy should be crowned king, as he was in the cathedral church of Rheims. When the captal of Buch had made his assembly in the city of Evreux of archers and brigands, and left in the city a captain called sir Leger d'Orgessin, and sent to Conches the lord Guy of Gauville to keep frontier war,[2] then he departed from Evreux with all his men of arms and archers; for he heard say how the Frenchmen were abroad, but he wist not where they were. Then he took the fields and had great desire to find them, and numbered his company and found that he was to the sum of seven hundred spears, three hundred archers and five hundred of other men of war, and with him were divers good knights and squires, and specially a banneret of the realm of Navarre called the lord of Sault, an expert man of arms; but he that held the greatest sum of men of arms and archers in all the company was a knight of England called sir John Jouel: there was also the lord Peter of Saquainville, sir William of Gauville, the lord Bertrand du Franc, the bascle of Mareuil and divers other, all in will to encounter sir Bertram of Guesclin and to fight with him. Then they drew to Passy and to the Bridge of the Arch,[3] for they thought that the Frenchmen should pass the river of Seine there, if they were not passed already.

So it happened that the Friday in the Whitsun week the captal and his company rode out of a wood and by aventure they met a herald of arms called king Faucon, and the same morning he was departed from the French host. As soon as the captal saw him, he knew him well and made him great cheer, for he was pertaining to the king of England: then he demanded of him from whence he came and if he knew any tidings of the Frenchmen. 'Sir,' quoth he, 'in the name of God I know well where they be: I departed from them to-day: they seek you as well as ye do them.' 'Where be they,' quoth the captal, 'beyond the Bridge of the Arch or a this side?' 'Sir,' quoth Faucon, 'they be passed the bridge at Vernon, and, as I believe, they are now about Passy.' 'What number be they,' quoth the capital, 'and what captains have they? I pray you shew me.' 'Sir,' quoth Faucon, 'they are well a fifteen hundred fighting men, and there is sir Bertram of Guesclin, who hath the greatest company of Bretons, also there is the earl of Auxerre, the viscount of Beaumont, the lord Louis of Chalon, the lord of Beaujeu, the master of the cross-bows,[1] the archpriest, the lord Oudart of Renty; and of Gascoyne there is the company of the lord d'Albret, and the lord Aymenion of Pommiers, the lord soudic of Latrau.'[2] And when the captal heard those Gascons named, he marvelled greatly and blushed for displeasure, and said: 'Faucon, is this true ye say, that these lords of Gascoyne are there, and the lord d'Albret's company?' 'Sir,' quoth the herald, 'yea, without fail.' 'And where is the lord d'Albret himself?' quoth the captal. 'Sir,' quoth Faucon, 'he is at Paris with the regent duke of Normandy, who apparelleth himself to go to Rheims, for it is said that on Sunday next coming he should be crowned king.' Then the captal laid his hand on his own head and said in great displeasure, 'By Saint Antony's cap,[3] Gascon against Gascon.' 'Sir,' quoth Faucon, 'hereby tarrieth for me a herald of the archpriest sent to speak with you from him; and as I understand by the herald, the archpriest would speak with you.' Then the captal said: 'Ah, Faucon, say to the French herald he need not to go any farther: let him shew to the archpriest that I will not speak with him.' Then sir John Jouel stept forth and said: 'Sir, why will ye not speak with him? Peradventure it is for our profit.' Then the captal said:

[1] This name, which in the last chapter is written by the translator 'Guesclyn,' appears here and generally elsewhere as 'Clesquy.' The form in the French text is usually Clesquin. Froissart, who reports a conversation on the form of the name, probably wrote 'Claiequin.'

[2] 'Pour faire frontière sus le pays,' 'to hold the country against the enemy.'

[3] Pont-de-l'Arche.

[1] The master of the cross-bows was sir Baudouin d'Annequin.

[2] The soudic (or soudan) de Latrau was lord of Préchac and of Didonne. 'Latrau' is a correction of 'Lestrade.'

[3] 'Par le cap saint Antoine,' 'by the head of Saint Antony.'

'Nay, I warrant you it is not for our profit, for the archpriest is so great a brawler that if he come to us he will but jangle, and in the mean time imagine our strength and aview our number,[1] the which peradventure shall turn more to our prejudice than advantage: therefore I have no haste to speak with him.' Then Faucon the herald went to the other herald, whereas he tarried under a hedge, and excused the captal so wisely that he was well content, and then he went to the archpriest and shewed him all, as Faucon had said.

Thus the Frenchmen and Navarrois had knowledge each of other by the report of the two heralds, and apparelled themselves each to meet other. And when the captal had heard by Faucon what number the Frenchmen were, then incontinent he sent certain messengers to the city of Evreux to the captain there, desiring him to send out of the city all manner of companions and other that were able for the war, and that they should meet with him about Cocherel, for there he thought to find the Frenchmen, for surely, he said, wheresoever they met he would fight with them. And when these tidings came to the captain of Evreux, named sir Leger d'Orgessin, then he commanded every man that was able to ride a horse should go out of the city and draw to the captal; and so there departed out of the town more than sixscore, all young men of the nation of the town. So that Wednesday the captal lodged by noon on a mountain and his company about him; and the Frenchmen rode forward to find them, till they came to a river called in that country Iton, the which ran toward Evreux, and it springeth near to Conches, and there they lodged that Wednesday in a fair meadow along by the river-side; and so the next morning both parties sent out their currours to see if they could hear any tidings each of other, and so each of them made report that they were within two leagues together. Then the Navarrois rode as Faucon led them, the same way he came from them, and so about noon they came into the way to Cocherel, and there they saw the Frenchmen before them in ordering of their battles; and there was great number of banners and pennons, so that they seemed to be double the number that they were indeed. Then the Navarrois rested them without a little wood that was there: then the captains drew together and ordered their battles. First they made three battles well and properly all afoot and sent all their carriages and pages into the little wood, and they set sir John Jouel in the first battle with all the men of arms and archers of England; the second battle led the captal of Buch, and in his battle were a four hundred fighting men one and other, and with him was the lord of Sault of Navarre, a young lusty knight, the lord William of Gauville and sir Peter of Saquainville; the third battle was led by three knights, that is to say, the lord bascle of Mareuil, the lord Bertram of [the] Franc and the lord Sanse Lopins, they were a four hundred: and when they had ordered their battles, then they took the vantage of a little hill there beside on their right hand, between them and the wood, and so on the front of that hill they arranged themselves before their enemies; and they set the captal's banner on a bush of thorns and set a sixty men of arms about it to defend it from their enemies, and that they did to the intent that, if they were sparkled abroad, they should draw to the standard, and so determined not to descend down from the mountain for no manner of cause, but to let their enemies come to them, if they would fight with them.

[1] This is a mistranslation. The original is: 'Mais l'archeprestre est si grant barateur, que s'il venoit jusques à nous, (en nous) comptant jangles et bordes il adviseroit,' etc., 'but the archpriest is so great a deceiver, that if he came to us, while telling us jests and pleasantries he would observe our strength,' etc.

CHAPTER CCXXI

How by the policy and counsel of sir Bertram of Guesclin the Navarrois descended down from the mountain to fight with the Frenchmen, and how the captal was taken.

THUS, as ye have heard, the Navarrois and Englishmen were arranged on the mountain while the Frenchmen ordered their battles, whereof they made three and a rear-guard. The first had sir Bertram of Guesclin with all his Bretons, and he was ordained to rencounter the captal's battle: the second had the earl of Auxerre, and with him there

was the viscount Beaumont and the lord Baudwyn d'Annequin, master of the cross-bows, and with them were Frenchmen, Picards and Normans, as sir Oudart of Renty, sir Enguerrand of Eudin, sir Louis of Haveskerke and divers other good knights and squires: the third battle had the archpriest and the Burgoynians, and with him the lord of Chalon, the lord Beaujeu, the lord John of Vienne and divers other, and this battle was assigned to assemble against the bascle of Mareuil and his rout: and the battle which was the rear-guard were all Gascons, whereof sir Aymenion of Pommiers, the lord soudic of Latrau, the lord Perducas d'Albret and the lord Petiton of Curton were sovereign captains. Then these Gascon knights advised well the behaving of the captal and how his standard was set on a bush and kept with a certain number: then they said that it behoved them, when their battles were assembled together, that they should endeavour themselves to conquer the captal's standard, saying how if they might get it their enemies should be soon discomfited. Also these Gascons avised them on another ordinance, the which was to them that day right profitable. The lords of France were a long space together in council how they should maintain themselves, for they saw well that their enemies had a great advantage: then the Gascons spake a word, the which was well heard; they said: 'Sirs, we know well that the captal is as worthy a knight as can be found in any land, for as long as he is able to fight, he shall do us great damage. Let us ordain thirty a-horseback of the best men of arms that be in our company, and let the thirty take heed to nothing but to address themselves to the captal, while we intend to conquer his standard, and by the might of their horses let them break the press, so that they may come to the captal, and then take him and carry him out of the field, for without that be done we shall have no end of our battle:[1] for if he may be taken by this means, the journey shall be ours, his people will be so sore abashed of his taking.' Then the knights of France and of Bretayne accorded lightly to that device, and said it was good counsel and so they would do. Then among them they chose out thirty of the best men of arms among them, and mounted on thirty of the best horses in all the company, and they drew them aside in the field well determined of that they should do, and all the residue tarried in the field afoot in good array.

When they of France had well ordered their battles and that every man knew what he should do, then there was a communing among them what should be their cry that day and to what banner they should draw to; and so they were determined to cry 'Our Lady of Auxerre!' and to make their captain that day the earl of Auxerre. But the earl would in no wise agree thereto, to take that charge on him, but excused himself right graciously, saying, 'Lords, I thank you of the honour that ye would put me to, but surely as for me I will not thereof, for I am over young to have such a charge or honour, for this is the first journey that ever I was at, therefore ye shall take another. Here be many good knights, as sir Bertram of Guesclin, the archpriest, the master of the cross-bows, the lord Louis of Chalon, the lord Aymenion of Pommiers and sir Oudart of Renty; these have been in many great journeys and they know how to order such a matter better than I can, therefore I pray you hold me excused.' Then the knights regarded each other and said to him: 'Ah, noble earl of Auxerre, ye are the greatest among us both of land and lineage, therefore of right ye ought to be our head.' 'Certainly, sirs,' quoth he, 'ye say as it pleaseth you,[1] but this day I shall be as one of your companions, and shall live and die and bide mine aventure with you, but as for the sovereignty, surely I will none thereof.' Then they beheld each other and advised whom they might make chief captain. Then they were avised that the best knight in all their company and he that had been best proved was sir Bertram of Guesclin: then it was ordained by their common accord that their cry should be that day, 'Our Lady, Guesclin!' and that they should all obey that day to sir Bertram.

All things ordained and stablished and every lord and knight under his own standard or pennon, then they regarded their enemies, who were a-high on the hill and would not depart from their strength,

[1] Or rather, 'carry him out of the field and not wait for the end of the battle.'

[1] 'Ye say it of your courtesy.'

for they thought it not;[1] the which greatly annoyed the Frenchmen, because it was evil mounting of that hill and also the sun was very hot: the biggest of them were faint,[2] for they were fasting, and they had neither wine nor victual with them that did them any good, without it were certain lords that had little flagons of wine, the which were anon empty; nor they made that morning no provision for victual, for they had thought to have fought with their enemies the same morning, but they did not; but they escried as near as they might the Navarrois and Englishmen,[3] and so the day was far gone or they could be assembled together. And when the lords of France saw the behaving of the Navarrois, then they drew them together in manner of council, to determine whether they should go and fight with their enemies or not: so they were of divers opinions: some would go fight with them, saying it should be great blame to them to do otherwise, some that were sad and well avised argued to the contrary and said: 'If we go and fight with them whereas they be in the avantage, it shall be to our great peril, for of five of us they will have three.' So finally they would not agree to go to them, for dangers that might fall. And the Navarrois advised well their manner and said among themselves: 'Behold yonder our enemies: they will come anon to fight with us, by seeming they make them ready thereto.' There were certain knights and squires, Normans, prisoners with the Navarrois, and they were let go on their faiths, and they went privily into the French host and said to the lords there: 'Sirs, avise you well, for an ye let this day pass without battle, your enemies will be tomorrow greatly recomforted, for it is said among them that the lord Louis of Navarre should come to them with a four hundred spears.' So these words inclined them greatly to fight with their enemies, howsoever they did; and so made them ready to have set forward: and at that point they were a three or four times, but ever the wise men held them back and said: 'Sirs, let us abide a little space and see what they will do, for their hearts are so great and presumptuous that they would as gladly fight with us as we with them.' There were many overcome with heat of the sun, for it was then about noon and they had fasted all the day and were armed and sore chafed, and said among them, 'If we go up this hill to fight with them, we are all likely to be lost; therefore let us draw as for this day to our lodging, and to-morrow let us take other counsel.' Thus they were in divers opinions.

When the lords and knights of France saw the governing of the Englishmen and of the Navarrois, and how that they would not depart out of the hold that they were in and that it was high noon of the day, and also had heard the words that the prisoners that came from them had said, and also saw the most part of their people sore travailed with the heat of the sun, the which was to them right displeasant, then by the advice of sir Bertram of Guesclin they took other counsel: for he said: 'Sirs, we see well that our enemies desireth sore to fight with us; howbeit they will not descend out of their hold, without it be by the means that I shall shew you. Let us make semblant to withdraw back and not to fight as this day, and also our people are sore travailed with heat, and let us send our varlets, our carriage and our spare horses over the bridge and water, and let us withdraw back to our lodging, and in our going back let us be ready to turn again, if need be, and let us see what they will do. If they be willing to fight with us, they will descend down the hill to chase us, and if we see that they do so, then let us be ready to turn again on them, and then we shall deal with them the more easily.' This counsel was accepted of all the company: then every lord drew him under his own standard, and then they caused their trumpets to sound the retreat and commanded all knights, squires and varlets to pass the bridge and to carry over all their carriages.[1] So thus they passed over, and some men of arms passed after feintly.[2]

When sir John Jouel, who was an expert knight and had great desire to fight with the Frenchmen, saw the manner of them, how they drew back, then he said to the

1 'For they had no design or will to do so.'
2 'Therefore the strongest of them feared it' (le ressongnoient).
3 'For the N. and E. put it off as long as they could.'

1 'Leur harnois.'
2 'Faintement,' 'by way of a feint.'

captal: 'Sir, let us go quickly after them: see you not how they do fly away?' 'Ah,' said the captal, 'trust not thereto: they do it but for an evil intent and to beguile us.' Then sir John Jouel avanced himself, for he had great desire to fight with his enemies, saying to his company, 'Saint George! whosoever loveth me let them follow, for I will go and fight with our enemies': and so took his spear in his hand and went forth before all the battles and descended down the hill, and some of his company, or the captal knew thereof. But when he saw that sir John Jouel was gone to fight without him, he took it of great presumption and said to them about him: 'Sirs, let us go down the hill quickly, for sir John Jouel shall not fight without me.' Then the captal and his company advanced them down the hill, and when the Frenchmen saw them descend from the hill and come into the plain fields, they were right joyous, and said, 'Lo, now we may see that we have desired all this day'; and so suddenly turned and cried 'Our Lady, Guesclin!' and dressed their banners against the Navarrois, and so assembled together all afoot; and sir John Jouel, who courageously assembled his banners against the battle of the Bretons, of whom sir Bertram was chief captain, did many a feat of arms, for he was a hardy knight. Thus the knights and squires sparkled abroad in the plain and fought together with such weapons as they had, and each of them entered into other's battle and so fought with great courage and will; the Englishmen and Navarrois cried 'Saint George!' and the Frenchmen 'Our Lady, Guesclin!' There were many good knights on the French part, as sir Bertram of Guesclin, the young earl of Auxerre, the viscount Beaumont, sir Baudwyn d'Annequin, sir Louis of Chalon, the young lord of Beaujeu, sir Antony, who that day reared his banner, sir Louis of Haveskerke, sir Oudart of Renty, sir Enguerrand of Eudin; and also of Gascons, first sir Aymenion of Pommiers, sir Perducas d'Albret, sir soudic de Latrau, sir Petiton of Curton, and divers other of that sort: and the Gascons dressed them against the captal and his company, and they against them; they had great desire to meet each other: there was a sore battle and many a noble feat of arms done and achieved. A man ought not to lie willingly:[1] it might be demanded where was the archpriest all this season, who was a great captain and had a great company under his rule, because I make no mention of him. I shall shew you the truth. As soon as the archpriest saw the battle begin, he gat himself out of the press, but he said to his company and to him that bare his standard: 'I charge you all, as ye love me or fear my displeasure, that ye abide the end of the battle and do your devoirs as well as ye can; but as for me, I will depart and not return again, for I may not as this day fight nor be armed against some knight that is in the field against us. And if any demand for me, answer them as I have shewed you before.' So thus he departed, and but one squire all only with him, and so he repassed the river and let the remnant deal; and so the residue of the field missed him not, for they saw his banner and company to the end of the battle, wherefore they believed surely that he had been there personally. Now shall I shew you of the battle and how it was ended.

At the beginning of the battle, when sir John Jouel was come down the hill and his company with him, and the captal also and his company, trusting to have had the victory (howbeit the case turned otherwise), and saw that the Frenchmen turned them in good array and order, then they perceived well how they had been too hasty to come from their advantage. Howbeit, like valiant knights, they bashed nothing, but thought to win the victory with their hands in plain field. And so a little they reculed back and assembled together all their people, and then they made way for their archers to come forth on before, who as then were behind them. And when the archers were forward, then they shot fiercely together, but the Frenchmen were so well armed and so strongly pavised that they took but little hurt, nor letted not for all that to fight, and so entered in among the Englishmen and Navarrois, and they in like wise among them, so that there was between them a cruel battle: they took by strength of arms and wrestling spears, axes and other

[1] 'On ne doit point mentir à son pouvoir.' This refers to what follows, as is clear in the fuller text: 'In matters of arms the truth should be spoken, therefore it must be confessed that,' etc.

weapons, each from other, and took prisoners on both parts. Thus they fought hand to hand so valiantly that it was marvel to behold; so ye may well believe that in this great press and peril there were many overthrown and slain, for there were none that spared other. I say to you plainly, the Frenchmen had no need as then to sleep, for they had in hand people hardy and full of courage, wherefore it behoved every man to acquit themselves valiantly and to defend their bodies and keep their country and to take their advantage when it came at the point, or else they had been all discomfited: surely the Bretons and Gascons did acquit themselves right well that day and did many a noble feat of arms. Now shall I shew you of the thirty that were appointed to set on the captal, who were right well horsed. They took heed to nothing else but to the executing of their enterprise that they had in charge, so all together came on the captal, whereas he was fighting with a great axe in his hand and gave therewith so great strokes that none durst approach near him, but these thirty by force of their horses brake the press and came on the captal and by clean force they took him. Then began the battles sore in every place, for the captal's men cried to the rescue; howbeit all their pain availed them nothing, for the captal was carried out of the field; at which time it was hard to tell who had the better.

CHAPTER CCXXII

How the Englishmen and Navarrois were discomfited at the battle of Cocherel, and how the young king of France made his brother duke of Burgoyne, and of the castles and fortresses that were after won.

In this great battle, where that the Englishmen and Navarrois intended to follow to rescue the captal, whom they saw carried away before them, and of the French part sir Aymenion of Pommiers, sir Petiton of Curton, sir soudic de Latrau and the lord d'Albret's company, they intended with a courageous will to dress them toward the captal's standard that stood on a bush, there was then a sore battle; for the standard was well defended with good men of war, and specially with sir Ivain of Macenil and sir Geoffrey of Roussillon: there was many rescues and many one hurt and cast to the earth: howbeit the Navarrois that were about the standard were overthrown, and the bastle of Macenil slain, and sir Geoffrey of Roussillon taken prisoner, and sir Aymenion of Pommiers no man could tell what became of him, whether he were slain or taken.[1] And when the captal's standard was taken and torn all to pieces, in the mean season the Bretons, Frenchmen, Picards, Normans and the Burgoynians fought valiantly, the which stood them well in hand to do, for the Navarrois had caused them somewhat to recule, and there was dead of the French party the viscount Beaumont, the which was great damage, for he was a lusty young knight and was likely to have proved a noble man; and his company with great pain carried him out of the field, as I heard recounted of them of both parties. It had not been seen afore in such a battle with such a number to be so well fought as this battle was, for they were all afoot hand to hand and were meddled together each party with other and fought with such weapons as they had, and there was many a great stroke given with axes of steel, and there was sore hurt sir Petiton of Curton and sir soudic de Latrau in such wise that they could do no more good that day. Sir John Jouel, by whom the battle began, did that day many a feat of arms and was hurt in divers places of his body, and finally he was taken prisoner by a squire of Bretayne of the company of sir Bertram of Guesclin, and was carried out of the press. But there was slain of the French party the master of the cross-bows, and sir Louis of Haveskerke and divers other, and of the Navarrois the lord of Sault and many of his men, and the same day died prisoner sir John Jouel; and there was taken sir William of Gauville, sir Peter of Saquainville, sir Geoffrey of Roussillon, sir Bertram of [the] Franc and divers other; but a few of the Navarrois saved, they were near all taken or slain in

[1] This should be: 'Sir Geoffrey of Roussillon was taken prisoner by sir Aymenion of Pommiers, and all the others who were there either slain or driven on so far that none could tell what became of them.' However, the French text which the translator had before him is made unintelligible by the omission of the words 'et tout il aultre.'

the place. This battle was in Normandy near to Cocherel on a Tuesday[1] the twenty-fourth day of May[2] the year of our Lord MCCCLXIV.

After this discomfiture and that all the dead were despoiled, and every man taking heed to his prisoners and dressing of them that were hurt, and that the most part of the Frenchmen were repassed the bridge and drawing to their lodging right sore travailed and weary, the same season sir Guy of Gauville, son to sir William of Gauville, was departed the same morning from the garrison of Conches with a fifty spears, to the intent to have come to the captal or the battle began, wherefore they made great haste and came to the place whereas the battle had been. Then the Frenchmen that were behind cried to their company saying, 'Turn again, sirs, behold here cometh more of our enemies': and sir Aymenion and his company were there ready, and when he saw the Navarrois, he set his standard a-high on a bush to cause the Frenchmen to draw thither. And when sir Guy heard them cry, 'Our Lady, Guesclin!' and saw not the captal nor none of his company, but saw much people lie dead on the ground, then he perceived well that the Navarrois had been discomfited, and then he returned the same way he came. And that evening the Frenchmen took heed to their prisoners. Then there was much speaking and enquiring for the archpriest, when it was known that he was not at the battle, and his men excused him as well as they could. And the thirty that took the captal never ceased till they had brought him to the castle of Vernon. And the next day the Frenchmen dislodged and went to Rouen and there left part of their prisoners.

CHAPTER CCXXIII

Of the coronation of king Charles the fifth.

ON Trinity Sunday the year of our Lord a MCCCLXIV. king Charles, son and heir to king John, was crowned and sacred king in the great church of our Lady in Rheims, and also the queen his wife, daughter to duke Peter of Bourbon, by the archbishop of the same place. And there was present king Peter of Cypre, the duke of Anjou, the duke of Burgoyne, sir Wenceslas of Bohemia, duke of Luxembourg and of Brabant, the earls of Eu and of Dammartin, of Tancarville and of Vaudemont, with many prelates and other lords, and in the city was great feasts and solemnities five days: then the king departed and went to Paris. It cannot be recounted in a whole day the solemnities and great feasts that they of Paris made them. The lords returned into their own countries, such as had been there at the king's coronation.

At the king's coming to Paris his youngest brother was put in possession of the duchy of Burgoyne, and so departed from Paris with a great number of men and went and took livery, seisin and homage of the barons, knights, cities, castles and good towns of the duchy of Burgoyne: and when he had visited his country, he returned to Paris. And the same season the archpriest appeased the king's displeasure by such excusations as he laid for himself, in that he was not at the journey of Cocherel, shewing how he might not be armed against the captal; the which captal at the request of the lord d'Albret was let out of prison on his faith and troth, the which captal aided greatly to excuse the archpriest to the king and to other knights of France, such as spake evil of him: also he had as then newly overthrown in Burgoyne beside Dijon a four hundred companions and pillers of the country, whereof Guyot du Pin, Tallebart, Tallebardon and John of Chauffour were captains. The same season the king caused to be beheaded sir Peter Saquainville in the city of Rouen, because he was become Navarrois, and sir Gauville had been in the same case, an sir Guy his son had not been, who sent word to the king, that if he put to death his father, he would in like wise serve sir Braimon de Laval, a great lord of Bretayne, whom he had as prisoner; wherefore his lineage and kindred did so much by their suit to the king, that there was an exchange made between sir Braimon and sir Gauville, and each delivered for other. In this season sir Bertram of Guesclin gat again

[1] The original has 'jeudy.' The translator more than once gives us 'Tuesday' for 'jeudi' and 'Wednesday' for 'mardi,' as in i. 189.

[2] A better text gives xvi. here for xxiiii.

the castle of Rolleboise for six thousand francs that he paid to the captain thereof, named Wauter, who returned again to Brabant from whence he came. Yet there were divers companions that held still sundry fortresses in Caux, Normandy, Perche, Beauce and in other places, the which did much hurt and trouble in the realm of France, some in the title of the king of Navarre and some in their own quarrel, to rob the country without reason or true title. The French king sent his brother the duke of Burgundy against these pillers, and so the duke made his summons in the city of Chartres. Then he drew into the field, and with him sir Bertram of Guesclin, sir Bouciquaut, the earl of Auxerre, sir Louis of Chalon, the lord of Beaujeu, sir Aymenion of Pommiers, sir Rayneval, the Begue of Villaines, sir Nicholas of Ligne, master of the cross-bows, sir Oudart of Renty, sir Enguerrand of Eudin, and to the number of five thousand fighting men. And when they saw they were so great a number, they divided in three parts, whereof sir Bertram of Guesclin with a thousand went toward Cotentin through the marches of Cherbourg to keep the frontiers there, that the Navarrois should do no hurt nor damage to the country of Normandy; and with him was the lord of Auxerre, the earl of Joigny, sir Arnold d'Audrehem, and many knights and squires of Bretayne and of Normandy. The second battle had the lord de la Riviere, and in his company divers knights and squires of France and of Picardy, and they were sent into the earldom of Evreux; and the duke himself with the greatest company went and laid siege to Marchelainville, a strong castle Navarrois, and brought thither many engines from the city of Chartres, the which did cast day and night and did them within much trouble.

CHAPTER CCXXIV

Of the journey that the duke of Burgoyne made against the garrisons Navarrois, and of the succour that the French king sent to sir Charles of Blois.

SUMMARY.—The lord Louis of Navarre had overrun the Bourbonnais and Auvergne and taken La Charité on the Loire. The duke of Burgundy and those with him took many towns and castles in Normandy, and at length besieged and took La Charité.

In the mean time the earl of Montfort lay at siege before Auray in Brittany, and the king of France sent Bertrand du Guesclin and others to aid sir Charles of Blois against him. Also to the earl of Montfort came sir John Chandos and other knights and squires of England.

CHAPTER CCXXV

How sir Charles of Blois came against the earl Montfort in ordinance of battle, and how sir John Chandos came against him, and how many were in each battle.

SUMMARY.—Sir Charles of Blois came to Auray with sir Bertrand du Guesclin and many others. Sir John Chandos was commander of the earl of Montfort's army, and by his means all attempts to make peace were frustrated. The battle was fought in a plain near to Auray on a Sunday morning (29th September 1364).

CHAPTER CCXXVI

How sir John Chandos discomfited the battle of the earl of Auxerre, and how sir Bertram of Guesclin was discomfited and taken, and the lord Charles of Blois slain in the battle, and of the pitiful complaint that the earl Montfort made for his death.

SUMMARY.—The battle of Auray was won by the party of the earl of Montfort under sir John Chandos, and sir Charles of Blois was slain.

CHAPTER CCXXVII

Of the truce that was given to bury the dead after the battle of Auray, and how divers castles yielded up to the earl Montfort, and how he besieged Quimper-Corentin.

SUMMARY.—The French party were greatly discouraged by this defeat, and the king of England was rejoiced, and so like-

wise was the earl of Flanders, who was at that time with him at Dover.

CHAPTER CCXXVIII

Now let us speak of the earl Montfort, how he did in Bretayne.

SUMMARY.—The earl of Montfort took Auray, Jugon and Dinant, and laid siege to Quimper-Corentin.

CHAPTER CCXXIX

How the peace was made that the earl of Montfort should abide duke of Bretayne, and how the French king rendered to Clisson his land, and of the marriage of the duke of Normandy, and how the captal of Buch became liege man to the French king and afterward renounced him again.

SUMMARY.—A treaty was made by which the earl of Montfort should remain duke of Brittany, doing homage for the duchy to the king of France. Also peace was made between the king of France and the king of Navarre, chiefly by the means of the captal de Buch.

THE chapter then continues thus:—

In this season yet was there still in France great number of the companions, the which as then wist not what to do, seeing the wars of Bretayne were ended. These companions pursued ever after deeds of arms and taking of pillages at their advantages, from the which they could not nor would abstain, and all their chief recourse was in France, for they called the realm of France their chamber. They durst do no hurt in Acquitaine, for the land would not suffer them, and also, to say truth, most part of the captains were Gascons and Englishmen under the obeisance of the king of England and of the prince; some there were of Bretayne, but not many: wherefore divers of the realm of France murmured against the king of England and the prince, and said covertly how that they acquitted not themselves well against the French king, seeing they do not their good wills to put out of the realm those evil-disposed people. So the wise and sage men of France considered that, without they did put some remedy to drive them out of the realm either by battle or by means of some money, else at length they were likely to destroy the noble realm of France and holy Christendom.

The same season there was in Hungary a king that would gladly have had them with him; for he had great war against the Turk, who did him great damage. Then he wrote to pope Urban the fifth, who was as then at Avignon, certifying him how he would gladly that the realm of France were delivered of the number of companions and that they were all with him in his wars against the Turk: and in like wise he wrote letters to the French king and to the prince of Wales. And so they entreated the said companions and offered them gold and silver and passage; but they answered that they would not that way, saying they would not go so far to make war; for it was shewed among themselves by some of their own company that had been before in Hungary, how that there were such straits, that if they were fought with there, they could never escape, but to die shamefully; the which so affrayed them that they had no lust to go thither. And when the pope and the French king saw that they would not agree according to their desires, and also that they would not avoid out of the realm of France, but daily multiplied, then they bethought them of another way and means to cause them to avoid.

The same season there was a king in Castile called don Peter,[1] who was full of marvellous opinions, and he was rude and rebel against the commandments of holy Church, and in mind to subdue all his Christian neighbours, kings and princes, and specially the king of Aragon called Peter, who was a good true Christian prince, and had as then taken from him part of his realm, thinking to have all the remnant. Also this king don Peter of Castile had three bastard brethren, the which king Alphonso his father had by a lady called the Riche Done:[2] the eldest was called Henry, the second don Tello,

[1] 'Dame Pietre,' which is written by the translator either 'Dame Peter' or 'Dampeter.'

[2] Eleanor de Guzman, called 'la Richa Dona.'

and the third Sancho. This king don Peter hated them so, that he would not suffer them to come in his sight, and oftentimes, if he might have gotten them, he would have stricken off their heads: howbeit they were well beloved with the king their father, and in his life he gave to Henry the eldest the county of Asturge, but this king don Peter his brother had taken it from him, and therefore they kept daily war together. This bastard Henry was a right hardy and a valiant knight, and had been long in France and pursued the war there and served the French king, who loved him right entirely. King don Peter, as the common bruit ran, had put to death the mother of the children, wherewith they were right sore displeased, and good cause why. Also beside that, he had put to death and exiled divers great lords of the realm of Castile: he was so cruel and so without shame that all his men feared, doubted and hated him as far as they durst. Also he caused to die a right good and holy lady, the which he had to wife, called the lady Blanche, daughter to duke Peter of Bourbon, sister-german to the French queen and to the countess of Savoy, whose death was right displeasant to all her lineage, the which was one of the noblest lineages of the world. And beside all this there ran a bruit of him among his own men how that he was amiably allied with the king of Granade and with the king of Bellemarine and the king of Tremesen,[1] who were all God's enemies and infidels: wherefore some of his own men feared that he would do some hurt to his own country, as in violating of God's churches, for he began already to take from them their rents and revenues and held some of the prelates in prison and constrained them by tyranny, whereof great complaints came daily to our holy father the pope, requiring him to find some remedy: to whose complaints the pope condescended, and sent incontinent messengers into Castile to the king don Peter, commanding him that incontinent without any delay personally to come to the court of Rome, to wash, cleanse and purge him of such villain deeds as he was guilty in. Howbeit this king don Peter, full of pride and presumptuousness, would not obey nor come there, but dealt shamefully with the pope's messengers, whereby he ran greatly in the indignation of the Church and specially of the head of the Church, as of our holy father the pope. Thus this evil king don Peter persevered still in his obstinate sin.

Then advice and counsel was taken by the pope and by the college, what way they might correct him, and there it was determined that he was not worthy to bear the name of a king, nor to hold any realm, and there in plain consistory in Avignon, in the chamber of excommunication, he was openly declared to be reputed as an infidel. Then it was thought that he should be constrained and corrected by help of the companions that were as then in the realm of France. Then the king of Aragon, who hated the king of Castile, was sent for, and also Henry the bastard of Spain, to come to Avignon to the pope; and when they were come, the pope made Henry the bastard legitive and lawful to obtain the realm of Castile, and don Peter cursed and condemned by sentence of the pope, and there the king of Aragon said how he would open the passage through his country and provide victuals and purveyances for all manner of people and men of war that would pursue to go into Castile to confound king don Peter and to put him out of his realm. Of this ordinance was the French king right joyous, and did his pain to help to get out of prison sir Bertram of Guesclin, who was prisoner with sir John Chandos, and paid for his ransom a hundred thousand franks, part thereof paid the French king and the pope, and Henry the bastard paid the residue; and after his deliverance they fell in treaty with the companions and promised them great profit, if they would go into the realm of Castile; whereto they lightly agreed for a certain sum of money that they had to depart among them: and so this journey was shewed to the prince of Wales and to the knights and squires about him, and specially to sir John Chandos, who was desired to be one of the chief captains with sir Bertram of Guesclin; howbeit he excused him and said he might not go thither. Yet the journey was not let for all that, and divers knights of the prince's went thither, as sir Eustace d'Aubrecicourt, sir Hugh Calverley, sir Gaultier Hewet, sir Matthew Gournay, sir

[1] Tlemcen.

Perducas d'Albret and divers other; and the chief captain of this enterprise was made the lord John of Bourbon earl of Marche, to countervenge[1] the death of his cousin the queen of Spain, and was in all things ruled and counselled by the advice of sir Bertram of Guesclin, for the earl of Marche was as then a jolly young lusty knight; and also the lord Antony of Beaujeu went forth in that viage, and divers other good knights, as sir Arnold d'Audrehem, marshal of France, the Begue of Villaines, the lord d'Antoing in Hainault, the lord of Briffeuil, sir John Neuville, sir Gauvain of Bailleul, sir John of Berguettes, the Allemant of Saint-Venant and divers other, the which I cannot name. And so all these lords and other advanced forth in the viage and made their assembly in Languedoc and at Montpellier and thereabout, and so passed all to Narbonne, to go toward Perpignan and so to enter on that side into the realm of Aragon. These men of war were to the number of thirty thousand, and there were the chief captains of the companions, as sir Robert Briquet, sir John Creswey, Naudan of Bageran, l'Amit, the little Meschin, the bourg Camus, the bourg de Lesparre, Batillier, Espiote, Aymenion d'Artigue, Perrot of Savoy and divers other, all of accord and of one alliance, having great desire to put king don Peter out of the realm of Castile and to make king the earl of Asturge, his brother Henry the bastard.

And when these men of arms should enter into the realm of Aragon, to do their enterprise the more privily they sent to king don Peter to blind him by their message: but he was already well informed of their intents and how they were coming on him into the realm of Castile; but he set nothing thereby, but assembled his people to resist against them and to fight with them at the entry of his realm. Their message was desiring him to open the straits of his country and to give free passage to the pilgrims of God, who had enterprised by great devotion to go into the realm of Granade, to revenge the death and passion of our Lord Jesu Christ and to destroy the infidels and to exalt the Christian faith. The king don Peter at these tidings did nothing but laugh, and said he would do nothing at their desire, nor obey in any point to such a rascal company. And when these knights and other men of arms knew the will and answer of king don Peter, whereby they reputed him right orgulous and presumptuous, and made all the haste they might to advance, to do him all the hurt they could. So they all passed through the realm of Aragon, where they found the passages ready open for them, and victual and everything ready apparelled and at a meetly price; for the king of Aragon had great joy of their coming, trusting then by their means to conquer again from the king of Castile all his lands, that king don Peter had before taken from him by force: and then these men of war passed the great river that departeth Castile and Aragon, and so they entered into the realm of Spain: and when they had conquered towns, cities and castles, straits, ports and passages, the which the king don Peter had taken from the king of Aragon, then sir Bertram and his company delivered them to the king of Aragon on the condition that always from thenceforth he should aid and comfort Henry the bastard against don Peter.

Tidings came to the king of Castile how that the Frenchmen, Bretons, Englishmen, Normans, Picards and Burgoynians were entered into his realm and were as then passed the great river departing Castile and Aragon, and how they had won again all on that side the river, the which cost him much pain and trouble or he won it first. Then he was right sore displeased and said: 'Well, all shall not go so as they ween it shall.' Then he made a special commandment throughout all his realm, in giving knowledge to them that his letters and messengers were sent unto, that they should without delay come to him, to the intent to fight with the men of war that were entered into his realm of Castile. There were but a few that obeyed his commandment, and when he had thought to have had a great assembly of men of war, he was deceived, for few or none came to him; for his lords and knights of Spain forsook and refused him and turned to his brother the bastard: wherefore he was fain to fly, or else he had been taken, he was so sore behated with his enemies and also with his own men, so that none abode about him except one true knight called Ferrant

[1] A correction of 'counterwyne.'

of Castro[1] he would never forsake him for none adventure. And so then don Peter went to Seville, the best city of Spain, and when he was come thither, he was in no great surety; wherefore he trussed and put into coffers his treasure, and took a ship with his wife and children, and so departed from Seville, and Ferrant of Castro his knight with him, and he arrived like a knight discomfited in Galice [at a port] called the Corogne,[2] where there was a strong castle, and therein he, his wife and children entered, that is to say, two young daughters, Constance and Isabel, and of all his men and council he had none but Ferrant of Castro.

CHAPTER CCXXX

Now let us shew of Henry the bastard, how he persevered in his enterprise.

Thus, as I have shewed before, this king don Peter was sore behated with his own men throughout all the realm of Castile because of the marvellous cruel justice that he had done and by the occasion of the destruction of the noblemen of his realm, the which he had put to death and slain with his hands. Wherefore as soon as they saw his bastard brother enter into the realm with so great puissance, then they drew all to him and received him to their lord, and so rode forth with him; and they caused cities, towns, boroughs and castles to be opened to him and every man to do him homage: and so the Spaniards all with one voice cried, 'Live Henry, and die don Peter, who hath been to us so cruel and so evil.' Thus the lords led forth Henry throughout all the realm of Castile, as the lord Gomez Carillo, the great master of Calatrava,[3] and the master of Saint James. So thus all manner of people obeyed to him and crowned him king in the city of Astuge; and all prelates, earls, barons and knights made him reverence as to their king, and sware always to maintain him as their king, or else, if need required, to die in the quarrel. So thus this king rode from city to city and from town to town, and always and in every place he had reverence done to him like a king: and then he gave to the knights strangers, such as came with him into the realm of Castile, great gifts and rich jewels so largely, that every man reputed him for a liberal and an honourable lord. And commonly the Normans, Frenchmen and Bretons said that in him was all liberality, and how he was well worthy to live and to reign over a great realm; and so he did a season right puissantly and in great prosperity. Thus the bastard of Spain came to the seignory of the realm of Castile, and he made his two brethren, don Tello and Sancho, each of them an earl with great revenues and profit. Thus this Henry was king of Castile, of Galice, of Seville, of Toledo and of Lisbon, unto such season as the puissance of Wales and Acquitaine put him out thereof and set again king don Peter into the possession and seignory of the foresaid realms, as ye shall hear after in this history.

When that this king Henry saw himself in this estate and that every man obeyed him and reputed him for their king and lord, and saw nothing likely to the contrary of his desire, then he imagined and cast his advice to exalt his name and to employ the number of such companions as were come to serve him out of the realm of France, to make a voyage on the king of Granade; whereof he spake to divers knights, who were well agreed thereto. And always this king Henry held still about him the prince's knights, as sir Eustace d'Aubrecicourt, sir Hugh Calverley and other, and shewed them great token and sign of love in trust that they should aid and serve him in his voyage to Granade, whither he hoped to go. And anon after his coronation there departed from him the most part of the knights of France, and he gave them great gifts at their departing; and so then returned the earl of Marche, sir Arnold d'Audrehem, the lord Beaujeu and divers other, but sir Bertram of Guesclin tarried still in Castile with the king, and sir Oliver of Manny and the Bretons with certain number of the companions: and so then sir Bertram of Guesclin was made constable of all the realm of Castile by the accord of king Henry and all the lords of the country. Now let us speak of king don Peter, how he maintained himself.

[1] Fernando Perez de Castro. [2] Corunna.
[3] 'The grand master of the order of Calatrava.'

CHAPTER CCXXXI

How king don Peter required the prince of Wales to aid him against his brother.

YE have well heard how king don Peter was driven into the castle of Corogne on the sea, and with him his wife, his two daughters, and don Ferrant of Castro with him all only, so that in the mean season that his brother the bastard, by puissance of the men of war that he had got out of France, conquered Castile, and that all the country yielded them to him, as ye have heard before. He was right sore afraid, and not well assured in the castle of Corogne, for he doubted greatly his brother the bastard, for he knew well that if he had knowledge of his being there, he would come with puissance and besiege him. Wherefore he thought he would not abide that peril; therefore he departed in a night and took a ship, and his wife, his two daughters and don Ferrant of Castro, and all the gold, silver, and jewels that they had: but the wind was to him so contrary that he could not draw from the coast, and so was fain again to enter into the fortress of Corogne. Then the king don Peter demanded of don Ferrant his knight how he should maintain himself, complaining of fortune, that was to him so contrary. 'Sir,' quoth the knight, 'or ye depart from hence, it were good that ye did send to your cousin the prince of Wales, to know if he would receive you or not, and for pity somewhat to tender your need and necessity; for divers ways he is bound thereto by reason of the great alliances that the king his father and yours had together. The prince of Wales is so noble and so gentle of blood and of courage, that when he knoweth your tribulation, I think verily he will take thereof great compassion. And if he will aid to set you again in your realm, there is none that can do it so well in all the world, he is so feared, redoubted and beloved with all men of war. And, sir, ye are here in a good strong fortress, to keep a season till ye hear other tidings out of Acquitaine.' To this counsel accorded lightly the king don Peter. Then he wrote letters right piteous and amiable, and a knight with two squires were desired to do this message; and so they took on them that journey and entered into the sea, and sailed so long that they arrived at Bayonne, the which city held of the king of England. Then they demanded tidings of the prince, and it was shewed them how that he was at Bordeaux. Then they took their horses and rode so long that they came to Bordeaux, and there took their lodging, and anon after they went to the abbey of Saint Andrew's, where the prince was. And there these messengers shewed how they were come out of Castile and were Spaniards and messengers from king don Peter of Castile: and when the prince knew thereof, he said he would see them and know what they would have. And so they came and kneeled down and saluted him according to their usage, and recommended the king their master to him and delivered their letters. The prince took up the messengers and received their letters, and opened and read them at good leisure, wherein he found how piteously king don Peter wrote, signifying to him all his poverty and mischief, and how that his brother the bastard, by puissance and by the great amities that he had purchased, first of the pope, of the French king and of the king of Aragon, and by the help of the companions, had put him out from the heritage of the realm of Castile: wherefore he desired the prince for God's sake and by the way of pity that he would intend to provide for him some counsel and remedy, wherein he should achieve grace of God and of all the world; for it is not the right way of a true Christian king to disinherit a rightful heir and to enherit by puissance of tyranny a bastard. And the prince, who was a valiant knight and a sage, closed the letters in his hands and said to the messengers: 'Sirs, ye be right welcome to me from my cousin the king of Castile: ye shall tarry a space here with us, and ere ye depart, ye shall have an answer.'

Then the prince's knights, who knew right well what they had to do, led to their lodgings the Spanish knight and the two squires; and the prince, who tarried still in his chamber, mused greatly on those tidings, and then sent for sir John Chandos and for sir Thomas Felton, two of the chief of his council, for the one was the seneschal of Acquitaine and the other constable. And when they were come to him, then he said

to them all smiling: 'Sirs, ye shall hear new tidings out of Spain. The king don Peter our cousin complaineth him greatly of the bastard Henry his brother, who hath taken from him his inheritance and hath put him out of his realm, as ye have heard reported by them that hath come from thence: and he requireth us instantly of our comfort and aid, as it appeareth here by his letters.' And so then the prince read the letters word by word a two times, and these two knights heard well all the matter. And when he had read the letters, then he said to them: 'Sirs, ye two, sir John and sir Thomas, ye are the most special of my council, and in whom I have most trust and affiance. Wherefore I desire you counsel me what ye think were best to do.' Then these two knights beheld each other without any word speaking. Then the prince again said, 'Sirs, speak hardily what ye think in this matter': and there the prince was counselled by those two knights, as I was informed, that he should send to the king don Peter men of war to Corogne, where he was according to the tenour of the letters and also by the report of the messengers, and that the men of war should bring him to the city of Bordeaux, and there more plainly to know what he would say, and then, according as they should hear his words, to take advice and to give him such counsel as of reason should suffice him.

This answer pleased right well the prince. Then he desired to go to Corogne in that viage, to bring in safe-guard to him the king don Peter, first sir Thomas Felton as sovereign and chief of that army, sir Richard of Pontchardon, sir Niel Loring, sir Simon de Burley, sir William Trussell; and in that army there should be twelve ships furnished with archers and men of war. So these knights made their provision to go into Galice; and then the messengers departed from Bordeaux and rode with them to Bayonne and there tarried a three or four days, abiding for wind and weather. And the fifth day, as they were departing, the king don Peter of Castile arrived at Bayonne himself, for he was departed from Corogne in great haste and doubt, for he durst not abide there any longer, and brought but a few of his men with him and such treasure as he had. So the tidings of his coming was great joy to the Englishmen. Then sir Thomas Felton and his company came to him and received him right sweetly, and shewed him how they were there ready by the commandment of the prince their lord to have come to him to Corogne and to any other place, to have brought him to the prince; of the which tidings the king don Peter was right joyous, and thanked greatly the prince and the knights that were there.

The coming of the king don Peter thus to Bayonne sir Thomas Felton and the other knights certified the prince thereof, of the which he was right joyous: and within a short space after these knights brought the king don Peter to that city of Bordeaux. And the prince, who greatly desired to see his cousin the king don Peter and to do him the more honour and feast, issued out of Bordeaux accompanied with divers knights and squires, and went and met the king and did to him great reverence both in word and deed; the which he could do right well, for there was no prince in his time that could shew more honour than he. And when the prince had well feasted him, then they rode to Bordeaux, and the prince took the king above him, in no wise he would do otherwise: and as they rode together the king don Peter shewed to the prince how his bastard brother had chased him out of his realm of Castile, and also he piteously complained him of the untruth of his men, shewing how they had all forsaken him except one knight, the which was there with him, called don Ferrant of Castro. The prince right courteously and sagely recomforted him, desiring him not to be abashed nor discomforted, for though he had as then lost all, he trusted it should be in the puissance of God to restore him again all his loss, and moreover to take vengeance of all his enemies. Thus as they talked together, they rode so long that they came to Bordeaux, and alighted at the abbey of Saint Andrew's, whereas the prince and princess kept their house; and then the king was brought to a fair chamber ready apparelled for him, and when he was changed, he went to the princess and to the ladies, who received him right courteously, as they could right well do. I might over long make report to you of this matter, what of their cheer, feasts and sports; wherefore I pass it over briefly and shall shew you how

king don Peter sped with the prince his cousin, whom he found right amiable and courteous, and well condescended to his desires: howbeit, there were some of his council said unto him as ye shall hear after.

Or that don Peter came to Bordeaux, some wise and sage imaginative lords, as well of Gascoyne as of England, who were of the prince's council and had ever truly served him and given him good counsel and so thought ever to do, they said to the prince: 'Sir, ye have heard say divers times, he that too much embraceth holdeth the weaklier. It is for a truth that ye are one of the princes of the world most praised, honoured and redoubted, and holdeth on this side the sea great lands and seignories, thanked be God, in good rest and peace. There is no king, near nor far off, as at this present time, that dare displease you, ye are so renowned of good chivalry, grace and good fortune: ye ought therefore by reason to be content with that ye have and seek not to get you any enemies. Sir, we say not this for none evil: we know well the king don Peter of Castile, who is now driven out of his realm, is a man of high mind, right cruel and full of evil conditions; for by him hath been done many evil deeds in the realm of Castile, and hath caused many a valiant man to lose his head and brought cruelly to an end without any manner of reason: and so by his villain deeds and consent he is now deceived[1] and put out of his realm, and also beside all this he is enemy to the Church and cursed by our holy father the pope. He is reputed, and hath been a great season, like a tyrant, and without title of reason hath always grieved and made war with his neighbours, the king of Aragon and the king of Navarre, and would have disherited them by puissance; and also, as the bruit runneth throughout his realm and by his own men, how he caused to die his wife your cousin, daughter to the duke of Bourbon. Wherefore, sir, ye ought to think and consider that all this that he now suffereth are rods and strokes of God sent to chastise him and to give ensample to all other Christian kings and princes to beware that they do not as he hath done.' With such words or semblable the prince was counselled, or king don Peter arrived at Bayonne; but to these words the prince answered thus, saying: 'Lords, I think and believe certainly that ye counsel me truly to the best of your powers. I know well and am well informed of the life and state of this king don Peter, and know well that without number he hath done many evil deeds, whereby now he is deceived.[1] But the cause present that moveth and giveth us courage to be willing to aid him, is as I shall shew you. It is not convenable that a bastard should hold a realm in heritage, and put out of his own realm his brother, rightful inheritor to the land; the which thing all kings and kings' sons should in no wise suffer nor consent to, for it is a great prejudice against the state royal: and also beside that, the king my father and this king don Peter hath a great season been allied together by great confederations, wherefore we are bound to aid him in cause that he require and desire us so to do.' Thus the prince was moved in his courage to aid and comfort this king don Peter in his trouble and besynes. Thus he answered to his council, and they could not remove him out of that purpose, for his mind was ever more and more firmly set on that matter.

And when king don Peter of Castile was come to the prince, to the city of Bordeaux, he humbled himself right sweetly to the prince, and offered to him great gifts and profit, in saying that he would make Edward his eldest son king of Galice, and that he would depart to him and to his men great good and riches, the which he had left behind him in the realm of Castile, because he durst not bring it with him; but this riches was in so sure keeping that none knew where it was but himself: to the which words the knights gave good intent, for Englishmen and Gascons naturally are covetous. Then the prince was counselled to assemble all the barons of the duchy of Acquitaine, and his special council: and so there was at Bordeaux a great council, and there the king don Peter shewed openly how he would maintain himself and how he would satisfy every man, if the prince would take on him to bring him again into his country. Then there were letters written and messengers sent forth, and lords and knights sent for all about, as the earl

[1] The French is 'deceu' (for 'decheu'), 'fallen,' which the translator has confused with 'deceû' from 'decevoir.'

of Armagnac, the earl of Comminges, the lord d'Albret, the earl of Caraman,[1] the captal of Buch, the lord of Terride, the viscount of Castelbon, the lord of Lescun, the lord of Rauzan, the lord of Lesparre, the lord of Caumont, the lord of Mussidan, the lord of Carton, the lord of Puycornet and all the other barons and knights of Gascoyne and of Bearn; and also the earl of Foix was desired to come thither, but he would not, but excused himself because he had a disease in his leg and might not ride, but he sent thither his counsel.

To this parliament thus holden in the city of Bordeaux came all the earls, viscounts, barons and wise men of Acquitaine, of Saintonge, Poitou, Quercy, Limousin and of Gascoyne: and when they were all come, they went to council three days on the state and ordinance for this king don Peter of Spain, who was always there present in the council with the prince his cousin, reasoning always to fortify his quarrel and business. Finally the prince was counselled that he should send sufficient messengers to the king his father into England, to know his counsel what he should do in that case; and his pleasure and answer once known, then all the lords said they would take counsel together, and so make the prince such an answer that of reason he should be well content. Then there were chosen and named four knights of the prince's, that should go into England to the king, that is to say, sir Delaware, sir Niel Loring, sir John and sir Elie of Pommiers.

Thus then departed and brake up this council, and every man went home to their own houses; and king don Peter tarried still at Bordeaux with the prince and princess, who did him much honour and made him great feast and cheer. And then the foresaid four knights departed, who were appointed to go into England, and they took shipping and sped so well in their journey by the help of God and the wind, that they arrived at Hampton, and there rested one day to refresh them and to unship their horses and carriages, and the second day took their horses and rode so long that they came to the city of London. And there they demanded where the king was, and it was shewed them how he was at Windsor: and thither they went, and were right welcome and well received both with the king and with the queen, as well because they were pertaining to the prince their son, as also because they were lords and knights of great recommendation. Then they delivered their letters to the king, and the king opened and read them; and when he had a little studied, then he said: 'Sirs, ye shall go to your lodgings, and I shall send to you certain lords and wise men of my council, and they shall answer you with short expedition.' This answer pleased well these knights, and the next day they returned to London, and within a short space after the king came to Westminster, and with him the most greatest of his council, as his son the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Arundel, the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Manny,[1] sir Raynold Cobham, the earl Percy, the lord Nevill and divers other; and prelates there were the bishop of Winchester, of Lincoln and of London. And so they kept a great council and a long upon the prince's letters, and on his request that he had made to the king his father. Finally it seemed to the king and his council a thing due and reasonable for the prince to take on him, to bring again the king of Spain into his own heritage, and to this they all openly agreed. And thereupon they wrote notable letters directed from the king and from the council of England to the prince and to all the barons of Acquitaine, and so with these letters the said messengers departed again to the city of Bordeaux, whereas they found the prince and the king don Peter, to whom they delivered letters from the king of England.

Then was there a new day of council set to be had in the city of Bordeaux, and thither came all such as were sent for. Then there was read openly in the council the king of England's letters, the which devised plainly how he would that the prince his son in the name of God and Saint George should take on him to set again king don Peter into his heritage, the which his bastard brother wrongfully had taken from him without reason, and falsely, as it appeareth, hath put him out thereof. Also the king's letters made

[1] This the viscount of Caraman, and so he is called in chap. 234.

[1] 'Le sire de Mauny.'

mention how he was much bound thereto because of certain alliances of old time made between him and the king of Castile his cousin, as to aid him, if case required, if he were thereto desired. Wherefore he desired by his letters all his friends and subjects that the prince his son might be aided and counselled by them as well as though he were there present himself. And when the barons of Acquitaine heard read these letters and commandments of the king, and perceived the king's pleasure and the prince's their lord, then they joyously answered and said: 'Sir, we shall gladly obey the king our sovereign lord's commandment: it is reason that we obey you and him, and so we will do and serve you in this viage, and king don Peter in like wise. But, sir, we would know who should pay us our wages, for it will be hard to get out men of war into a strange country?'[1] Then the prince beheld king don Peter and said: 'Sir king, ye hear what our people say: answer you them, for it behoveth you to answer, seeing the matters be yours.' Then the king don Peter answered the prince and said: 'Right dear cousin, as far as the gold, silver and treasure that I have brought hither, which is not the thirtieth part so much as I have left behind me, as long as that will endure, I shall give and part therewith to your people.' Then the prince said: 'Sir, ye say well; and as for the remnant, I shall become debtor to them and pay them as the case requireth, the which I shall lend you, and all that we need till we come into Castile.' 'Sir,' quoth the king don Peter, 'ye do me great courtesy and grace.'

And in this council there were divers sage men, as the earl of Armagnac, the lord of Pommiers, sir John Chandos, the captal of Buch and divers other, who considered that the prince could not well make this viage without the accord and consent of the king of Navarre: for they could not enter into Spain but through his country and through the straits of Roncesvaulx, the which passage they were not in surety to have, because the king of Navarre and Henry the bastard had newly made alliance together. So thus there was much communing how they might do to achieve their purpose: then was it determined that there should be another day assigned of a council to be kept at the city of Bayonne, and that the prince should send sufficient ambassadors to the king of Navarre, desiring him to be at that council in Bayonne. And so on this determination every man departed, fully concluded to be at Bayonne the day limited and prefixed. In the mean season the prince sent sir John Chandos and sir Thomas Felton to the king of Navarre, who was as then in the city of Pamplelone. These two sage and well-languaged knights did so much that they came to the king of Navarre, who made faithful covenant by word and by writing sealed to be at the said parliament at Bayonne, and thereon the messengers returned again to the prince and shewed him these tidings.

The day assigned of this parliament there came to the city of Bayonne the king of Spain don Peter, the prince, the earl of Armagnac, the lord d'Albret, and all the barons of Gascoyne, Poitou, Quercy, Rouergue, Saintonge and Limousin. And thither came personally the king of Navarre, and the prince and king don Peter did him great honour, because they thought the better to speed with him. So thus in the city of Bayonne there was a great council, the which endured five days, and the prince and his council had much to do or they could bring the king of Navarre to their desire; for he was a man not easy to be won, if he saw that men had any need of him. Howbeit, the great power of the prince brought him into that case, that finally he sware, promised and sealed to king don Peter peace, love and firm alliance and confederation. And in like manner king don Peter did to him upon certain compositions that were there ordained; of the which the prince of Wales was a mean between them and chief deviser thereof: the which was, that the king don Peter, as king of all Castile, gave, sealed and accorded to the king of Navarre and to his heirs for ever all the land of Logrono, as it lieth on both sides the river, and also all the land and country of

[1] The original gives it thus, but the sense is spoilt by the omission of the words 'sans estre payez,' which are found in the true text: 'for it will be hard to take men of war into a strange country without they be paid.'

Sauveterre,[1] with the town, castle and all the appurtenances, also the town of Saint John de Pied-de-Port and the marches thereabout, the which lands, towns, castles and seignories he had taken from him by force; and also that the king of Navarre should have twenty thousand franks for the opening of his country, and to suffer pass peaceably all manner of men of war, and to minister to them victuals and purveyances for their money, of the which sum of florins the king don Peter became debtor to the king of Navarre. And when the barons of Acquitaine knew that this treaty was made and confirmed, then they desired to know who should pay them their wages; and the prince, who had great affection toward this viage, became debtor to them for their wages, and the king don Peter became debtor to the prince. And when all these things were ordained and fully confirmed, and that every man knew what he ought to do and what he should have, and that they had sojourned there the space of twelve days, then the king of Navarre departed home into his own country, and all other lords departed every man to his own, and the prince went to Bordeaux and the king don Peter tarried still at Bayonne.

Then the prince sent his heralds into Spain to certain knights and captains, Englishmen and Gascons, favourable and obeisant to him, signifying them how that it was his pleasure that they should take their leaves of Henry the bastard and come to him, saying how he had need of them and was of the intent to employ and occupy them otherwise. And when these heralds had brought these letters into Castile to these knights from the prince, and that they perceived the prince's pleasure, then they took their leave of king Henry as soon as they could in courteous manner without discovering of the prince's intention. Then this bastard king Henry, who was right liberal, courteous and honourable, gave them licence with many great gifts, and thanked them greatly of their service. So then departed from Spain sir Eustace d'Aubrecicourt, sir Hugh Calverley, sir Walter Hewet, sir Matthew Gournay, sir John Devereux and their company, and divers other knights and squires, the which I cannot all name, of the prince's house, and they departed as shortly as they might. The same season the companions were spread abroad in the country and knew nothing what these said knights did: howbeit, when they knew it, they gathered together, as sir Robert Briquet, John Creswey, sir Robert Cheyne, sir Perducas d'Albret, sir Garsis du Chastel, Naudan of Bageran, the bourg of Lesparre, the bourg Camus and the bourg Breteuil. And this bastard king Henry knew not that the prince was in a mind to bring again his brother don Peter into Castile, so soon as these knights did: for if he had known it, they should not have departed so soon as they did; for he might well have letted them, if he had known it. So these knights departed, and as soon as king Henry knew thereof, he made no great semblant of it, but said to sir Bertram of Guesclin, who was still about him: 'Sir Bertram, behold the prince of Wales; it is shewed us that he will make us war and bring again that Jew who calleth himself king of Spain by force into this our realm. Sir, what say you thereto?' Sir Bertram answered and said: 'Sir, he is so valiant a knight, that if he take on him the enterprise, he will do his power to achieve it, if he may. Therefore, sir, I say to you, cause your passages and straits on all sides to be well kept, so that none may pass nor enter into your realm but by your licence: and, sir, keep your people in love: I know certainly ye shall have in France many knights and great aid, the which gladly will serve you. Sir, by your licence I will return thither; and in the mean time keep your people in love, and I know well I shall find in France many friends, and, sir, I shall get you as many as I can.' 'By my faith,' quoth king Henry, 'ye say well, and I shall order all the remnant according to your will.' And so within a little space after sir Bertram departed and went into Aragon, where the king received him joyously; and there he tarried a fifteen days and then departed and went to Montpellier, and there found the duke of Anjou, who also received him joyously, as he whom he loved right entirely: and when he had been there a season, he departed and went into France to the king, who received him with great joy.

[1] Salvatierra.

CHAPTER CCXXXII

How that king Henry allied him to the king of Aragon, and of the men that the prince sent for, and how the prince was counselled to pursue his war, and of the lord d'Albret, who discomfited the seneschal of Toulouse.

SUMMARY.—The men of the companies, who wished to leave Castile and come into Acquitaine, were barred from the passes by the king of Aragon. Finally sir John Chandos obtained them a passage from the earl of Foix. The prince of Wales collected great sums of money from England and elsewhere to maintain men of war, and the lord d'Albret promised to serve him with a thousand spears. Meanwhile one division of the companies passed by Toulouse to Montauban, and the seneschal of Toulouse with the earl of Narbonne endeavoured to stop them. A battle was fought at Montauban, in which finally the French were defeated, and the seneschal of Toulouse, the earl of Narbonne, the seneschal of Carcassonne and many other knights were taken prisoners.

CHAPTER CCXXXIII

How these companions let their prisoners depart on their faiths, but the pope defended them to pay any ransom; and of the words that the king of Mallorca had to the prince, and of the departing of the prince to go into Spain.

AFTER the discomfiture and taking of the said prisoners, the said sir Perducas d'Albret, sir Robert Cheyne, sir John Trivet, the bourg of Breteuil, Naudan of Bageran and their company parted their booty and all their winning, whereof they had great plenty, and all such as had any prisoners kept them still to their own profit, other to ransom or to quit them at their pleasure. And they ransomed their prisoners right courteously, every man after his degree, the more courteously because this adventure came to them so fortunately by valiantness of deeds of arms; and such as were let go on their faith and promise had days limited to them to bring their ransoms to Bordeaux or to other places, whereas they were appointed. So the prisoners departed and went home into their own countries, and these companions went to the prince, who received them right joyously and sent them to lodge and to abide in the marches of Basque among the mountains.

I shall shew you what befell of this matter and of the earl of Narbonne, the seneschal of Toulouse and other, who were put to ransom and had promised on their faiths to pay it. In the same season there was at Rome pope Urban the fifth, who entirely hated these manner of people of companions and had long time before cursed them because of the villain deeds that they had done. So that when he was informed of this said journey, and how the earl of Narbonne and other were overthrown, he was sore displeased therewith, and suffered till he heard how they were put to their ransom and come home into their own countries and out of their enemies' hands. Then he sent to each of them and by express words defended them in any wise to pay any ransom, and assoiled them of their promise. Thus these knights and lords were quitted of their ransom, such as had been taken at Montauban, for they durst not trespass the pope's commandment: the which happed well for these lords, knights and squires, but it fortuned evil for the companions, who abode and looked ever for their money, trusting to have had it to [have] arrayed and apparelled them like men of war, and so they made great preparation on trust thereof, whereof they were deceived. So this ordinance of the pope was right contagious to them, and they complained oftentimes thereof to sir John Chandos, who was constable of Acquitaine and had the oversight by right of arms in such matters: howbeit, he dissimuled with them as well as he might, because he knew well the pope had cursed them and how that all their deeds turned to pilling and robbery; and as far as ever I could hear, they had never other remedy in that matter.

Now let us speak of the prince of Wales and approach to his viage and shew how he persevered. First, as it hath been shewed here before, he did so much that he had all the companions of his accord, who were

to the number of twelve thousand fighting men, and greatly it was to his cost to retain them. And after he had them, he sustained and bare their charges, or they departed out of the principality, from the beginning of August to the beginning of February; and beside that the prince received and retained all manner of men of war, wheresoever he could get them. And also the foresaid king Henry retained men of war in every part out of the realm of France and other places, and they came to serve him because of the alliances that were between the French king and him; and also he had with him retained some of the companions Bretons, such as were favourable to sir Bertram of Guesclin, as sir Silvester Bude, Alain of Saint-Pol, William of Breuil, and Alain of Laconet, all these were captains of those companions. And the prince might have had also with him many strangers men of war, as Flemings, Almains and Brabances, if he had list; but he sent home again many of them, for he had rather have had of his own subjects of the principality than strangers. Also there came to him a great aid out of England; for when the king of England his father knew that this viage went forward, then he gave licence to one of his sons, duke John of Lancaster, to go to the prince of Wales his brother with a great number of men of war, as four hundred men of arms and four hundred archers. And when the prince knew of his brother's coming, he was thereof right joyous.

In the same season came to the prince to Bordeaux James king of Mallorca, so he called himself, but he had in possession nothing of the realm, for the king of Aragon kept it from him by force and had slain in prison the king of Mallorca in a city called Barcelone. Therefore this young king James, to revenge the death of his father and to recover his heritage, was fled out of his own realm to the prince; and he had married the queen of Naples. The prince made him great cheer and greatly comforted him; and when the king had shewed the prince all the reasons and occasions of his coming, and perceived the wrong that the king of Aragon had done to him, as in keeping from him his inheritance, and also slain his father, then the prince said: 'Sir king, I promise you faithfully that after my return out of Spain I shall intend to set you again into your heritage other by treaty or by force.' This promise pleased greatly the king, and so he tarried still with the prince in Bordeaux abiding his departing as other did. And the prince, to do him more honour, caused to be delivered to him all that was for him necessary, because he was a stranger and of a far country, and had not there of his own after his appetite. And daily there came great complaints to the prince of the companions, how they did much hurt to men and women of the country where they lay, so that the people of that marches would gladly that the prince should advance forth in his viage, to the which the prince was right desirous. Howbeit, he was counselled that he should suffer the feast of Christmas first to pass, to the intent that they might have winter at their backs; to the which counsel the prince inclined, and somewhat because the princess his wife was great with child, who took much thought for his departing; wherefore the prince would gladly see her delivered or he departed, and she on her part was gladder to have him abide.

All this mean season there was great provision made for this viage, because they should enter into a realm where they should find but small provision; and while they thus sojourned at Bordeaux, and that all the country was full of men of war, the prince kept oftentimes great council; and among other things, as I was informed, the lord d'Albret was countermanded with his thousand spears, and a letter was sent to him from the prince containing thus: 'Sir d'Albret, sith it is so that we have taken on us by our voluntary will this viage, the which we intend shortly to proceed, considering our great business, charges and diseases that we have, as well by strangers, such as entered into our service, as by great number of the companions, the which number is so great that we will not leave them behind us for perils that may ensue, and also to see how the land may be kept in mine absence, for all may not go nor yet all abide behind; therefore it is ordained by us and by our council that in this viage ye shall serve us but with two hundred spears, and discharge you of the residue and let them do what them list: and thus God keep you. From Bordeaux the seventh

day of December.' These letters, sealed with the prince's great seal, were sent to the lord d'Albret, who was in his own country right busy to prepare him toward this viage, for it was said that the prince should depart shortly. When he saw the prince's letters, he opened them and read them two times over, the better to understand them, for he had great marvel of that he had found written in them, and was in his mind marvellously displeased, and said: 'How is it that my lord the prince japeth and mocketh thus with me, sith he would that I should give leave to depart eight hundred spears, knights and squires, whom by his commandment I have retained and have let them of their profit divers other ways.' And incontinent in that displeasure he called for his clerk and caused him to write a letter to the prince in this manner: 'Dear sir, I am greatly marvelled of the letters ye have sent me; and, sir, I cannot well find nor take counsel how I ought or can answer you in that behalf, for it turneth to my great prejudice and blame, and to all my company, whom I have by your own ordinance and commandment retained, and they are all ready apparelled to do you service, and I have letted them of taking their profit in other places, whereas they might have had it; for some of them were determined to have gone over the sea into Pruce, to Constantine, and to Jerusalem, as all knights and squires doth, to advance themselves. Sir, they have great marvel and are sore displeased that they should thus be put out, and in like wise I have great marvel thereof and in what manner I have deserved it. Dear sir, please it you to know, I cannot assure you of any of them divided from their company. I am the least and worst of them all: if any depart, I am in surety they will all depart. God keep you in his safe-guard. Written,' etc. When the prince heard this answer, he took it of great presumption, and so did divers knights of England that were there of his council. Then the prince shook his head and said in English, as I was informed, for I was then in Bordeaux: 'Ah,' said the prince, 'the lord d'Albret is a great master in my country, when he will break the ordinance that is devised by my council. By God it shall not go as he weeneth. Let him abide, an he will, for without his thousand spears I trust to God I shall furnish my viage.' Then certain knights of England that were there said: 'Sir, ye know full little the minds of these Gascons, nor how proud they be, nor they love us but little nor never did. Sir, remember ye not how highly and greatly they bare themselves against you in the city of Bordeaux, when that king John of France was first brought thither? They said then and maintained plainly that by them all only ye attained to achieve that viage in taking of the king. And that right well appeared; for ye were in great treaty with them the space of four months, or they would consent that the French king should be carried into England. First it behoved you to satisfy their minds, to keep them in love.' And at those words the prince held his peace, howbeit his thought was never the less. This was the first occasion of the hatred that was after between the prince and the lord d'Albret. Thus the lord d'Albret was in great peril; for the prince was high and of great courage and cruel in his heart, for he would other by right or wrong that every lord under his commandment should hold of him. But the earl of Armagnac, uncle to the said lord d'Albret, when he heard of this displeasure between the prince and the lord d'Albret his nephew, then he came to Bordeaux to the prince, and sir John Chandos and sir Thomas Felton with him, by whose counsel the prince was much ordered: and so by their good means the prince's displeasure was appeased, so that the lord d'Albret should bring no more but two hundred spears; with the which he was nothing joyous, nor yet his people, nor never after he loved so entirely the prince as he did before. Howbeit there was no remedy but to bear and pass over his trouble as well as he might.

Thus, while the prince was making of his provision and abiding the coming of his brother the duke of Lancaster, the princess travailed, and through the grace of God she was delivered of a fair son on the day of the three kings of Cologne, the which was, as that year went, on a Wednesday, at the hour of three or thereabout. Whereof the prince and all his people were right joyous; and the Friday after he was christened at noon in the church of Saint Andrew in the city of Bordeaux. The archbishop of the

same place christened him, and the bishop of Agen in Agenois and the king of Mallorca were his godfathers. And this child had to name Richard, who was afterward king of England, as ye shall hear in this history.

The Sunday after, the hour of prime, departed from Bordeaux the prince with great triumph, and all other men of war. Howbeit the most part of his host were passed on before and lay about the city of Ast in Gascoyne, and the prince the same Sunday at night came to the same city and there tarried a three days; for then it was shewed him that the duke of Lancaster his brother was coming and had passed the sea a five days before and was arrived in Bretayne at Saint Matthew's of Fine-Posterne,[1] and so was come to Nantes, where the duke of Bretayne greatly feasted him. Then the duke of Lancaster passed through Poitou and Saintonge and came to Blaye, and there passed the river of Gironde and so came to Bordeaux and went to the abbey of Saint Andrew, where the princess lay, who joyously received him, and so did all other ladies and damosels that were there. Then the duke thought to tarry there no longer, but took his leave of his sister the princess and departed with all his company, and rode so long that he came to the city of Ast, where he found the prince his brother. They made great joy each of other, for they loved together entirely: there was great tokens of love shewed between them and their company. And anon after the duke of Lancaster's coming thither came the earl of Foix and made great reverence and cheer to the prince and to his brother, and offered himself in all points to be at their commandment. The prince, who could well honour all lords according to their estates, honoured him greatly and thanked him of his coming thither; and after the prince gave him the charge of his country in his absence, desiring him to keep it well till his return. The earl joyously accorded to his desire, and then took leave and departed home into his country; and the prince and the duke of Lancaster his brother sported them in the city of Ast, and all their people spread abroad in the country about the entry of the passages of Navarre; for as then they were not in certain if they should pass that way or not, yet the king of Navarre had promised to open his passages: for words ran through the host that newly he was agreed with the king Henry, whereof the prince and his council had great marvel and the king don Peter was right sore displeased.

And in this mean season, while these words thus ran, sir Hugh Calverley and his people approached to Navarre and took the city of Miranda and the town of the Queen's Bridge,[1] whereof all the country was sore affrayed, the which tidings came to the king of Navarre. And when he perceived that these companions would enter into his land by force, he was sore displeased and wrote word thereof to the prince: and the prince let the matter pass briefly, because the king of Navarre, as he thought, kept not true promise with king don Peter. Then the prince wrote to him that he should excuse himself of the words that was laid on him; for it was there openly said that he was clean turned to king Henry. And when the king of Navarre understood that treason was laid on him, then he was more angry than he was before. Then he sent a knight to the prince, called sir Martin Carra; he came to the city of Ast to excuse the king of Navarre, and he demeaned himself so wisely that the prince was appeased of his displeasure, so that the same knight should return into Navarre to the king his master, causing him to come to Saint-John's de Pied-de-Port,[2] and the prince to take counsel if he should go and speak with him, or else to send sufficient messengers to him. Thus this sir Martin Carra departed from the prince and returned into Navarre to the king, and shewed him how he had sped and in what condition he had found the prince and his council, and also on what condition he was departed from them. This knight did so much that he brought the king of Navarre to Saint-John's, and then he went to the city of Ast to the prince. And when the prince knew that the king of Navarre was at Saint-John's de Pied-de-Port, then he determined to send

[1] Saint-Matthieu-de-Fine-terre, a Benedictine abbey at the extremity of Brittany. From the Latin name, *Sanctus Matthæus de Fine postremo*, Froissart has made 'Saint-Mathieu-de-Fine-Posterne.'

[1] Puente-la-reyna.

[2] Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Port.

to him the duke of Lancaster his brother and sir John Chandos; and so these two lords with a small company rode to the town of Saint-John's with this said knight, and there the king of Navarre received them right joyously, and there had long counsel together. Finally it was accorded that the king of Navarre should approach nearer to the prince to a certain place called Peyrehorade, and thither the prince and king don Peter should come to speak with him and there to renew all their covenants and there each of them to know what they should have. All that the king of Navarre did before was to the intent to be the better assured of their promises than he thought himself he was: for he doubted that if the companions were entered into his country, and this treaty and accord between them not sealed, then he feared he should not have that he desired, when he would.

On this treaty returned the duke of Lancaster and sir John Chandos, and recounted to the prince and to king don Peter how they had sped; the which pleased them right well, and so kept their day and came to the place assigned, and also the king of Navarre and the most special of his council. And there were these three lords, the king don Peter, the prince of Wales and the duke of Lancaster on the one party, and the king of Navarre on the other party, long communing together; and there it was devised and accorded what every man should have, and there was renewed the treaty among them. And there the king of Navarre knew the certainty what he should have of the realm of Castile, and king don Peter and he sware good love, peace and confederation between them and departed amiably asunder; and then their host might pass when it pleased them, for the passages and straits were opened and victuals apparelled through all the realm of Navarre for their money.

Then the king of Navarre went to the city of Pampelone, and the prince and his brother and king don Peter went to the city of Ast. And as then there were divers knights and lords of Poitou, of Bretayne and of Gascoyne not come to the prince's host, but tarried behind; for as it hath been said before it was not fully known whether the prince should have passage or not, till the end of this treaty was concluded; and specially in France it was supposed that he should not pass that way, but rather that the king of Navarre should have broken his viage, the which fell contrary. And when these knights and squires knew the certainty thereof and perceived that the passages were opened, then they advanced themselves as fast as they might, for they knew well that the prince would pass shortly and not return again without battle. Thither came the lord Clisson with a fair company of men of arms, and at last came with an evil will the lord d'Albret with two hundred spears, and all that viage he kept company with the captal of Buch. And all this matter and confederations knowledge thereof was had in France, for always there were messengers coming and going, reporting alway that they knew or heard. And when sir Bertram of Guesclin, who was with the duke of Anjou, knew how the prince was passed and how the passages of Navarre were opened to them, then he enforced his summons and thought surely the matter should not be ended without battle. Then he took his way toward Aragon to come to king Henry as fast as he might, and all manner of people followed him, such as were commanded, and divers other of the realm of France and other places, such as thought to advance themselves to get honour.

CHAPTER CCXXXIV

Of the passage of the prince, and how he passed, and all his company.

BETWEEN Saint-John's de Pied-de-Port and the city of Pampelone under the mountains there are straits and perilous passages, for there is a hundred places on the same passages that a hundred men may keep a passage against all the world. Also it was at the same season very cold, for it was about the month of February when they passed. But or they passed, they took wise counsel how and by what means they should pass; for it was shewed them plainly that they could not pass all at once, and therefore they ordained that they should pass in three battles three sundry days, as the Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday; the Monday the vaward, whereof was captain the duke of Lancaster, and in his company

the constable of Acquitaine sir John Chandos, who had twelve hundred pennons of his arms, the field silver, a sharp pile gules, and with him was the two marshals of Acquitaine, as sir Guichard d'Angle and sir Stephen Cosington, and with them was the pennon of Saint George. There was also sir William Beauchamp, son to the earl of Warwick, sir Hugh Hastings, and the lord Nevill, who served sir John Chandos with thirty spears in that viage at his own charge because of the taking of the battle of Auray;[1] and also there was the lord d'Aubeterre, sir Garsis of the Castle, sir Richard of Tanton, sir Robert Cheyne, sir Robert Briquet, John Creswey, Amery of the Rochechouart, Gaillard of la Motte, William of Clifton, Willekos the Butler and Penneriel. All these were there with their pennons under sir John Chandos' rule: they were to the number of ten thousand horses, and all these passed the Monday, as is before said.

The Tuesday passed the prince of Wales and king don Peter, and also the king of Navarre, who was come again to the prince to bear him company and to ensign him the ready passage. And with the prince there was sir Louis of Harcourt, the viscount of Chatelleraut, the viscount of Rochechouart, the lord of Partenay, the lord of Poyane, the lord of Tannay-Bouton, and all the Poitevins, sir Thomas Felton, great seneschal of Acquitaine, sir William his brother, sir Eustace d'Aubrecicourt, the seneschal of Saintonge, the seneschal of Rochelle, the seneschal of Quercy, the seneschal of Limousin, the seneschal of Agenois, the seneschal of Bigorre, sir Richard of Pontchardon, sir Niel Loring, sir d'Aghorisses, sir Thomas Banaster, sir Louis of Melval, sir Raymond of Mareuil, the lord of Pierrebuffiere, and to the number of four thousand men of arms, and they were a ten thousand horses. The same Tuesday they had evil passage because of wind and snow: howbeit they passed forth and lodged in the county of Pampelone, and the king of Navarre brought the prince and the king don Peter into the city of Pampelone to supper and made them great cheer.

[1] That is, in quittance of his ransom, because made prisoner at Auray; but it was not the lord de Neufville of whom this should be said, but the lord de Retz, whose name has dropped out.

The Wednesday passed the king James of Mallorca and the earl of Armagnac, the earl d'Albret his nephew, sir Bernard d'Albret, lord of Geronde, the earl of Perigord, the viscount of Caraman, the earl of Comminges, the captal of Buch, the lord of Clisson, the three brethren of Pommiers, sir John, sir Elie and sir Aymenion, the lord of Caumont, the lord of Mussidan, sir Robert Knolles, the lord Lesparre, the lord of Condom, the lord of Rauzan, sir Petiton of Curton, sir Aymery of Tastes, the lord de la Barthe, sir Bertram of Tastes, the lord of Puycornet, sir Thomas of Winstanley, sir Perducas d'Albret, the bourg of Breteuil, Naudan of Bageran, Bernard de la Salle, Ortingo, l'Amit and all the other of the companions, and they were a ten thousand horse. They had more easy passage than those that passed the day before; and so all the whole host lodged in the county of Pampelone, abiding each other, refreshing them and their horses.

They lay still thus about Pampelone the space of three days, because they found the country plentiful both in flesh, bread, wine and all other purveyances for them and for their horses. Howbeit these companions paid not for everything, as was demanded of them, nor they could not abstain from robbing and pilling that they could get; so that about Pampelone and in the way they did much trouble and hurt, wherewith the king of Navarre was right sore displeased, but he could not as then amend it: but he repented him oftentimes that he had opened his passages to the prince and to his company, for he perceived well how he had thereby more hurt than profit. Howbeit the season was not then for him to say all that he thought, for he saw well and considered that he was not as then master of his own country. So he had daily great complaints made to him of one and other of his country, wherewith his heart was sore constrained for displeasure, but he could not remedy it. Howbeit he caused some of his council, such as knew well these companions and had been in their company in France, in Normandy and in divers other places, to desire them to abstain themselves from robbing and pilling the country as they did; to whom they promised so to do.

CHAPTER CCXXXV

Of the great summons that king Henry made, and how he sent to the prince to summon him to fight, and how sir Oliver of Manny took the king of Navarre prisoner.

KING HENRY of Spain was well informed of the prince's passage, for he had his messengers and spies daily coming and going: therefore he provided for men of arms and commons of the realm of Castile to the intent to resist the prince and his brother don Peter, and daily he tarried for the coming of sir Bertram of Guesclin with great succours out of France. And he had sent a special commandment throughout all his realm to all his subjects on pain of their lives, goods and lands, that every man according to his estate other afoot or a-horseback to come to him to aid and defend his realm; and this king Henry was well beloved, and also they of Castile had before much pain and trouble to aid to make him king, therefore they obeyed to him the rather; and so daily they resorted to him to Saint Dominic[1] to the number of threescore thousand men afoot and a-horseback, all ready to do his commandment and pleasure, and to live and die with him, if need require.

And when this king Henry heard certain word how the prince with all his host was in the realm of Navarre and had passed the straits of Roncesvaulx, then he knew well there was remedy but to fight with the prince, of the which he made semblant to be right joyous, and said openly on high: 'Ah, the prince of Wales is a valiant knight, and because he shall know that this is my right and that I abide and look to fight with him, I will write to him part of mine intent.' Then he sent for a clerk and he wrote a letter thus: 'To the right puissant and honourable lord prince of Wales and Acquitaine. It is given us to knowledge that you and your people are passed the ports and are drawing hitherward, and how that ye have made accord and alliance with our enemy, and that your intent is to make war against us. We have thereof great marvel, for we never forfeited to you, nor would not do. Wherefore then are ye come with such a great army thus on us, to take from us so little an heritage as God hath given us? Ye have the grace and fortune in arms more than any prince now living; wherefore we think ye glorify yourself in your puissance: and because we knew the certainty that ye seek to give us battle, we will that ye know that wheresoever ye enter into Castile ye shall find us before you to keep and defend this our seignory. Written,' etc. And when this letter was sealed, he called to him an herald and said: 'Go thy way as fast as thou mayst to the prince of Wales, and bear him this letter from me.' So the herald departed and took the way through Navarre till he found the prince. Then he kneeled down and delivered him the letter from king Henry. The prince read the letter a two times, the better to understand it, and then he sent for certain of his council and made the herald to depart a little aside. Then the prince read the letter to his council, demanding them advice in that matter; and in the mean season the prince said to his council: 'Ah, I see well this bastard is a stout knight and full of great prowess, and sheweth great hardiness thus to write to us.' Thus the prince and his council were long together; howbeit finally they agreed not to write again by the herald. Then it was shewed to him how he must abide a season, for the prince at his pleasure would write again by him and by none other: therefore he was commanded to tarry till he had his answer. Thus the herald tarried there still at his ease and pleasure.

The same day that the herald brought these letters, sir Thomas Felton advanced himself forth and demanded of the prince a gift. Then the prince enquired of him what it was that he would desire. 'Sir,' quoth he, 'I require you to give me licence to depart out of your host and to ride on before. There be divers knights and squires of my company desiring to advance themselves; and, sir, I promise you we shall ride so forward, that we shall know the behaving of our enemies and what way they draw and where they lodge.' The prince granted him with right a good will his request, whereof he thanked the prince and so departed out of the host as chief

[1] San Domingo de la Calzada.

captain of that enterprise; and in his company was sir William Felton his brother, sir Thomas du Fort, sir Robert Knolles, sir Gaillard Vigier, sir Ralph Hastings, sir d'Aghorisses and divers other knights and squires; and they were a seven score, and three hundred archers, all well horsed and good men of arms. And also there was sir Hugh Stafford, sir Richard Tanton and sir Simon Burley, who ought not to be forgotten. These men of arms rode through Navarre by such guides as they had and came to the river of Ebro, the which is rude and deep; and so they passed and lodged in a village called Navaret: there they held themselves, the better to know and hear where king Henry was.

In the mean season, while these knights thus lodged at Navaret and the prince in the marches of Pampelone, the same time the king of Navarre was taken prisoner, as he rode from one town to another, by the French party by sir Oliver of Mauny, whereof the prince and all his part had great marvel. And some in the prince's host supposed it was done by a cautel by his own means, because he would convey the prince no further nor go in his company, because he knew not how the matter should go between king Henry and king don Peter. Howbeit, the queen his wife was thereof sore dismayed and discomforted, and came and kneeled on her knees before the prince and said: 'Dear sir, for God's sake have mercy and intend on the deliverance of the king my husband, who is taken fraudulently and as yet cannot be known how. Therefore, sir, we desire you for the love of God that we may have him again.' Then the prince answered: 'Certainly, fair lady and cousin, his taking to us is right displeasant, and we trust to provide remedy for him shortly. Wherefore we desire you to comfort yourself; for this our viage once achieved, we shall intend to no other thing but for his deliverance.' Then the queen of Navarre returned. And there was a noble knight, sir Martin Carra, who undertook to guide the prince through the realm of Navarre, and did get him guides for his people: for otherwise they could not have kept the right way through the straits and perilous passage. So thus the prince departed from thence, thereas he was lodged, and he and his company passed through a place named Sarris,[1] the which was right perilous to pass, for it was narrow and an evil way. There were many sore troubled for lack of victual, for they found but little in that passage till they came to Sauveterre.

Sauveterre is a good town and is in a good country and a plentiful, as to the marches thereabout.[2] This town is at the utter bounds of Navarre and on the entering into Spain. This town held with king Henry. So then the prince's host spread abroad that country, and the companions advanced themselves to assail the town of Sauveterre and to take it by force and to rob and pill it, whereunto they had great desire because of the great riches that they knew was within the town, the which they of the country had brought thither on trust of the strength of the town. But they of the town thought not to abide that peril, for they knew well they could not long endure nor resist against so great an host. Therefore they came out and rendered themselves to king don Peter, and cried him mercy and presented to him the keys of the town. The king don Peter by counsel of the prince took them to mercy; or else he would not have done it, for by his will he would have destroyed them all: howbeit, they were all received to mercy, and the prince, king don Peter and the king of Mallorca with the duke of Lancaster entered into the town, and the earl of Armagnac and all other lodged thereabout in villages. Now let us leave the prince there, and somewhat speak of his men that were at the town of Navaret.

The foresaid knights that were there greatly desired to advance their bodies; for they were a five days' journey from their own host, whereas they departed from them first. And oftentimes they issued out of Navaret and rode to the marches of their enemies, to learn what their enemies intended. And this king Henry was lodged in the field, and all his host, desiring greatly to hear tidings of the prince, marvelling greatly that his herald returned not. And oftentimes his men rode near to Navaret to learn and to hear some tidings of the Englishmen, and

1 Echarri.

2 'Selonch les marces voisines,' 'in comparison with the neighbouring regions.'

the earl don Tello brother to the king don Henry was certainly informed that there were men of war in garrison in the town of Navaret, wherefore he thought to go and see them more nearer. But first on a day the knights of England rode out of Navaret in an evening so far forth, that they came to king Henry's lodging and made there a great skirmish and marvellously awoke the host and slew and took divers, and specially the knight that kept the watch was taken without recovery, and so returned again to Navaret without any damage. And the next day they sent to the prince an herald, who was as then at Sauveterre, signifying him what they had done and seen, and what puissance his enemies were of, and where they were lodged; for they knew all this well by the information of such prisoners as they had taken. Of these tidings the prince was right joyous, in that his knights had so well borne themselves on the frontier of his enemies.

King Henry, who was right sore displeased that the Englishmen that lay at Navaret had thus escried his host, said how he would approach nearer to his enemies, and so advanced forward. And when sir Thomas Felton and his company at Navaret knew that king Henry was passed the water and drew forward to find the prince, then they determined to depart from Navaret and to take the fields and to know more certainty of the Spaniards. And so they did, and sent word to the prince how that king Henry approached fast, and by seeming desiring greatly to find him and his men. And the prince, who was as then at Sauveterre, when he understood that king Henry was passed the water and took his way to come to fight with him, he was right joyous, and said a-high that every man heard him: 'By my faith this bastard Henry is a valiant knight and a hardy, for it is sign of great prowess that he seeketh thus for us; and sith he doth so and we in like wise him, by all reason we ought to meet and fight together. Therefore it were good that we departed from hence, and go forward, and to get Vittoria, or our enemies come there.' And so the next morning they departed from Sauveterre, first the prince and all his battle, and he did so much that he came before Vittoria, and there he found sir Thomas Felton and the foresaid knights, to whom he made great cheer and demanded them of divers things. And as they were devising together, their currours came and reported that they had seen the currours of their enemies, wherefore they knew for certain that king Henry and his host was not far off by reason of the demeaning that they had seen among the Spaniards. When the prince understood these tidings, he caused his trumpets to sown and cried alarum throughout all the host. And when every man heard that, then they drew to their order and array and ranged them in battle ready to fight; for every man knew, or he departed from Sauveterre, what he should do and what order to take, the which they did incontinent.

There might have been seen great nobleness, and banners and pennons beaten with arms waving in the wind. What should I say more? It was great nobleness to behold. The vaward was so well ranged that it was marvel to behold, whereof the duke of Lancaster was chief and with him sir John Chandos constable of Acquitaine with a great company, and in those battles there were made divers new knights. The duke of Lancaster in the vaward made new knights, as sir Ralph Camoys, sir Walter Urswick, sir Thomas Dammery, sir John Grandison and other to the number of twelve; and sir John Chandos made divers English squires knights, as Corton, Clinton, Prior, William of Faringdon, Amery of Rochechouart, Gaillard de la Motte and Robert Briquet. The prince made first knight don Peter king of Spain, sir Thomas Holland, son to his wife the princess, sir Hugh, sir Philip and sir Peter Courtenay, sir John Trivet and Nicholas Bond and divers other: and in like wise so did divers other lords in their battles. There were made that day three hundred new knights or more, and all that day they were still ready ranged in the battle to abide for their enemies, but they came no farther forward that day but thereas the currours had seen them; for king Henry tarried for succours that should come to him out of Aragon, and specially for sir Bertram of Guesclin, who was coming to him with a four thousand fighting men, for

without them he thought he would not fight; whereof the prince was right joyous, for his arearguard, wherein were six thousand men, was behind him a seven leagues of that country, whereof the prince was sore displeased in his heart that they tarried so long. Howbeit, if his enemies had come on forward the same day, he was fully determined to have received and fought with them.

And in the same evening the two marshals, sir d'Angle and sir Stephen Cosington, commanded every man to draw to their lodging, and in the next morning to be ready at sowning of the trumpets, every man in the same order as they had been all that day: and so every man obeyed saving sir Thomas Felton and such company as he had before. The same evening they departed from the prince and rode forward a two leagues nearer to their enemies, to know what they did. And that evening the earl don Tello, brother to king Henry, was with him in his lodging and talked together of divers deeds of arms and adventures: and at last he said to his brother: 'Sir, ye know well our enemies are lodged not far from us, and yet there is none that hath aviewed them. Sir, I require you give me leave that in the morning I may ride toward them with a certain number, such as hath great desire so to do; and, sir, I promise you I shall ride so near them that we will bring you certain knowledge what they do.' And this king Henry, when he saw the desire of his brother, agreed thereto lightly. The same proper hour sir Bertram of Guesclin came to their host with a three thousand fighting men of France and of Aragon; whereof the king and all his company were right joyous, and honourably received him and his company. The earl don Tello forgat not his purpose, but desired such to go as pleased him, and would gladly have desired sir Bertram of Guesclin and sir Arnold d'Audrehem, the Begue of Villaines and the viscount of Roquebertin of Aragon, but because they were so lately come to the host, he let them alone, and also the king Henry charged him in no wise to speak thereof. So the earl don Tello let it pass and took with him other of France and of Aragon, so that he was to the number of six thousand horses well apparelled, and with him his brother Sancho in his company.

CHAPTER CCXXXVI

How certain of the company of the duke of Lancaster's were discomfited, and of the counsel that king Henry would not believe; and of the letters that the prince wrote to king Henry, and of the counsel that sir Bertram of Guesclin gave to the answer of the same letters.

SUMMARY.—In the encounters of advanced parties king Henry had the better and sir Thomas Felton and his company were all slain or taken. The English host set themselves in array on a certain hill. Sir Arnold d'Audrehem counselled king Henry to stop the passes and starve his enemies, but he would not take that counsel, being desirous to fight.

THE chapter thus continues:—

The prince of Wales and the duke of Lancaster were all the said day on the mountain, and at night they were informed of their men that were thus taken and slain, wherewith they were sore displeased, but they could not amend it. Then they drew to their lodging, and the next morning the prince took counsel and determined to depart from thence, and so he did and went and lodged before Vittoria, and there stood in battle ready to fight, for it was informed the prince how that king Henry and his brother and their company were not far thence; but they came not forward. The prince and his company had great lack of victuals and provision for themselves and for their horses, for they were lodged but in an evil country and a hard, and king Henry and his company lay in a good fruitful country. In the prince's host a loaf of bread was sold for a florin, every man glad so to give, and more an they could have got it; also the time was foul and troublous of wind, rain and snow; and in this danger and disease they were six days. And when the prince saw that the Spaniards came not forward to fight, and that they were there in great distress, then they determined to go and seek for passage at some other place. Then they dislodged

and took the way to Navaret, and passed through a country called the country of the Gard,[1] and when they were passed, then they came to a town called Viane. There the prince and the duke of Lancaster refreshed them, and the earl of Armagnac and the other lords, a two days. Then they went and passed the river that departeth Castile and Navarre at the bridge of Logrono among the gardens under the olives, and there they found a better country than they were in before; howbeit, they had great default of victual. And when that king Henry knew that the prince and his people were passed the river at Logrono, then he departed from Saint-Vincent, where he had long lain, and went and lodged before Nazres[2] on the same river. When the prince heard that king Henry was approached, he was right joyous and said openly: 'By Saint George this bastard seemeth to be a valiant knight, sith he desireth so sore to find us. I trust we shall find each other shortly.' Then the prince called to him the duke of Lancaster his brother and divers other of his council, and then he wrote an answer to king Henry of the letter that he had sent him before, the tenour whereof followeth: 'Edward, by the grace of God prince of Wales and Acquitaine, to the right honourable and renowned Henry earl of Trastemar, who at this present time calleth himself king of Castile. Sith it is so that ye have sent to us your letters by your herald, wherein were contained divers articles, making mention how ye would gladly know why we take to our friend and lover your enemy our cousin the king don Peter, and by what title we make you war and are entered with an army royal into Castile, we answer thereto: know ye for truth it is to sustain the right and to maintain reason, as it appertaineth to all kings and princes so to do, and also to entertain the great alliances that the king of England my dear father and king don Peter have had long together. And because ye are renowned a right valiant knight, we would gladly, an we could, accord you and him together; and we shall do so much to our cousin don Peter that ye shall have a great part of the realm of Castile, but as for the crown and heritage, ye must renounce. Sir, take counsel in this case; and as for our entering into Castile we will enter thereas we think best at our own pleasure. Written at Logrono the thirtieth day of March.'

When this letter was written, it was closed and sealed, and delivered to the same herald that brought the other and had tarried for an answer more than three weeks. Then he departed from the presence of the prince, and rode so long that he came to Nazres, among the bushes[1] where king Henry was lodged, and drew to the king's lodging. And the most part of the great lords of the host came thither to hear what tidings their herald had brought. Then the herald kneeled down and delivered the king the letter from the prince. The king took and opened it and called to him sir Bertram of Guesclin and divers other knights of his council. There the letter was read and well considered. Then sir Bertram said to the king, 'Sir, know for truth ye shall have battle shortly; I know so well the prince. Therefore, sir, look well on the matter: it is necessary that ye take good heed to all your business, and order your people and your battles.' 'Sir Bertram,' quoth the king, 'be it in the name of God. The puissance of the prince I doubt nothing, for I have three thousand barded horses, the which shall be two wings to our battle, and I have also seven thousand genetours, and well twenty thousand men of arms of the best that can be found in all Castile, Galice, Portugal, Cordowan and Seville, and ten thousand good cross-bows, and threescore thousand of other men afoot with darts, spears, lances and other habiliments for the war: and all these have sworn not to fail me to die in the pain. Therefore, sir Bertram, I trust to have victory by the grace of God, on whom is my trust, and my right that I have in the quarrel. Therefore, lords, I desire you all to be of good courage.'

[1] La Guardia.

[2] Najara. The French text followed by the translator gives 'Navaret' indiscriminately for Navaretta and Najara, which last is in the better MSS. given as Nazres. This causes great confusion in the narrative, for which of course the translator is not responsible. Where a distinction of some kind is necessary, as in the passage which says that the battle was fought between Najara and Navaretta, the text says 'between Navarre and Navaret.'

[1] Or, 'upon the heath'

CHAPTER CCXXXVII

How the prince commanded his people to be ready to fight, and how king Henry ordained his battles; and how they fought fiercely together, and of the comfort that king Henry did to his people.

THUS, as ye have heard, king Henry and sir Bertram of Guesclin devised together of divers matters and left talking of the prince's letter: for it was king Henry's intention to have battle, and so intended to order his field and people. The earl don Tello and his brother sir Sancho were greatly renowned in their host for the journey that they had made before, as ye have heard. The prince the Friday the second day of April dislodged from Logrono and advanced forward arranged in battle ready to fight, for he knew well that king Henry was not far thence. And so that day he advanced two leagues, and at three of the day he came before Navaret and there took his lodging. Then the prince sent forth his currours to aview his enemies and to know where they were lodged, and then they departed from the host and rode so forward that they saw all their enemies' host, who were lodged before Nazres.[1] So they brought report thereof to the prince, and in the evening the prince caused secretly to be shewed through all the host that at the first sowning of the trumpets every man to apparel himself, and at the second to be armed, and at the third to leap a-horseback and to follow the marshals' banners with the pennon of Saint George, and that none on pain of death advance before them without he be commanded so to do.

In like manner as the prince had done the same Friday in sending out his currours, so did king Henry on his part, to know where the prince was lodged. And when he had true report thereof, then the king called sir Bertram of Guesclin and took counsel and advice how to persevere. Then they caused their people to sup and after to go to rest, to be the more fresher, and at the hour of midnight to be ready apparelled and to draw to the field and to ordain their battles, for he knew well the next day he should have battle. So that night the Spaniards took their ease and rest, for they had well wherewith so to do, as plenty of victuals and other things; and the Englishmen had great default, therefore they had great desire to fight, other to win or to lose all.

After midnight the trumpets sounded in king Henry's host. Then every man made him ready. At the second blast they drew out of their lodgings and ordered three battles. The first had sir Bertram of Guesclin, lord Robert of Roquebertin and the earl Dune of Aragon; and there were all the strangers, as well of France as of other countries, and there were two barons of Hainault, the lord d'Antoing and sir Alard lord of Briffeuil: there was also the Begue of Villaines, the Begue of Villiers, sir John of Berguettes, sir Gawain of Bailleul, the Alemant of Saint-Venant, who was there made knight, and divers other of France, Aragon and Provence and of the marches thereabout. There was well in that battle four thousand knights and squires well armed and dressed after the usage of France. The second battle had the earl don Tello and his brother the earl Sancho, and in that battle with the genetours there were fifteen thousand afoot and a-horseback, and they drew them a little aback on the left hand of the first battle. The third battle and the greatest of all governed king Henry himself; and in his company there were a seven thousand horsemen and threescore thousand afoot, with the cross-bows: so in all three battles he was a fourscore and six thousand a-horseback and afoot. Then king Henry leapt on a strong mule after the usage of the country and rode from battle to battle, right sweetly praying every man that day to employ himself to defend and keep their honour, and so he shewed himself so cheerfully that every man was joyful to behold him. Then he went again to his own battle, and by that time it was daylight, and then about the sun-rising he advanced forth toward Navaret to find his enemies, in good order of battle ready to fight.

The prince of Wales at the breaking of the day was ready in the field arranged in battle, and advanced forward in good order,

[1] The translator says, 'who were also lodged before Navaret,' but this is part of the same confusion as was noted before.

for he knew well he should encounter his enemies. So there were none that went before the marshals' battles but such currours as were appointed: so thus the lords of both hosts knew by the report of their currours that they should shortly meet. So they went forward an hosting pace each toward other, and when the sun was rising up, it was a great beauty to behold the battles and the armours shining against the sun. So thus they went forward till they approached near together: then the prince and his company went over a little hill, and in the descending thereof they perceived clearly their enemies coming toward them. And when they were all descended down this mountain, then every man drew to their battles and kept them still and so rested them, and every man dressed and apparelled himself ready to fight. Then sir John Chandos brought his banner rolled up together to the prince, and said: 'Sir, behold here is my banner: I require you display it abroad and give me leave this day to raise it; for, sir, I thank God and you, I have land and heritage sufficient to maintain it withal.' Then the prince and king don Peter took the banner between their hands and spread it abroad, the which was of silver, a sharp pile gules, and delivered it to him and said: 'Sir John, behold here your banner. God send you joy and honour thereof.' Then sir John Chandos bare his banner to his own company and said: 'Sirs, behold here my banner and yours: keep it as your own.' And they took it and were right joyful thereof, and said that by the pleasure of God and Saint George they would keep and defend it to the best of their powers; and so the banner abode in the hands of a good English squire called William Alery, who bare it that day and acquitted himself right nobly. Then anon after, the Englishmen and Gascons alighted off their horses and every man drew under their own banner and standard in array of battle ready to fight. It was great joy to see and consider the banners and pennons and the noble armoury[1] that was there.

Then the battles began a little to advance, and then the prince of Wales opened his eyen and regarded toward heaven, and joined his hands together and said: 'Very God, Jesu Christ,[1] who hath formed and created me, consent by your benign grace that I may have this day victory of mine enemies, as that I do is in a rightful quarrel, to sustain and to aid this king chased out of his own heritage, the which giveth me courage to advance myself to re-establish him again into his realm.' And then he laid his right hand on king don Peter, who was by him, and said: 'Sir king, ye shall know this day if ever ye shall have any part of the realm of Castile or not. Therefore advance banners, in the name of God and Saint George.' With those words the duke of Lancaster and sir John Chandos approached, and the duke said to sir William Beauchamp: 'Sir William, behold yonder our enemies. This day ye shall see me a good knight, or else to die in the quarrel.' And therewith they approached their enemies.

And first the duke of Lancaster and sir John Chandos' battle assembled with the battle of sir Bertram of Guesclin and of the marshal sir Arnold d'Audrehem, who were a four thousand men of arms. So at the first brunt there was a sore encounter with spears and shields, and they were a certain space or any of them could get within other. There was many a deed of arms done and many a man reversed and cast to the earth, that never after was relieved. And when these two first battles were thus assembled, the other battles would not long tarry behind, but approached and assembled together quickly. And so the prince and his battle came on the earl Sancho's battle, and with the prince was king don Peter of Castile and sir Martin de la Carra, who represented the king of Navarre. And at the first meeting that the prince met with the earl Sancho's battle, the earl and his brother fled away without order or good array, and wist not why, and a two thousand spears with him. So this second battle was opened and anon discomfited, for the captal of Buch and the lord Clisson and their company came on them afoot and slew and hurt many of them. Then the prince's battle with king don Peter came and joined with the battle of king Henry, whereas there were threescore thousand men afoot and a-horseback.

[1] *i.e.* Display of arms on banners and pennons.

[1] 'Vray dieu, père Jesu Christ,' 'Very God, father of Jesu Christ.'

There the battle began to be fierce and cruel on all parts, for the Spaniards and Castilians had slings, wherewith they cast stones in such wise, that therewith they clave and brake many a bassenet and helm and hurt many a man and overthrew them to the earth; and the archers of England shot fiercely and hurt [the] Spaniards grievously and brought them to great mischief. The one part cried, 'Castile for king Henry!' and the other part, 'Saint George, Guyenne!' And the first battle, as the duke of Lancaster and sir John Chandos and the two marshals sir Guichard d'Angle and sir Stephen Cosington, fought with sir Bertram of Guesclin and with the other knights of France and of Aragon. There was done many a deed of arms, so it was hard for any of them to open other's battle. Divers of them held their spears in both their hands, foining and pressing each at other, and some fought with short swords and daggers. Thus at the beginning the Frenchmen and they of Aragon fought valiantly, so that the good knights of England endured much pain. That day sir John Chandos was a good knight and did under his banner many a noble feat of arms. He adventured himself so far, that he was closed in among his enemies and so sore overpressed that he was felled down to the earth; and on him there fell a great and big man of Castile called Martin Ferrant, who was greatly renowned of hardiness among the Spaniards, and he did his intent to have slain sir John Chandos, who lay under him in great danger. Then sir John Chandos remembered of a knife that he had in his bosom and drew it out and strake this Martin so in the back and in the sides that he wounded him to death, as he lay on him. Then sir John Chandos turned him over and rose quickly on his feet, and his men were there about him, who had with much pain broken the press to come to him, whereas they saw him felled.

The Saturday in the morning between Nazres and Navaret was the battle right fell and cruel, and many a man brought to great mischief. There was done many a noble deed of arms by the prince and by the duke of Lancaster his brother and by sir John Chandos, sir Guichard d'Angle, the Captal of Buch, the lord of Clisson, the lord of Retz, sir Hugh Calverley, sir Matthew Gournay, sir Louis Harcourt, the lord of Pons, the lord of Partenay; and of Gascons fought valiantly the earl of Armagnac, the lord d'Albret, the lord of Pommiers and his brethren, the lord of Mussidan, the lord of Rauzan, the earl of Perigord, the earl of Comminges, the earl of Caraman, the lord of Condom, the lord Lesparre, the lord of Caumont, sir Bertram of Terride, the lord of Puycornet, sir Bernard d'Albret, the lord of Geronde, sir Aymery of Tastes, the soudic of Latrau, sir Petiton of Curton, and divers other knights and squires acquitted themselves right nobly in arms to their powers: and under the pennon of Saint George and the banner of sir John Chandos were all the companions, to the number of twelve hundred pensels,[1] and they were right hardy and valiant knights, as sir Robert Cheyne, sir Perducas d'Albret, Robert Briquet, sir Garsis of the Castle, sir Gaillard Vigier, sir John Creswey, Naudan of Bageran, Aymenion d'Artigue, Perrot of Savoy, the bourg Camus, the bourg Lesparre, the bourg Breteuil, Espiote and divers other. On the French party sir Bertram of Guesclin, sir Arnold d'Audrehem, Sancho, sir Gomez Carillo and other knights of France and of Aragon fought right nobly to their powers. Howbeit they had none advantage, for these companions were hardy and strong knights and well used and expert in arms, and also there were great plenty of knights and squires of England under the banner of the duke of Lancaster and of sir John Chandos. There was the lord William Beauchamp, son to the earl of Warwick, sir Ralph Camoys, sir Walter Urswick, sir Thomas Dammery, sir John Grandison, sir John d'Ypres,[2] sir Amery of Rochechouart, sir Gaillard de la Motte, and more than two hundred knights, the which I cannot name. And to speak truly, the said sir Bertram du Guesclin and the marshal d'Audrehem, the Begue of Villaines, the lord d'Antoing, the lord of Briffeuil, sir Gawain of Bailleul, sir John of Berguettes, the Begue of Villiers, the Alemant of Saint-Venant, and the good knights and squires of France that were

[1] Pennonchiaus.

[2] The translator, following his text, says, 'sir John Dyper, sir Johan du Pre,' but this is two attempts at the same name, 'messire Jehans d'Yppre.'

there acquitted themselves nobly: for of truth, if the Spaniards had done their part as well as the Frenchmen did, the Englishmen and Gascons should have had much more to do and have suffered more pain than they did. The fault was not in king Henry that they did no better, for he had well admonished and desired them to have done their devoir valiantly, and so they had promised him to have done. The king bare himself right valiantly, and did marvels in arms, and with good courage comforted his people, as, when they were flying and opening, he came in among them and said: 'Lords, I am your king: ye have made me king of Castile, and have sworn and promised that to die ye will not fail me. For God's sake keep your promise that ye have sworn, and acquit you against me, and I shall acquit me against you; for I shall not fly one foot as long as I may see you do your devoir.' By these words and such other full of comfort king Henry brought his men together again three times the same day, and with his own hands he fought valiantly, so that he ought greatly to be honoured and renowned.

This was a marvellous dangerous battle, and many a man slain and sore hurt. The commons of Spain according to the usage of their country with their slings they did cast stones with great violence and did much hurt, the which at the beginning troubled greatly the Englishmen: but when their cast was past and that they felt the sharp arrows light among them, they could no longer keep their array. With king Henry in his battle were many noble men of arms, as well of Spain as of Lisbon, of Aragon and of Portugal, who acquitted them right nobly and gave it not up so lightly, for valiantly they fought with spears, javelins, archegayes and swords; and on the wing of king Henry's battle there were certain well mounted, who always kept the battle in good order, for if the battle opened or brake array in any side, then they were ever ready to help to bring them again into good order. So these Englishmen and Gascons, or they had the advantage, they bought it dearly, and won it by noble chivalry and great prowess of arms: and for to say truth, the prince himself was the chief flower of chivalry of all the world, and had with him as then right noble and valiant knights and squires: and a little beside the prince's battle was the king of Mallorca and his company, fighting and acquitting themselves right valiantly, and also there was the lord Martin de la Carra representing the king of Navarre, who did right well his devoir. I cannot speak of all them that did that day right nobly; but about the prince in his battle there were divers good knights, as well of England as of Gascoyne, as sir Richard Pontchardon, sir Thomas Spenser, sir Thomas Holland, sir Niel Loring, sir Hugh and sir Philip Courtenay, sir John Trivet, sir Nicholas Bond, sir Thomas Trivet, and divers other, as the seneschal of Saintonge, sir Baldwin of Freville, the seneschal of Bordeaux, of Rochelle, of Poitou, of Angouleme, of Rouergue, of Limousin and of Perigord, and sir Louis Melval, sir Raimond Mareuil and divers other. There was none that fained to fight valiantly, and also they had good cause why; for there were of Spaniards and of Castile more than a hundred thousand men in harness, so that by reason of their great number it was long or they could be overcome. King don Peter was greatly chafed, and much desired to meet with the bastard his brother, and said: 'Where is that whoreson that calleth himself king of Castile?' And the same king Henry fought right valiantly whereas he was, and held his people together right marvellously, and said: 'Ah! ye good people, ye have crowned me king, therefore help and aid me to keep the heritage that you have given me.' So that by these words and such other as he spake that day he caused many to be right hardy and valiant, whereby they abode on the field, so that because of their honour they would not fly from the place.

CHAPTER CCXXXVIII

How sir Bertram of Guesclin was discomfited, he taken and king Henry saved himself, and of the Spaniards that fled, and of the number of the dead, and of the cities that yielded them up to king don Peter, and of the answer that he made to the prince.

THE battle that was best fought and longest held together was the company of sir Bertram of Guesclin, for there were

many noble men of arms who fought and held together to their powers, and there was done many a noble feat of arms. And on the English part specially there was sir John Chandos, who that day did like a noble knight and governed and counselled that day the duke of Lancaster in like manner as he did before the prince at the battle of Poitiers, wherein he was greatly renowned and praised, the which was good reason; for a valiant man and a good knight, acquitting himself nobly among lords and princes, ought greatly to be recommended: for that day he took no heed for taking of any prisoner with his own hands, but always fought and went forward; but there was taken by his company under his banner divers good knights and squires of Aragon and of France, and specially sir Bertram of Guesclin, sir Arnold d'Audrehem, sir Begue of Villaines and more than threescore prisoners. So thus finally the battle of sir Bertram of Guesclin was discomfited, and all that were therein taken and slain, as well they of France as of Aragon. There was slain the Begue of Villiers, and taken the lord Antoing of Hainault, the lord Briffeuil, sir Gawain of Bailleul, sir John of Berguettes, sir Alemant of Saint-Venant and divers other. Then drew together these banners, the banner of the duke of Lancaster, of sir John Chandos and of the two marshals, and the pennon of Saint George, and went all together on the battle of king Henry and cried with a high voice, 'St. George, Guyenne!' Then the Spaniards and their company were sore put aback. The captal of Buch and the lord Clisson fought valiantly, and also sir Eustace d'Aubrecicourt, sir Hugh Calverley, sir soudic, sir John Devereux and other acquitted themselves that day right nobly. The prince shewed himself like a noble knight and fought valiantly with his enemies. On the other side king Henry acquitted himself right valiantly, and recovered and turned again his people that day three times. For after that the earl don Tello and a three thousand horsemen with him were departed from the field, the other began then greatly to be discomfited and were ever ready to fly after their company; but then ever king Henry was before them and said, Fair lords, what do you? Wherefore will ye thus forsake and betray me? Sith ye have made me king and set the crown on my head and put the heritage of Castile into my hands, return and help to keep and defend me, and abide with me; for by the grace of God, or it be night, all shall be ours': so that these words or such-like encouraged his people in such wise, that it made them to abide longer in the field, for they durst not fly for shame when they saw their king and their lord so valiantly fight and speak so amiably: so that there died more than a thousand and five hundred persons, that might well have saved themselves and have taken the time to their advantage, an the love that they had to their lord and king had not been.

When the battle of the marshals were passed through their enemies and had discomfited the greatest number of them,[1] so that the Spaniards could not sustain nor defend them any longer, but began to fly away in great fear without any good array or order toward the city of Nazres, and so passed by the great river,[2] so that for any words that king Henry could say they would not return, and when the king saw the mischief and discomfiture of his people and that he saw no recovery, then he called for his horse and mounted thereon and put himself among them that fled; but he took not the way to Nazres, for fear of enclosing, but then took another way eschewing all perils, for he knew well that if he were taken, he should die without mercy. Then the Englishmen and Gascons leapt a-horseback and began to chase the Spaniards, who fled away sore discomfited to the great river. And at the entry of the bridge of Nazres there was a hideous shedding of blood, and many a man slain and drowned; for divers leapt into the water, the which was deep and hideous; they thought they had as lief to be drowned as slain. And in this chase among other there were two valiant knights of Spain bearing on them the habit of religion, the

[1] The original is: 'When the battle of the marshals was brought to extremity (oultrée) and discomfited, and all the great battles had been joined together, the Spaniards could not,' etc. The passage is made obscure by omissions: according to the full text it is: 'When the battle of the marshals of France was brought to extremity, etc., and the three great battles of the English had been joined together, the Spaniards could not,' etc.

[2] The 'grosse rivière' in question is the Najarilla.

one called the great prior of Saint James and the other the great master of Calatrava; they and their company to save themselves entered into Nazres, and they were so near chased at their back by Englishmen and Gascons, that they [1] won the bridge, so that there was a great slaughter; and the Englishmen entered into the city after their enemies, who were entered into a strong house of stone. Howbeit, incontinent it was won by force, and the knights taken and many of their men slain and all the city overrun and pilled, the which was greatly to the Englishmen's profit. Also they won king Henry's lodging, wherein they found great riches of vessel and jewels of gold and silver; for the king was come thither with great nobleness, so that when they were discomfited, they had no leisure for to return thither again to save that they had left there. So this was a hideous and a terrible discomfiture, and specially on the river side there was many a man slain; and it was said, as I heard after reported of some of them that were there present, that one might have seen the water that ran by Nazres to be of the colour of red with the blood of men and horse that were there slain. This battle was between Nazres and Navaret in Spain the year of the incarnation of our Lord Jesu Christ a thousand three hundred threescore and six, the third day of April, the which was on a Saturday.

After the discomfiture of the battle of Nazres, which was done by noon, the prince caused his banner to be raised up a-high upon a bush on a little hill, to the intent to draw his people thither. And so thither drew all those that came from the chase; thither came the duke of Lancaster, sir John Chandos, the lord Clisson, the captal of Buch, the earl of Armagnac, the lord d'Albret and divers other barons, and had raised up on high their banners to draw their people thither; and ever as they came, they ranged them in the field. Also there was James king of Mallorca, his banner before him, whereunto his company drew; and a little there beside was sir Martin de la Carra with the banner of his lord the king of Navarre, with divers other earls and barons; the which was a goodly thing to regard and behold. Then came thither king don Peter right sore chafed, coming from the chase on a great black courser, his banner beaten with the arms of Castile before him; and as soon as he saw the prince's banner, he alighted and went thither, and when the prince saw him coming, he went and met him and did him great honour. There the king don Peter would have kneeled down to have thanked the prince, but the prince made great haste to take him by the hand, and would not suffer him to kneel. Then the king said: 'Dear and fair cousin, I ought to give you many thanks and praises for this fair journey that I have attained this day by your means.' Then the prince said: 'Sir, yield thanks to God and give him all the praise, for the victory hath come by him all only and not by me.' Then the lords of the prince's council drew together and communed of divers matters, and so long the prince was still there, till all his people were returned from the chase. Then he ordained four knights and four heralds to go search the fields to know what people were taken and the number of them that were slain, and also to know the truth of king Henry, whom they called bastard, whether he were alive or dead. And then the prince and his lords went to the lodging of king Henry and of the Spaniards, where they were well and easily lodged, for it was great and large and well replenished of all things necessary. So then they supped that night in great joy, and after supper the knights and heralds that went to visit the field returned, and there they reported that there were slain of their enemies, of men of arms a five hundred and threescore, and of commons about a seven thousand and five hundred, beside them that were drowned, whereof the number was unknown; and of their own company there was no more slain but four knights, whereof two were Gascons, the third an Almain and the fourth an Englishman, and of other commons not past a forty: but they shewed how they could not find king Henry, whereof king don Peter was right sorry. So this Saturday at night they rested themselves and made good cheer, for they had well wherewith; for there they found plenty of wine and other victuals, and so refreshed them there all the Sunday, the which was Palm Sunday.

[1] That is, the Englishmen and Gascons.

The Sunday in the morning, when the prince was up and ready apparelled, then he issued out of his pavilion and then came to him the duke of Lancaster his brother, the earl of Armagnac, the lord d'Albret, sir John Chandos, the captal of Buch, the lord of Pommiers, sir Guichard d'Angle, the king of Mallorca and a great number of other knights and squires; and then anon after came to the prince the king don Peter, to whom the prince made great honour and reverence. Then the king don Peter said: 'Dear and fair cousin, I pray and require you that ye will deliver to me the false traitors of this country, as my bastard brother Sancho and such other, and I shall cause them to lose their heads, for they have well deserved it.'

Then the prince advised him well and said: 'Sir king, I require you in the name of love and lineage that ye will grant me a gift and a request.' The king, who in no wise would deny his request, said: 'Good cousin, all that I have is yours: therefore I am content, whatsoever ye desire, to grant it.' Then the prince said: 'Sir, I require you to give pardon to all your people in your realm, such as hath rebelled against you, by the which courtesy ye shall abide in the better rest and peace in your realm, except Gomez Carillo, for of him I am content ye take your pleasure.' The king don Peter accorded to his desire, though it were against his will; but he durst not deny the prince, he was so much bounden to him, and said: 'Fair cousin, I grant your request with a good heart.' Then the prisoners were sent for and the prince accorded them with the king their lord and caused him to forgive all his evil will to his brother the earl Sancho and to all other, so that they should make covenant and swear fealty, homage and service, to hold of him truly for ever and to become his men and to knowledge him for their lord and king for ever. This courtesy with divers other did the prince to the king, the which after was but smally rewarded, as ye shall hear after in this history. And also the prince shewed great courtesy to the barons of Spain, such as were prisoners; for if king don Peter had taken them in his displeasure, they had all died without mercy. And then sir Gomez Carillo was delivered to the king, whom he hated so sore, that he would take no ransom for him but made his head to be stricken off before his lodging.

Then king don Peter mounted on his horse, and the earl Sancho his brother and all those that were become his men, and his marshals sir Guichard d'Angle and sir Stephen Cosington and a five hundred men of arms, and they departed from the prince's host and rode to Burgos and so came thither the Monday in the morning. And they of Burgos, who were well informed how the journey of Nazres was achieved and how that king Henry was discomfited, they thought not to keep the town against don Peter, but divers of the richest of the town and of the most notablest issued out of the town and presented the keys of the city to him and received him to their lord, and so brought him and all his men into the city of Burgos with great joy and solemnity. And all the Sunday the prince abode still in the lodgings that they had won, and on the Monday after evensong he dislodged and went and lodged at Barbesque,[1] and there tarried till it was Wednesday, and then they went all to the city of Burgos. And there the prince entered into the town with great reverence, and with him the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Armagnac and divers other great lords, and their people made their lodgings without the town, for they could not all have been lodged within at their ease. And when the prince was at his lodging there, he gave and rendered judgments of arms and of all things thereto appertaining, and there kept field and wage of battle: wherefore it might well be said that all Spain was come that day in his hands and under his obeisance.

The prince of Wales and king don Peter held their Easter in the town of Burgos and there tarried a three weeks and more: and on Easter-day they of Asturge, of Toledo, of Lisbon, of Cordowan, of Galice, of Seville and of all the other marches and limitations of the realm of Castile came thither and made homage to king don Peter, and were glad to see the prince and don Ferrant of Castro, and so there was great cheer made between them. And when king don Peter had tarried there the term that I have shewed you and more, and saw that there were no more that rebelled

[1] Bribiesca.

against him, but every man to him obeisant, then the prince said to him: 'Sir king, ye are now, thanked be God, peaceably king of this your own realm without any rebellion or let: and, sir, I and my company tarry here at a great charge and expense. Therefore we require you to provide for money to pay the wages to them that hath holpen to bring you again into your realm and in fulfilling of your promise, whereunto ye have sworn and sealed. And, sir, the shortlier that ye do it, the greater thank we shall give you and the more shall be your profit; for ye know well men of war must be paid to live withal, or else they will take it whereas they may get it.' Then the king answered and said: 'Cousin, we will hold, keep and accomplish to our power that we have sworn and sealed unto. But, sir, as for this present time we have no money; wherefore we will draw us to the marches of Seville, and there we will so procure for money that we will satisfy every party. And, sir, ye shall abide still here in the Vale of Olives,[1] the which is a plentiful country; and, sir, we shall return again to you in as short time as we conveniently can or may, and at the farthest by Whitsuntide.' This answer was right pleasant to the prince and to his council; and shortly after the king don Peter departed from the prince and rode toward Seville to the intent to get money to pay his men of war, as he had promised. And the prince went and lodged in the Vale of Olives, and all his lords and people spread abroad in the country, to get victuals more plentiful for them and for their horses. There thus they sojourned to a small profit to the country, for the companions could not abstain themselves from robbing and pilling of the country.

CHAPTER CCXXXIX

Of the honour that was given to the prince for the victory of Spain, and how king Henry came into France to make war on the prince's land, and of the answer that king don Peter sent to the prince, and how the prince departed out of Spain and came into France.

TIDINGS spread abroad through France, England, Almaine and other countries how the prince of Wales and his puissance had in battle discomfited king Henry, and taken, slain and drowned of his men the day of the battle more than a hundred thousand men, whereby the prince was greatly renowned and his chivalry and high enterprise much praised in all places that heard thereof, and specially in the Empire of Almaine and in the realm of England; for the Almains, Flemings and Englishmen said that the prince of Wales was chief flower of all chivalry, and how that such a prince was well worthy to govern all the world, sith by his prowess he had achieved such three high enterprises as he had done; first, the battle of Crecy in Ponthieu, the second ten year after at Poitiers, and the third now in Spain before Nazres: so in England in the city of London the burgesses there made great solemnity and triumph for that victory, as they anciently were wont to do for kings, when they had overcome their enemies. And in the realm of France there were made lamentable sorrows for the loss of the good knights of the realm of France, the which were slain at that journey, and specially there was made sorrow for sir Bertram of Guesclin and for sir Arnold d'Audrehem, who were taken prisoners, and divers other, who were kept right courteously, and some of them put to finance and ransom, but not sir Bertram of Guesclin so soon; for sir John Chandos, who had the rule of him, would not deliver him, and also sir Bertram made no great suit therefor.

Now let us somewhat speak of king Henry, what he did when he departed from the battle; and then let us return again to the prince and to king don Peter of Castile.

King Henry, as it is said hereafter, saved himself as well as he might and withdrew from his enemies, and led his wife and his children as soon as he might into the city of Valence in Aragon, whereas the king of Aragon was, who was his godfather and friend, and to him recounted all his adventure. And anon after, the said king Henry was counselled to pass further and to go to the duke of Anjou, who as then was at Montpellier, and to shew unto him all his adventure. This advice was pleasant to the king of Aragon, and consented well that he should go thither, because he was enemy to the prince, who was his near

[1] Valladolid, which Froissart calls Val-d'Olif.

neighbour. So thus king Henry departed from the king of Aragon, and left in the city of Valence his wife and his children, and rode so long that he passed Narbonne, the which was the first city of the realm of France on that side, and after that Beziers and all that country, and so came to Montpellier and there found the duke of Anjou, who loved him entirely and greatly hated the Englishmen, though he made them as then no war. And the duke, when he was well informed of king Henry's business, received him right joyously and recomforted him as well as he might. And so the king tarried there with him a certain space, and then went to Avignon to see pope Urban, who was as then departing to go to Rome. And then king Henry returned again to Montpellier to the duke of Anjou, and had long treaty together. And it was shewed me by them that thought themselves to know many things, and after it was right well seen apparent, how that this king Henry did get of the duke of Anjou a castle near to Toulouse on the marches of the principality, called Roquemaure, and there he assembled together companions and men of war, as Bretons and such other as were not passed over into Spain with the prince, so that in the beginning there was a three hundred men of war. These tidings were anon brought to my lady princess, who as then was at Bordeaux, how that king Henry purchased him aid and succour on all sides to the intent to make war to the principality and to the duchy of Guyenne, wherewith she was greatly abashed. And because that he held himself in the realm of France, she wrote letters and sent messengers to the French king desiring him not to consent that the bastard of Spain should make her any manner of war, saying that her resort was to the court of France, certifying him that much evil might ensue and many inconvenients fall thereby. Then the king condescended lightly to the princess' request and hastily sent messengers to the bastard Henry, who was in the castle of Roquemaure on the frontiers of Montauban and was beginning to make war to the country of Acquitaine and to the prince's land, commanding him incontinent to avoid out of his realm and to make no war in the land of his dear nephew the prince of Wales and of Acquitaine; and by cause to give ensample to his subjects that they should not be so hardy to take any part with the bastard Henry, he caused the young earl of Auxerre to be put in prison in the castle of Louvre in Paris, because he was too great and conversant with this king Henry the bastard, and, as it was said, he had promised him to aid him with a great number of men of arms: but thus the French king caused him to break his voyage and purpose. So thus at the commandment of the French king king Henry obeyed, the which was good reason, but for all that yet he left not his enterprise, but so he departed from Roquemaure with a four hundred Bretons. And to him was allied such Breton knights and squires as followeth: first, sir Arnold of Limousin, sir Geoffrey Richon, sir Yon of Laconet, Silvester Bude, Alyot de Tallay, Alain de Saint-Pol: and these men of arms and Bretons rode over the mountains and entered into Bigorre in the principality and there took by scaling a town called Bagneres, and then they fortified and repaired it well and strongly, and then overrode the prince's land and did great hurt and damage therein. Then the princess did send for sir James Audley, who was abiding behind the prince in Acquitaine as chief sovereign governour to keep the country. Howbeit, this said king Henry the bastard and the Bretons did great hurt and damage in the country, for daily their power increased more and more.

Now let us return to the prince of Wales and to his company who was in the Vale of Olives thereabout abiding the coming of king don Peter of Castile.

Thus when the prince had sojourned in the Vale of the Olives until the feast of Saint John the Baptist in summer, abiding for the coming of king don Peter, who came not, nor could not hear no certain tidings of him, wherewith the prince was right sore troubled and called all his council together to know what was best to do in that behalf; then the prince was counselled to send two or three knights to the king, to demand of him why he kept not his day, as he had assigned. And on this message was sent sir Niel Loring, sir Richard of Pontchardon and sir Thomas Banaster; and they rode so long by their journeys that they came to the city of Seville, whereas they found king don Peter,

and by semblant he right joyously received them. These knights did their message as they had in charge by their lord the prince. Then the king answered them in excusing of himself and said: 'Sirs, certainly it greatly displeaseth us that we cannot keep the promise that we have made with our cousin the prince, the which we have oftentimes shewed unto our people here in these parts; but our people excuseth themselves and saith how they can make no sum of money as long as the companions be in the country, for they have three or four times robbed our treasurers, who were coming to our cousin the prince with our money. Therefore we require you to shew our cousin from us, that we require him that he will withdraw and put out of this our realm these evil people of the companions, and that he do leave there some of his own knights, to whom in the name of him we will pay and deliver such sums of money as he desireth of us and as we are bound to pay him.'

This was all the answer that these knights could have of him at that time, and so they departed and went again to the prince their lord, and then recounted to him and to his council all that they had heard and seen; with the which answer the prince was much more displeased than he was before, for he saw well how that king don Peter failed of his promise and varied from reason.

The same season that the prince thus abode in the Vale of Olives, whereas he had been more than the space of four months, nigh all the summer, the king of Mallorca fell sick sore diseased and lay sick in his bed. Then there was put to ransom sir Arnold d'Audrehem, the Begue of Villaines, and divers other knights and squires of France and of Bretayne, who were taken at Nazres and exchanged for sir Thomas Felton and for sir Richard Tanton and for sir Hugh Hastings and divers other. But sir Bertram of Guesclin abode still as prisoner with the prince, for the Englishmen counselled the prince and said that if he delivered sir Bertram of Guesclin, he would make him greater war than ever he had done before with the helping of the bastard Henry, who as then was in Bigorre and had taken the town of Bagneres, and made great war in that quarter. Therefore sir Bertram of Guesclin was not delivered at that time.

When that the prince of Wales heard the excusations of king don Peter, then he was much more displeased than he was before, and demanded counsel in that behalf of his people, who desired to return home, for they bare with full great trouble the heat and the infective air of the country of Spain, and also the prince himself was not very well at ease, and therefore his people counselled him to return again, saying how king don Peter had greatly failed him to his blame and great dishonour. Then it was shewed openly that every man should return. And when the prince should remove, he sent to the king of Mallorca sir Hugh Courtenay and sir John Chandos, shewing him how the prince would depart out of Spain, desiring him to take advice if he would depart or not, for the prince would be loath to leave him behind. Then the king of Mallorca said: 'Sirs, I thank greatly the prince, but at this present time I cannot ride nor remove till it please God.' Then the knights said: 'Sir, will you that my lord the prince shall leave with you a certain number of men, to wait and conduct you when ye be able to ride?' 'Nay surely, sir,' quoth the king, 'it shall not need, for I know not how long it will be or I be able to ride.' And so they departed and returned to the prince, shewing him what they had done. 'Well,' said the prince, 'as it please God and him, so be it.'

Then the prince departed and all his company, and went to a city called Madrigal, and there he rested in the vale called Soria between Aragon and Spain. And there he tarried a month, for there were certain passages closed against him in the marches of Aragon. And it was said in the host that the king of Navarre, who was newly returned out of prison, was agreed with the bastard of Spain and with the king of Aragon to let the prince's passage; but yet he did nothing, as it appeared after. Howbeit the prince was in doubt of him, because he was in his own country and came not to him. In this mean season there were sent to a certain place between Aragon and Spain certain persons of both parties and so had great communing together divers days. Finally they so agreed, that the king of Aragon should open his

country and suffer the prince's people to return and pass peaceably without any let of any of the country, paying courteously for that they took.

Then came to the prince the king of Navarre and sir Martin de la Carra, when they saw the matter go in such wise between the king of Aragon and the prince; and they made to the prince all the honour that they could devise and offered passage for him and for his dear brother the duke of Lancaster and for divers other knights of England and of Gascoyne; but in any wise he would that the companions should take their way by some other passage and not through Navarre. Then the prince and his lords, when they saw that the way through Navarre was more meet and necessary for them than through Aragon, thought not to refuse the king of Navarre's offer, but so thanked him greatly. Thus the prince passed through the realm of Navarre, and the king and sir Martin de la Carra conveyed him till they came to the passage of Roncesvaulx, and so from thence they passed by their journeys till they came to the city of Bayonne, where he was received with great joy. And there the prince refreshed him four days, and then departed and rode to Bordeaux, where he was also received with great solemnity; and my lady the princess met him with her young son Edward, who as then was of the age of three years. Then departed the lords and men of war one from another, and the lords of Gascoyne went home to their own houses, and the companions came also into the principality, abiding for their wages. The prince was much bound to them and promised to pay them to his power, as soon as he had money: though king don Peter kept not his promise with him, yet he said they should not bear the loss thereof, sith they had so well served him. And king Henry the bastard, who was in the garrison of Bagneres in Bigorre, then he departed thence with such men of war as he had and went into Aragon to the king there, who loved him entirely and joyously received him, and there tarried all the winter and there made a new alliance between him and the king of Aragon and promised to make war against king don Peter. And the Bretons that were in their company, as sir Arnold Limousin, sir Geoffrey Richon and sir Yon de Laconet, rode to the passages of Spain and made war for king Henry.

Now let us speak of the deliverance of sir Bertram of Guesclin.

After that the prince of Wales was returned into Acquitaine and his brother the duke of Lancaster into England and every lord into his own, sir Bertram of Guesclin was still prisoner with the prince and with sir John Chandos and could not come to his ransom nor finance, the which was sore displeasant to king Henry, if he might have mended it: and so it fortuned after, as I was informed, that on a day the prince called to him sir Bertram of Guesclin and demanded of him how he did. He answered and said: 'Sir, it was never better with me. It is reason that it should so be, for I am in prison with the most renowned knight of the world.' 'With whom is that?' said the prince. 'Sir,' quoth he, 'that is with sir John Chandos; and, sir, it is said in the realm of France and in other places that ye fear me so much, that ye dare not let me out of prison; the which to me is full great honour.' The prince, who understood well the words of sir Bertram of Guesclin and perceived well how his own council would in no wise that he should deliver him unto the time that king don Peter had paid him all such sums as he was bound to do, then he said to sir Bertram: 'Sir, then ye think that we keep you for fear of your chivalry. Nay, think it not, for I swear by Saint George it is not so. Therefore pay for your ransom a hundred thousand franks and ye shall be delivered.' Sir Bertram, who desired greatly to be delivered and heard on what point he might depart, took the prince with that word and said: 'Sir, in the name of God so be it: I will pay no less.' And when the prince heard him say so, he would then gladly have repented himself, and also some of his council came to him and said, 'Sir, ye have not done well, so lightly to put him to his ransom': and so they would gladly have caused the prince to have revoked that covenant. But the prince, who was a true and a noble knight, said: 'Sith that we have agreed thereto, we will not break our promise. It should be to us a great rebuke, shame and reproach, if we should not put him to ransom, seeing that he is content to pay such a great

sum as a hundred thousand franks.' So after this accord sir Bertram of Guesclin was right busy, and studied daily how to get this sum for his ransom; and did so much with the aid of the French king and of his friends and of the duke of Anjou, who loved him entirely, that he paid in less than a month a hundred thousand franks. And so he departed and went to serve the duke of Anjou with two thousand fighting men in Provence, whereas the duke lay at siege before the town of Tarascon, the which held of the king of Naples.

In the same season there was a marriage concluded between the lord Lyon duke of Clarence and earl of Ulster, son to the king of England, and the daughter to the lord Galeas lord of Milan, the which young lady was niece to the earl of Savoy and daughter to the lady Blanche his sister. And thus the duke of Clarence accompanied with noble knights and squires of England came into France, whereas the king, the duke of Burgoyne, the duke of Bourbon and the lord of Coucy received him with great joy in Paris. And so he passed through the realm of France and came into Savoy, whereas the gentle earl received him right honourably at Chambery, and there he was three days, greatly feasted with ladies and damosels: and then he departed, and the earl of Savoy brought him to Milan. And there the duke wedded his niece, daughter to the lord of Milan, the Monday next after the feast of the Holy Trinity, the year of our Lord a thousand CCCLXVIII.

CHAPTER CCXL

Now let us return to the business of France.

SUMMARY.— The companies being dismissed from Acquitaine went into France, and did much evil. A marriage was made between the lady Isabel of Bourbon and the lord d'Albret, which greatly displeased the prince of Wales.

CHAPTER CCXLI

How the barons of Gascoyne complained to the French king of the prince of Wales; and how king Henry returned into Spain, and of the alliances that king don Peter made, and of the counsel that sir Bertram of Guesclin gave to king Henry, and how king don Peter was discomfited.

In the same season that these companions tormented thus the realm of France, the prince was counselled by some of his council to raise a fouage throughout all Acquitaine, and specially the bishop of Bade; for the state of the prince and princess was so great, that in all Christendom was none like. So to this council for raising of this fouage were called all the noble barons of Gascoyne, of Poitou, of Saintonge and of divers other cities and good towns in Acquitaine; and at Niort, where this parliament was holden, there it was shewed specially and generally by the bishop of Bade, chancellor of Acquitaine, in the presence of the prince, how and in what manner this fouage should be raised, declaring how the prince was not in mind that it should endure any longer than five years, to run throughout his country, and that the raising thereof was for the intent to pay such money as he ought by reason of his journey into Spain. To the which ordinance were well agreed the Poitous and they of Saintonge, Limousin, Rouergue and of Rochelle, on the condition that the prince would keep the course of his coin stable seven year; but divers of other marches of Gascoyne refused this purpose, as the earl of Armagnac, the lord d'Albret his nephew, the earl of Comminges, the viscount of Caraman, the lord de la Barthe, the lord of Terride, the lord of Puycornet and divers other great barons, saying how that in time past, when they obeyed to the French king, they were not then grieved nor oppressed with any subsidies or impositions, and no more they said they would as then, as long as they could defend it, saying how their lands and seignories were free and except from all debts, and that the prince had sworn so to keep and maintain them. Howbeit, to depart peaceably from this parliament, they answered that they would take better advice and so return again, both prelates, bishops, abbots, barons and knights: and the prince nor his council could have as then none other answer. Thus they departed from the town of Niort, but it was commanded

them by the prince that they should return again thither at a day assigned.

Thus the barons and lords of Gascoyne returned into their countries and agreed firmly together that they would not return again to the prince, nor suffer the fouage to run in the lands: then they made war against the prince therefor. Thus the country began to rebel against the prince, and the lord of Armagnac, the lord d'Albret, the lord of Comminges, the earl of Puycornet, and divers other prelates, barons, knights and squires of Gascoyne went into France and made great complaints in the French king's chamber, the king and his peers being present, of the griefs that the prince of Wales would do to them, saying how their resort ought to be to the French king and to draw to him as to their sovereign lord. And the king, who would not break the peace between him and the king of England, began to dissemble and said: 'Sirs, surely the jurisdiction of our heritage and of the crown of France we will always keep and augment; but we have sworn to divers articles in the peace, of the which I remember not all. Therefore we shall visit and behold the tenour of the letters, and inasmuch as we may do we shall aid you, and shall be glad to agree you with the prince our dear nephew: for peradventure he is not well counselled to put you or your subjects from their freedoms and franchises.' So with the answer that the king made them at that time they were content, and so abode still at Paris with the king, in purpose not to return again into their own countries, with the which the prince was nothing well content, but always he still persevered in the purpose of raising of this fouage. Sir John Chandos, who was one of the greatest of his council, was contrary to this opinion and would gladly that the prince would have left it: but when he saw that the prince would not leave his purpose, to the intent that he would bear no blame nor reproach in the matter, he took his leave of the prince and made his excuse to go into Normandy to visit the land of Saint-Saviour the Viscount, whereof he was lord, for he had not been there in three years before. The prince gave him leave, and so he departed out of Poitou and went to Cotentin, and tarried in the town of Saint-Saviour more than half a year. And always the prince proceeded on the raising of this fouage, the which if he had brought about should have been well worth every year a twelve hundred thousand franks, every fire to have paid yearly a frank, the rich to have borne out the poor.

Now let us return to king Henry, who was all this season in the realm of Aragon, and let us shew how he persevered after.

The most part of the state of the prince and of his business was well known with the kings thereabout, as with king Peter of Aragon and with king Henry, for they laid great wait to know it. They understood well how the barons of Gascoyne were gone to Paris to the French king and in a manner began to rebel against the prince, with the which they were nothing displeased, and specially king Henry, for then he thought to attain again to conquer the realm of Castile, the which he had lost by the means of the prince. And so then king Henry took leave of the king of Aragon and departed from the town of Valence the great; and out of Aragon with him there went the viscount of Roquebertin and the viscount of Roda, and they were three thousand horsemen and six thousand afoot, with a certain Genoways that they had in wages. And so they rode toward Spain till they came to the city of Burgos, the which incontinent was opened and rendered up to king Henry, and they received him as their lord; and from thence he went to the Vale Olive, for king Henry understood that the king of Mallorca was still there. And when they of the town of Vale Olive understood that they of Burgos had yielded up their town to king Henry, then they thought not to keep their town against him, and so yielded them to him and received him as their lord. As soon as the king was entered into the town, he demanded where the king of Mallorca was, the which was shewed him. Then the king entered into the chamber where he lay, not fully whole of his disease. Then the king went to him and said: 'Sir king of Mallorca, ye have been our enemy, and with a great army ye have invaded this our realm of Castile. Wherefore we set our hands on you; therefore yield yourself as our prisoner, or else ye are but dead.' And when the king of Mallorca saw himself in that case and that no defence

would help him, he said: 'Sir king, truly I am but dead, if that it please you; and, sir, gladly I yield me unto you, but to none other. Therefore, sir, if your mind be to put me into any other man's hands, shew it me; for I had rather die than to be put into the hands of my bitter enemy the king of Aragon.' 'Sir,' said the king, 'fear you not I will do you but right. If I did otherwise, I were to blame. Ye shall be my prisoner, other to acquit you or to ransom you at my pleasure.' Thus was the king of Mallorca taken by king Henry, and caused him to be well kept there; and then he rode further to the city of Leon in Spain, the which incontinent was opened against him.

When the town and city of Leon in Spain was thus rendered to king Henry, all the country and marches of Galice turned and yielded them to king Henry, and to him came many great lords and barons, who before had done homage to king don Peter; for whatsoever semblant they had made to him before the prince, yet they loved him not, because of old time he had been to them so cruel and they were ever in fear that he would turn to his cruelty again, and king Henry was ever amiable and meek to them, promising to do much for them, therefore they all drew to him. Sir Bertram of Guesclin was not as then in his company, but he was coming with a two thousand fighting men, and was departed from the duke of Anjou, who had achieved his war in Provence and broken up his siege before Tarascon by composition, I cannot shew how. And with sir Bertram of Guesclin there were divers knights and squires of France, desiring to exercise the feat of arms; and so they came towards king Henry, who as then had laid siege before Toledo.

Tidings came to king don Peter how the country turned to his bastard brother, thereas he lay in the marches of Seville and Portugal, where he was but smally beloved. And when he heard thereof, he was sore displeased against his brother and against them of Castile, because they forsook him, and swore a great oath that he would take on them so cruel a vengeance, that it should be ensample to all other. Then he sent out his commandment to such as he trusted would aid and serve him, but he sent to some such as came not to him, but turned to king Henry and sent their homages to him. And when this king don Peter saw that his men began to fail him, then he began to doubt, and took counsel of don Ferrant of Castro, who never failed him; and he gave him counsel that he should get as much people together as he might, as well out of Granade as out of other places, and so in all haste to ride against his brother the bastard, or he did conquer any further in the country. Then king don Peter sent incontinent to the king of Portugal, who was his cousin-german: also he sent to the king of Granade and of Bellemarine and to the king of Tremesen and made alliances with them three, and they sent him more than twenty thousand Saracens to help him in his war. So thus king don Peter did so much that, what of christen men and of Saracens, he had to the number of forty thousand men in the marches of Seville. And in the mean season, while that king Henry lay at siege, sir Bertram of Guesclin came to him with two thousand fighting men and he was received with great joy, for all the host was greatly rejoiced of his coming.

King don Peter, who had made his assembly in the marches of Seville and thereabout, desiring greatly to fight with the bastard his brother, departed from Seville and took his journey towards Toledo to raise the siege there, the which was from him a seven days' journey. Tidings came to king Henry how that his brother don Peter approached, and in his company more than forty thousand men of one and other. And thereupon he took counsel, to the which council was called the knights of France and of Aragon, and specially sir Bertram of Guesclin, by whom the king was most ruled; and his counsel was that king Henry should advance forth to encounter his brother don Peter, and in what condition soever that he found him in, incontinent to set on and fight with him, saying to the king: 'Sir, I hear say he cometh with a great puissance, and, sir, if he have great leisure in his coming, it may turn you and us all to great displeasure; and therefore, sir, if we go hastily on him, or he be ware, peradventure we shall find him and his company in that case and so dispurveyed, that we shall have him at

advantage, and so we shall discomfit him, I doubt not.' The counsel of sir Bertram of Guesclin was well heard and taken, and so king Henry in an evening departed from the host with a certain of the best knights and fighting men that he could choose out in all his host, and left the residue of his company in the keeping and governing of his brother the earl don Tello, and so rode forth. And he had seven spies ever coming and going, who ever brought him word what his brother don Peter did and all his host. And king don Peter knew nothing how his brother came so hastily toward him, wherefore he and his company rode the more at large without any good order; and so in a morning king Henry and his people met and encountered his brother king don Peter, who had lien that night in a castle thereby called Montiel, and was there well received and had good cheer, and was departed thence the same morning, weening full little to have been fought withal as that day. And so suddenly on him with banners displayed there came his brother king Henry and his brother Sancho and sir Bertram of Guesclin, by whom the king and all his host was greatly ruled. And also with them there was the Begue of Villaines, the lord of Roquebertin, the viscount of Roda and their companies. They were a six thousand fighting men and they rode all close together and so ran and encountered their enemies crying, 'Castile for king Henry!' and 'Our Lady of Guesclin!' and so they discomfited and put aback the first brunt. There were many slain and cast to the earth, there were none taken to ransom, the which was appointed so to be by sir Bertram of Guesclin because of the great number of Saracens that was there. And when king don Peter, who was in the midst of the press among his own people, heard how his men were assailed and put aback by his brother the bastard Henry and by the Frenchmen, he had great marvel thereof and saw well how he was betrayed and deceived, and in adventure to lose all, for his men were sore sparkled abroad. Howbeit, like a good hardy knight and of good comfort, rested on the field and caused his banner to be unrolled to draw together his people, and sent word to them that were behind to haste them forward, because he was fighting with his enemies; whereby every man advanced forward to the banner. So there was a marvellous great and a fierce battle, and many a man slain of king don Peter's part; for king Henry and sir Bertram of Guesclin sought their enemies with so courageous and fierce will, that none could endure against them. Howbeit, that was not lightly done, for king don Peter and his company were six against one, but they were taken so suddenly, that they were discomfited in such wise that it was marvel to behold.

This battle of the Spaniards one against another, and of these two kings and their allies, was near to Montiel, the which was that day right fierce and cruel. There were many good knights of king Henry's part, as sir Bertram of Guesclin, sir Geoffrey Richon, sir Arnold Limousin, sir Gawain of Bailleul, the Begue of Villaines, Alain of Saint-Pol, Alyot of Tallay and divers other; and also of the realm of Aragon there was the viscount of Roquebertin, the viscount of Roda, and divers other good knights and squires, whom I cannot all name. And there they did many noble deeds of arms, the which was needful to them so to do, for they found fierce and strong people against them, as Saracens, Jews and Portugals. The Jews fled and turned their backs and fought no stroke, but they of Granade and of Bellemarine fought fiercely with their bows and archegays and did that day many a noble deed of arms. And king don Peter was a hardy knight and fought valiantly with a great axe and gave therewith many a great stroke, so that none durst approach near to him; and the banner of king Henry his brother met and rencountered against his, each of them crying their cries. Then the battle of king don Peter began to open: then don Ferrant of Castro, who was chief counsellor about king don Peter, saw and perceived well how his people began to lose and to be discomfited, said to the king: 'Sir, save yourself and withdraw you into the castle of Montiel. Sir, if ye be there, ye be in safeguard; for if ye be taken with your enemies, ye are but dead without mercy.' The king don Peter believed his counsel and departed as soon as he might and went toward Montiel, and so came thither in such time that he found the gates open, and so he entered all only with twelve persons;

and in the mean season the other of his company fought still in the fields, as they were sparkled abroad here and there. The Saracens defended themselves as well as they might, for they knew not the country, therefore to fly they thought was for them none avail. Then tidings came to king Henry and to sir Bertram of Guesclin how that king don Peter was fled and withdrawn into the castle of Montiel, and how that the Begue of Villaines had pursued him thither; and into this castle there was but one passage, before which passage the Begue of Villaines had pight his standard. Of the which tidings king Henry and sir Bertram of Guesclin was right joyous, and so drew to that part in slaying and beating down their enemies like beasts, so that they were weary of killing. This chase endured more than three hours, so that day there was more than fourteen thousand slain and sore hurt: there were but few that were saved, except such as knew the passages of the country. This battle was beside Montiel in Spain the thirteenth day of the month of August the year of our Lord God a thousand three hundred threescore and eight.

CHAPTER CCXLII

How king don Peter was taken and put to death, and so king Henry was again king of Castile: and of the tenour of certain letters touching the French king and the king of England, and of the counsel that was given to king Charles of France to make war to the king of England.

AFTER this discomfiture and that king Henry had obtained the victory, then they laid siege round about the castle of Montiel, wherein was king don Peter. Then king Henry sent for the residue of his company to Toledo, whereas they lay at siege, of the which tidings the earl don Tello and the earl Sancho were right joyful. This castle of Montiel was right strong and able to have held against them all a long space, if it had been purveyed of victual and other things necessary; but there was not in the castle scant to serve four days, whereof king don Peter and his company were sore abashed, for they were so straitly watched day and night, that a bird could not come out of the castle without spying. Then king don Peter, seeing himself thus beset round about with his enemies, and knew no way of peace or concord, was in great imagination. So all perils considered and for default of victual, he was counselled to depart privily at the hour of midnight and twelve persons with him, and so to adventure on the grace of God, and guides were appointed to bring him in safe-guard. And so about the time of midnight next after the king don Peter and don Ferrant of Castro and twelve other persons with them departed out of the castle. The night was very dark and the Begue of Villaines kept watch without the same night, and a three hundred with him. And as king don Peter and his company issued out of the castle, and went down a high way as privily as they could devise, the Begue of Villaines, who was ever in doubt lest they should scape, the which caused him to make the surer watch, he thought he heard men pass down the high way, and said to them that were about him: 'Sirs, keep you still all privy, for methink I hear folks come in the way. We will go know what they be, and what they seek here at this time of night: peradventure there be some that are coming to revictual the castle.' Then the Begue stept forth with his dagger in his hand and came to a man that was near to king don Peter and said, 'What art thou?' and he rushed forth with his horse from him and passed by them. The Begue stept to king don Peter, who was next, and said, 'What art thou? Shew me thy name, or thou art but dead'; and took him by the bridle, for he thought he should not pass from him as the other did. And when king don Peter saw such a rout of men of war before him and that he could not scape, said: 'Sir Begue of Villaines, I am king don Peter of Castile. I yield me to you as a prisoner and put me and my company, the which are but twelve persons, into your hands and pleasure: and, sir, I require you by the way of gentleness to bring me into some safe-guard, and I shall pay to you such ransom as ye will desire, for I thank God I have enough wherewith, so that I may scape from the hands of the bastard my brother.' Then the Begue, as I was informed, answered and said: 'Sir, I shall bring you and your company into safe-guard, and your brother

shall know nothing of you by me.' So thus king don Peter was brought to the Begue's lodging, into the proper lodging of sir Yon of Laconet; and he had not been there the space of an hour, when that king Henry and the earl of Roquebertin and a certain with them came to the same lodging. And as soon as king Henry was entered into the chamber, he said: 'Where is that whoreson and Jew that calleth himself king of Castile?' Then king don Peter, who was a right hardy and a cruel knight, advanced himself and said: 'Nay, thou art a whoreson and I am son to king Alphonso.' And therewith he took king Henry his brother in his arms and wrestled so with him that he overthrew him on a bench, and set his hand on his knife and had slain him without remedy, an the viscount of Roquebertin had not been. He took king don Peter by the leg and turned him up-se-down, so that king Henry was then above, who drew out a long knife and strake king don Peter into the body. Therewith his men came in to help him, and there was slain also by him a knight of England called sir Ralph Helme, who was sometime called the green squire, and another squire called James Rolland, because they made defence; but as for don Ferrant of Castro and the other, had none evil, but remained prisoners to the Begue of Villaines and to sir Yon of Laconet.

Thus ended king don Peter of Castile, who sometime reigned in great prosperity. And after he was slain, he was left three days above the earth,[1] the which methink was great pity. Then the next day the lord of Montiel yielded him to king Henry, and he took him to mercy and all those that would turn to him. Then tidings ran over all Castile how king don Peter was slain, whereof his friends were sorry and his enemies joyful. But when the king of Portugal heard how his cousin king don Peter was dead, he was right sorrowful, and sware and said that his death should be revenged. And so he sent incontinent his defiance to king Henry and made him war and kept the marches of Seville against him a certain season; but for all that king Henry left not his purpose in pursuing of his enterprise, but returned to Toledo, the which yielded up straight to him and all the country thereabout. And at last the king of Portugal thought not to keep any longer war against king Henry, so there was a peace made between them by the means of the prelates and lords of Spain. Thus king Henry abode in peace king of Castile, and with him sir Bertram of Guesclin, sir Oliver of Mauny and other knights and squires of France and of Bretayne. And king Henry did much for them, as he was bound to do, for without their help he had not obtained his purpose: and so he made sir Bertram constable of Spain and gave him the land of Soria, the which was yearly worth twenty thousand franks, and to sir Oliver his nephew he gave the land of Ecrette,[1] the which was yearly worth ten thousand franks, and also he gave fair lands to divers other knights and squires. Then the king went and lay at Burgos with his wife and children. Of his prosperity and good adventure greatly rejoiced the French king, the duke of Anjou, and also the king of Aragon.

About the same time died sir Lyon of England duke of Clarence, who had passed the sea, as ye have heard before, and had married the daughter of Galeas lord of Milan. But because he died strangely, the lord Edward Spenser his companion kept war against him a certain space, but finally he was informed of the truth. Now let us return to the adventures of the duchy of Acquitaine.

SUMMARY.—The lords of Gascony persevered in their appeal to the French king, although it was shewn them that they had no right of appeal but to the king of England. The French king was unwilling to make war with the English, but on examination of the treaty of Brétigny he was counselled that he had just cause.

CHAPTER CCXLIII

How the French king sent to summon the prince of Wales by appeal to appear personally in the chamber of the peers of France at Paris, to answer there against the barons of Gascoyne.

So much the French king was exhorted by them of his council, and so oft required by them of Gascoyne, that there was appeal

[1] That is, 'on the ground' where he was slain.

[1] Agreda.

made and formed to be sent into Acquitaine to appeal the prince of Wales to the parliament of Paris, and it was devised by the earl of Armagnac, the lord d'Albret, the earl of Perigord, the earl of Comminges, the viscount of Caraman, the lord de la Barthe, the lord of Puycornet and divers other, who were chief causers of this matter. And this appeal contained how for the great griefs that these Gascons complained that the prince of Wales and Acquitaine would do to them and to their people, therefore they made their resort to the French king, requiring that the prince might be appealed sith they had made the French king their judge. And when this appeal was made and duly corrected by all the wise council of France, then it was concluded by the said council that it should be signified to the prince and that he should be appealed, to appear in proper person at Paris in the chamber of the peers of France, to answer to the complaints made there against him. And to bear this appeal was commanded a clerk well languaged to do such a business, and a knight with him called Chaponnet of Chaponval; and so they and their company departed from Paris and took their way toward Poitou, and so passed through Berry, Touraine, Poitou and Saintonge and came to Blaye, and there passed the river and so came to Bordeaux, whereas the prince and princess was: and always in every place they said how they were messengers from the French king, wherefore they were the better welcome into every place. Then they took up their lodging and tarried there all that night, and in the next morning at a convenient hour they went to the abbey of Saint Andrew's where the prince was lodged, and there they were well received. And when the prince knew of their coming, he caused them to come before him; and when they came into his presence, they kneeled down and made their reverence and delivered the prince letters of credence. The prince took and read them and said: 'Sirs, ye be welcome: declare your message that ye have in charge to shew us.' Then the clerk said: 'Right dear sir, here is a letter that was delivered to us at Paris by our lord the French king, the which letter we promised by our faiths to publish openly in your presence; for, sir, they touch you.' The prince then began to change colour and had great marvel what it might be, and so had other knights that were about him; howbeit, he refrained himself and said: 'Say on, sirs, what ye will: good tidings we will be glad to hear.' Then the clerk took the writing and read it word by word, the tenour of the which hereafter followeth:—

'Charles, by the grace of God French king, to our nephew the prince of Wales and Acquitaine send greeting. So it is that divers prelates, barons, knights, universities, commonalties and colleges of the marches and limitations of the country of Gascoyne, and the dwellers and habitants in the bounds of our realm,[1] beside divers other of the duchy of Acquitaine, are drawn and are come to our court to have right of certain griefs and troubles unlawful, that you by feeble counsel and simple information have been in purpose to do to them, of the which we have marvel. Therefore to withstand and to remedy the same matters we are so conjoined to them, that by our royal majesty and seignory we command you to come into our city of Paris in proper person, and there you to shew and present [yourself] before us in our chamber of our peers and there to do right on the foresaid complaints and griefs, moved by you to do on your people, who claimeth to have their resort into our court, and that this be not failed in as hasty wise as ye can after the sight or hearing of these letters. In witness whereof to these presents we have set our seal. Given at Paris the twenty-fifth[2] day of January.'

When the prince of Wales had read this letter, he had great marvel and shook his head and beheld fiercely the Frenchmen. And when he had a little studied, he answered in this manner: 'Sirs, we will gladly go to Paris to our uncle, sith he hath sent thus for us: but I assure you that shall be with bassenet on our head and sixty thousand men in our company.' Then the two Frenchmen kneeled down and said: 'Dear sir, for God's sake take patience, and take not this appeal in so great despite nor be not displeased with us.

[1] 'Dwelling and inhabiting within the bounds of our realm.'

[2] The better reading is xv.

weighty matter to make war against the king of England and his puissance, seeing how they had put his predecessors in time past to so much labour and travail: wherefore he thought it a hard matter to begin war, but he was so sore required of the great lords of Gascoyne and Guyenne, and also it was shewed him what great extortions and damages the Englishmen did daily and were likely to do in time to come: he granted to the war with an evil will, considering the destruction of the poor people that he thought should ensue thereby.

CHAPTERS CCXLIV-CCXLVII

SUMMARY.—Several of the French hostages in England procured their liberation, and among others the duke of Berry and the duke of Bourbon. This last obtained his acquittance by procuring the bishopric of Winchester for William of Wickham, the king's chaplain.

The prince of Wales had taken a sickness in Spain, of which daily he grew worse. The earl of Périgord and others attacked and routed Thomas Walkefare, seneschal of Rouergue, in revenge for the capture of the envoys. The prince of Wales sent for sir John Chandos.

The French king sent envoys to England, and meanwhile made secret preparations for seizing Abbeville and the county of Ponthieu. When all was ready, the envoys returned, and letters of defiance were sent to the king of England by a Breton varlet. The king was indignant at receiving them from such a person, and at once prepared to defend Ponthieu; but before his force could arrive, it was lost.

Sir Guichard d'Angle, returning from Rome, passed through France and joined the prince of Wales.

CHAPTERS CCXLVIII-CCLIII

SUMMARY.—The king of England sent men of war to the frontiers of Scotland, and also prepared to defend the coast of England. The dukes of Anjou and Berry made their summons to go against the prince of Wales.

The king of England sent the earls of Cambridge and Pembroke to the prince of Wales, and they passed by Brittany to Angoulême, where the prince was.

War was carried on with various success in Périgord, Quercy and Languedoc.

Several towns, including Cahors, turned French.

The dukes of Gueldres and Juliers sent defiance to the French king.

The duke of Burgundy was married to the daughter of the earl of Flanders.

CHAPTERS CCLIV-CCLXV

SUMMARY.—War continued in Quercy, Poitou and elsewhere, and sir Robert Knolles, who came from Brittany, was sent into the Agénois and then laid siege to Duravel, whither also came sir John Chandos, the captal de Buch and others, but they could not take either that town or Domme. They took Gramat, Rocamadour and Villefranche and so returned.

Meanwhile the earls of Cambridge and Pembroke took Bourdeilles in Périgord. An English company took Belleperche in Bourbonnais, and in it the mother of the duke of Bourbon and of the queen of France.

The English captured la Roche-sur-Yon; and sir John Chandos laid waste the lands of Anjou, and then returned to Poitiers.

At this time the duke of Lancaster had been sent to Calais, and the duke of Burgundy lay opposite to him at Tornehem.

The earl of Pembroke, who had disdained to go with sir John Chandos, rode into Anjou. When returning he was surprised at the village of Purnon by sir Louis de Sancerre, and being besieged there in a building belonging to the Templars, he sent for help to sir John Chandos.

CHAPTER CCLXVI

How sir John Chandos came to the succour of the earl of Pembroke.

BETWEEN the morning and nine of the day, when the assault was most fiercest and that the Frenchmen were sore displeased that the Englishmen endured so long, wherefore they sent to he villages thereabout for pikes and mattocks to break down and undermine the wall, which thing the

Englishmen doubted most, then the earl of Pembroke called a squire to him and said: 'Friend, take my courser and issue out at the back postern and we shall make you way, and ride straight to Poitiers and shew sir John Chandos the state and danger that we be in, and recommend me to him by this token,' and took a ring from his finger and delivered to him and said, 'Take sir John Chandos this ring; he knoweth it right well.' The squire who took that enterprise thought it should be a great honour to him, if he might achieve to scape and speak with him; took the ring, and mounted incontinent on his courser and departed by a privy way, while the assault endured, and took the way to Poitiers. In the mean season the assault was terrible and fierce by the Frenchmen, and the Englishmen defended themselves right valiantly with good courage, as it stood them well in hand so to do.

Now let us speak of the first squire, that departed from Puirenon at the hour of midnight and all the night he rode out of his way, and when it was morning and fair day, then he knew his way and so rode toward Poitiers, and by that time his horse was weary. Howbeit, he came thither by nine of the clock and there alighted before sir John Chandos' lodging and entered and found him at mass, and so came and kneeled down before him and did his message as he was commanded. And sir John Chandos, who was not content for the other day before, in that the earl of Pembroke would not ride with him, as ye have heard before, wherefore he was not lightly inclined to make any great haste, but said: 'It will be hard for us to come thither time enough and to hear out this mass.' And anon after mass the tables were covered ready to dinner, and the servants demanded of him if he would go to dinner, and he said, 'Yes, sith it is ready.' Then he went into his hall, and knights and squires brought him water, and as he was a washing, there came into the hall the second squire from the earl of Pembroke and kneeled down and took the ring out of his purse and said: 'Right dear sir, the earl of Pembroke recommendeth him to you by this token and desireth you heartily to come and comfort him and bring him out of the danger that he and his be in at Puirenon.' Then sir John Chandos took the ring and knew it well and said: 'To come thither betimes it were hard, if they be in that case as ye shew me. Let us go to dinner': and so sat down, and all his company, and ate the first course. And as he was served of the second course and was eating thereof, suddenly sir John Chandos, who greatly had imagined of that matter, and at last cast up his head and said to his company: 'Sirs, the earl of Pembroke is a noble man and of great lineage: he is son to my natural lord the king of England, for he hath wedded his daughter, and in everything he is companion to the earl of Cambridge. He hath required me to come to him in his business, and I ought to consent to his desire and to succour and comfort him, if we may come betimes.' Therewith he put the table from him and said: 'Sirs, I will ride toward Puirenon': whereof his people had great joy and incontinent apparelled, and the trumpets sowned and every man mounted on their horses they that best might, as soon as they heard that sir John Chandos would ride to Puirenon to comfort the earl of Pembroke and his company, who were besieged there. Then every knight, squire and man of arms went out into the field, so they were more than two hundred spears and alway they increased. Thus as they rode forth together, tidings came to the Frenchmen, who had continually assaulted the fortress from the morning till it was high noon, by their spies, who said to them: 'Sirs, advise you well, for sir John Chandos is departed from Poitiers with more than two hundred spears and is coming hitherward in great haste, and hath great desire to find you here.' And when sir Louis of Sancerre and sir John of Vienne, sir John of Bueil and the other captains heard those tidings, the wisest among them said: 'Sirs, our people are sore weary and travailed with assaulting of the Englishmen both yesterday and this day: therefore I think it were better that fair and easily we returned in safeguard with such winnings and prisoners as we have got, rather than to abide the adventure of the coming of sir John Chandos and his company, who are all fresh and lusty, for I fear we may lose more than we shall win.' The which counsel was well believed, for it behoved not them long to tarry. Then their trumpets sowned the retreat: then all their company drew from the assault and

assembled together and trussed up their harness and carriage, and so returned and took the way to Posay.[1] The earl of Pembroke and his company knew anon thereby how the Frenchmen had knowledge of the coming of sir John Chandos. Then the earl said: 'Sirs, let us all issue out and ride toward Poitiers to meet with my dear friend sir John Chandos.' Then they leapt a-horseback, such as had any horses, and some afoot and two and two on a horse, and so they issued out of the castle and rode toward Poitiers. And they had not ridden a league, but that they encountered sir John Chandos and his company, and there was a joyful meeting; and sir John Chandos said that he was sore displeased that he came not or the Frenchmen were departed: and so they rode together talking the space of three leagues, and then they took leave each of other. Sir John Chandos returned to Poitiers and the earl of Pembroke to Mortagne, from whence he first departed. And the marshals of France and their company returned to Posay and there departed their booty; and then every man went to their own garrison and led with them their prisoners, and ransomed them courteously in like manner as was accustomed between the Englishmen and Frenchmen.

Now let us return to the assembly before Tornehem, and speak of the death of the most gentle queen, most liberal and most courteous that ever was queen in her days, the which was the fair lady Philippa of Hainault, queen of England and Ireland.

CHAPTERS CCLXVII-CCLXIX

SUMMARY.—Queen Philippa of England died, 14th August 1369.

The duke of Burgundy departed from the duke of Lancaster without battle, and the duke of Lancaster returned to Calais.

The earl of Pembroke rode again into Anjou. The abbey of Saint-Savin in Poitou was delivered up to the French, who put a garrison there.

The duke of Lancaster rode through Picardy and Normandy as far as Harfleur and then returned. Sir Hugh de Chatillon, captain of Abbeville, was taken prisoner by the English.

[1] La Roche-Posay.

CHAPTER CCLXX

How sir John Chandos was slain in a battle, and how finally the Frenchmen were discomfited and taken in the same battle.

GREATLY it grieved sir John Chandos the taking of Saint-Salvin, because it was under his rule, for he was seneschal of Poitou. He set all his mind how he might recover it again, other by force or by stealth he cared not, so he might have it, and for that intent divers nights he made sundry bushments, but it availed not; for sir Louis, who kept it, took ever so good heed thereto, that he defended it from all dangers, for he knew well the taking thereof grieved sore sir John Chandos at the heart. So it fell that the night before the first day of January sir John Chandos being in Poitiers sent to assemble together divers barons, knights and squires of Poitou, desiring them to come to him as privily as they could, for he certained them how he would ride forth: and they refused not his desire, for they loved him entirely, but shortly assembled together in the city of Poitiers.

Thither came sir Guichard d'Angle, sir Louis Harcourt, the lord of Pons, the lord of Partenay, the lord of Poyanne, the lord Tannay-Bouton, sir Geoffrey d'Argenton, sir Mauburny of Linieres, sir Thomas Percy, sir Baudwin of Freville, sir Richard of Pontchardon and divers other. And when they were all together assembled, they were three hundred spears, and departed by night from Poitiers. None knew whither they should go except certain of the lords, and they had ready with them scaling ladders and so came to Saint-Salvin and there alighted and delivered their horses to their varlets, which was about midnight, and so entered into the dike. Yet they had not their intent so shortly; for suddenly they heard the watch-horn blow: I shall tell you wherefore it blew. The same night Charuel[1] was departed from the Roche of Posay with a forty spears with him and was come the same time to Saint-Salvin to speak with the captain, sir Louis of Saint-Julian, to the intent to have ridden

[1] Jean Charuel, a Breton captain in garrison at la Roche-Posay.

together to Poitou, to see if they could get any prey: and so he called up the watchman, the which made him to sound his horn. And so the Englishmen, who were on the other side of the fortress, hearing the watch blow and great noise in the place, feared lest they had been spied by some spies, for they knew nothing that the said Frenchmen were on the other side to have entered into the place. Therefore they withdrew back again out of the dikes and said: 'Let us go hence for this night, for we have failed of our purpose.' And so they remounted on their horses and returned whole together to Chauvigny on the river of Creuse, a two leagues thence. Then the Poitevins demanded of sir John Chandos if he would command them any further service. He answered and said: 'Sirs, return home again when it please you in the name of God, and as for this day I will abide still here in this town.' So there departed the knights of Poitou and some of England to the number of two hundred spears.

Then sir John Chandos went into a house and caused to be made a good fire: and there was still with him sir Thomas Percy and his company, seneschal of Rochelle, who said to sir John Chandos: 'Sir, is it your intent to tarry here all this day?' 'Yea truly, sir,' quoth he; 'why demand you?' 'Sir, the cause I desire you is, sith ye will not stir this day, to give me leave and I will ride some way with my company, to see if I can find any adventure.' 'Go your way, sir, in the name of God,' quoth sir John Chandos. And so departed sir Thomas Percy with a thirty spears in his company, and so passed the bridge at Chauvigny and took the long way that led to Poitiers: and sir John Chandos abode still behind, full of displeasure in that he had failed of his purpose; and so stood in a kitchen warming him by the fire, and his servants jangled with him to the intent to bring him out of his melancholy. His servants had prepared for him a place to rest him: then he demanded if it were near day, and therewith there came a man into the house and came before him and said: 'Sir, I have brought you tidings.' 'What be they? tell me.' 'Sir, surely the Frenchmen be riding abroad.' 'How knowest thou that?' 'Sir,' said he, 'I departed from Saint-Salvin with them.' 'What way be they ridden?' 'Sir, I cannot tell you the certainty, but surely they took the highway to Poitiers.' 'What Frenchmen be they, canst thou tell me?' 'Sir, it is sir Louis of Saint-Julian and Charuel the Breton.' 'Well,' quoth sir John Chandos, 'I care not. I have no list this night to ride forth. They may hap to be encountered, though I be not there.' And so he tarried there still a certain space in a great study; and at last, when he had well advised himself, he said: 'Whatsoever I have said herebefore, I trow it be good that I ride forth. I must return to Poitiers, and anon it will be day.' 'That is true, sir,' quoth the knights about him. Then he said: 'Make ready, for I will ride forth': and so they did, and mounted on their horses and departed and took the right way to Poitiers coasting the river, and the Frenchmen the same time were not past a league before him in the same way, thinking to pass the river at the bridge of Lussac. There the Englishmen had knowledge how they were in the track of the Frenchmen, for the Frenchmen's horses cried and brayed because of the English horses that were before them with sir Thomas Percy.[1] And anon it was fair light day, for in the beginning of January the mornings be soon light, and when the Frenchmen and Bretons were within a league of the bridge, they perceived on the other side of the bridge sir Thomas Percy and his company, and he likewise perceived the Frenchmen and rode as fast as he might to get the advantage of the bridge, and said: 'Behold yonder Frenchmen be a great number against us: therefore let us take the advantage of the bridge.' And when sir Louis and Charuel saw the Englishmen make such haste to get the bridge, they did in like wise; howbeit, the Eng-

[1] This is quite wrong, but the French text is largely responsible for the errors. According to the true reading it should be: 'And the Englishmen had knowledge of it by their horses, which followed the course of the Frenchmen's horses and entered into the track of the Frenchmen's horses: so they said: "Either sir Thomas Percy or the Frenchmen are riding before us."' The translator's text had 'fray' for 'froais' (track), which he did not understand, and was quite corrupt in the latter part, omitting 'si disent' and giving, 'ou messire Thomas de Persy chevauchoit devant eulx.' He found it unintelligible and altered it to make some sense.

lishmen gat it first, and lighted all afoot and so ranged themselves in good order to defend the bridge. The Frenchmen likewise lighted afoot and delivered their horses to their pages, commanding them to draw aback, and so did put themselves in good order to go and assail the Englishmen, who kept themselves close together and were nothing affrayed, though they were but a handful of men as to the regard of the Frenchmen. And thus, as the Frenchmen and Bretons studied and imagined how and by what means to their advantage they might assail the Englishmen, therewith there came behind them sir John Chandos, his banner displayed, bearing therein silver, a sharp pile gules, and Jakes of Alery, a valiant man of arms, did bear it, and he had with him a forty spears. He approached fiercely the Frenchmen, and when he was a three furlongs from the bridge, the French pages who saw them coming were affrayed, and so ran away with the horses and left their masters there afoot. And when sir John Chandos was come near to them, he said: 'Hark ye, Frenchmen, ye are but evil men of war: ye ride at your pleasure and ease day and night: ye take and win towns and fortresses in Poitou, whereof I am seneschal: ye ransom poor folk without my leave: ye ride all about clean armed. It should seem the country is all yours, but I ensure you it is not so. Ye, sir Louis and Charuel, ye are too great masters. It is more than a year and a half that I have set all mine intent to find or encounter with you, and now, I thank God, I see you and speak to you. Now shall it be seen who is stronger, other you or I. It hath been shewed me oftentimes that ye have greatly desired to find me: now ye may see me here: I am John Chandos, advise me well. Your great feats of arms wherewith ye be renowned, by God's leave now shall we prove it.' While such language was spoken, sir John Chandos' company drew together, and sir Louis and Charuel kept themselves close together, making semblant to be glad to be fought withal; and of all this matter sir Thomas Percy, who was on the other side of the bridge, knew nothing, for the bridge was high in the midst, so that none could see other.

While sir John Chandos reasoned thus with the Frenchmen, there was a Breton took his glaive and could forbear no longer, but came to an English squire called Simkin Dodale, and strake him so in the breast, that he cast him down from his horse. Sir John Chandos, when he heard that noise beside him, he turned that way and saw his squire lie on the earth and the Frenchmen laying on him.[1] Then he was more chafed than he was before, and said to his company: 'Sirs, how suffer you this squire thus to be slain? Afoot, afoot!' and so he leapt afoot and all his company, and so Simkin was rescued and the battle begun.

Sir John Chandos, who was a right hardy and a courageous knight, with his banner before him and his company about him, with his coat of arms on him great and large, beaten with his arms of white sarcenet with two piles gules one before and another behind, so that he seemed to be a sufficient knight to do a great feat of arms, and as one of the foremost with his glaive in his hand marched to his enemies. The same morning there had fallen a great dew, so that the ground was somewhat moist, and so in his going forward he slode and fell down at the joining with his enemies; and as he was arising there lit a stroke on him given by a squire called Jaques of Saint-Martin with his glaive, the which stroke entered into the flesh under his eye between the nose and the forehead. Sir John Chandos saw not the stroke coming on that side, for he was blind on the one eye. He lost the sight thereof a five year before, as he hunted after an hart in the launds of Bordeaux, and also he had on no visor. The stroke was rude and entered into his brain, the which stroke grieved him so sore, that he overthrew to the earth and turned for pain two times up-se-down, as he that was wounded to death; for after the stroke he never spake word. And when his men saw that misfortune, they were right dolorous: then his uncle Edward Clifford stept and bestrode him, for the Frenchmen would fain have had him, and defended him so valiantly and gave round about him such strokes, that none durst approach near to him: also sir John Clanvowe and sir Bertram of Casselis seemed like men out of their minds, when they saw their master lie on the earth. The Bretons

[1] *i.e.* 'striking him.'

and Frenchmen were greatly comforted, when they saw the captain of their enemies on the earth, thinking verily that he had his death's wound. Then they advanced themselves and said: 'Ye Englishmen, yield you, for ye are all ours, ye cannot scape us.' There the Englishmen did marvels in arms, as well to defend themselves as to revenge their master sir John Chandos, whom they saw lie in a hard case. And a squire of sir John Chandos spied Jaques of Saint-Martin, who had given his master his mortal stroke, and ran to him fiercely and struck him with such violence, that his glaive pierced through both his thighs. Howbeit, for all that stroke, he left not still to fight.

If sir Thomas Percy and his company had known of this adventure, who were on the other side of the bridge, they should well have succoured him; but because they knew nothing thereof, nor heard no more of the Frenchmen, weening to them they had been gone back, therefore he and his company departed and took the way to Poitiers, as they that knew nothing of that business. Thus the Englishmen fought still before the bridge of Lussac, and there was done many a feat of arms. Briefly, the Englishmen could endure no longer against the Frenchmen, so that the most part of them were discomfited and taken, but always Edward Clifford would not depart from his nephew, thereas he lay. So thus, if the Frenchmen had been so happy as to have had their horses there ready, as they had not, for their pages were run away from them before, or else they might have departed with much honour and profit with many a good prisoner, and for lack of them they lost all: wherefore they were sore displeased and said among themselves: 'Ah, this is an evil order; for the journey is ours, and yet through fault of our pages we cannot depart, seeing we be heavy armed and sore travailed, so that we cannot go afoot through this country, the which is full of our enemies and contrary to us, and we are a six leagues from the next fortress that we have, and also divers of our company be sore hurt and we may not leave them behind us.' Thus as they were in this case and wist not what to do, and had sent two Bretons unarmed into the fields to see if they might find any of their pages with their horses, there came on them sir Guichard d'Angle, sir Louis Harcourt, the lord Partenay, the lord Tannay-Bouton, the lord d'Argenton, the lord of Poyanne, sir Jaques of Surgeres, and divers other Englishmen to the number of two hundred spears, who rode about to seek for the Frenchmen, for it was shewed them how they were abroad: and so they fell in the track of the horses and came in great haste with banners and pennons waving in the wind. And as soon as the Bretons and Frenchmen saw them coming, they knew well they were their enemies: then they said to the Englishmen whom they had taken as prisoners before: 'Sirs, behold yonder cometh a band of your company to succour you, and we perceive well that we cannot endure against them, and ye be our prisoners. We will quit you, so that ye will keep us, and will become your prisoners; for we had rather yield us to you than to them that cometh yonder.' And they answered: 'As ye will, so are we content.' Thus the Englishmen were loosed out of their prisons. Then the Poitevins, Gascons and Englishmen came on them, their spears in their rests, crying their cries. Then the Frenchmen and Bretons drew aside and said to them: 'Sirs, leave: do us no hurt: we be all prisoners already.'[1] The Englishmen affirmed the same and said: 'They be our prisoners.' Charuel was prisoner with sir Bertram of Casselis and sir Louis of Saint-Julian with sir John Clanvowe, so that there was none but that he had a master.

The barons and knights of Poitou were sore discomforted, when they saw their seneschal sir John Chandos lie on the earth and could not speak. Then they lamentably complained and said, 'Ah, sir John Chandos, the flower of all chivalry, unhappily was that glaive forged that thus hath wounded you and brought you in peril of death.' They wept piteously that were about him, and he heard and understood them well, but he could speak no word. They wrung their hands and tare their hairs and made many a pitiful complaint, and specially such as were of his own house. Then his servants unarmed him and laid him on pavises and so bare

1 'Ho, seigneurs, cessez, cessez: nous sommes prisonniers.'

him softly to Mortimer, the next fortress to them. And the other barons and knights returned to Poitiers and led with them their prisoners: and as I understood, the same Jaques Martin that thus hurt sir John Chandos was so little taken heed to of his hurts, that he died at Poitiers. And this noble knight sir John Chandos lived not after his hurt past a day and a night, but so died. God have mercy on his soul: for in a hundred year after there was not[1] a more courteous nor more fuller of noble virtues and good conditions among the Englishmen than he was. And when the prince and princess, the earl of Cambridge, the earl of Pembroke and other barons and knights of England, such as were in Guyenne, heard of his death, they were all discomforted, and said they had lost all on that side of the sea. For his death his friends and also some of his enemies were right sorrowful. The Englishmen loved him, because all nobleness was found in him: the Frenchmen hated him because they doubted him: yet I heard his death greatly complained among right noble and valiant knights of France, saying that it was a great damage of his death, for they said: 'Better it had been that he had been taken alive; for if he had been taken alive,' they said, 'he was so sage and so imaginative, that he would have found some manner of good means whereby the peace might have ensued between the realms of England and France: for he was so well beloved with the king of England, that the king would believe him rather than any other in the world.' Thus both French and English spake of his death, and specially the Englishmen, for by him Guyenne was kept and recovered.

CHAPTERS CCLXXI-CCLXXIX

SUMMARY.— The lord of Coucy, being son-in-law to the king of England, would take no part in the war and went into Lombardy.

The king of England sent letters into Acquitaine giving up the fouage, but this had little effect.

The duke of Bourbon laid siege to Belleperche, but the earls of Cambridge and Pembroke marched thither with a large force and removed thence the lady of Bourbon and the garrison.

It was purposed that in the following summer the duke of Anjou should enter Acquitaine by Bergérac and the duke of Berry by Limoges and Quercy, and so meet before Angoulême. It was resolved also to send for Bertrand du Guesclin from Spain. The French king made a treaty with the king of Navarre.

Bertrand du Guesclin came to the duke of Anjou at Toulouse.

The duke of Anjou took Moisac and Montpezat, while the duke of Berry lay at siege before Limoges. The prince of Wales summoned his host to meet at Cognac.

Peace was made between England and Scotland for nine years and sir Robert Knolles came over to Calais with a hundred spears of Scotland in his company. With fifteen hundred spears and four thousand archers he laid waste the lands of Picardy and Vermandois.

The duke of Anjou dismissed his army and went to Cahors.

Bertrand du Guesclin came to the siege of Limoges, which was on the point of surrendering.

[1] 'Oncques depuis cent ans ne fut,' etc.; that is, 'for a hundred year past there had not been,' etc.

CHAPTER CCLXXX

How they of Limoges yielded them to the duke of Berry, and how the same duke brake up his army.

WHEN sir Bertram was come again to the siege,[1] the Frenchmen were greatly rejoiced of his coming. Then anon they pursued the treaty that was begun between the bishop of Limoges and them of the city and the duke of Berry. And so finally the bishop and they of the city turned them and became French, and the duke of Berry and the duke of Bourbon entered into the city, and sir Guy of Blois and other lords of France, with great joy, and took faith and homage of them of the city, and so refreshed and rested them there a three days: and so determined there in council

[1] The translator by misunderstanding of a former passage has been led to suppose that du Guesclin had been at the siege of Limoges once before this, and therefore he inserts the word 'again.'

to break up their army for that time, as the duke of Anjou had done, and to return into their own countries to keep and defend their towns and fortresses because of sir Robert Knolles, who was still abroad in the field in France; also they said how they had right well sped in winning of such a city as Limoges. So this counsel and advice was not broken, but thus these lords departed each from other, and sir Bertram abode still in the parts of Limousin with two hundred spears and kept the castles of the lord of Melval, the which were turned French. When the duke of Berry departed from Limoges, he ordained and set in the same city at the request of the bishop sir John of Villemur, sir Hugh de la Roche and Roger Beaufort, with a hundred men of arms, and then he went into Berry and the duke of Bourbon into Bourbonnois, and other lords of farther marches went home into their own countries. Now let us speak of the prince, how he sped.

When tidings was come to the prince that the city of Limoges was turned French, and how that the bishop, who was his gossip and in whom he had before great trust and confidence, was chief aider to yield up the city and to become French, with the which the prince was sore displeased and set less force in[1] the men of the Church, in whom before he had great trust. Then he sware by his father's soul, whereby he was never forsworn, that he would get it again and that he would make the traitors dearly abye their falseness. When the most part of his people were come, they were numbered to twelve hundred spears, knights and squires, a thousand archers and a thousand[2] men afoot; and so he departed from the town of Cognac, and with him his two brethren, the duke of Lancaster and the earl of Cambridge. Sir Thomas Felton and the captal of Buch abode still at Bergerac, to keep the frontier against the Frenchmen and companions that were in the country. And with the prince also was sir Guichard d'Angle, sir Louis Harcourt, the lord of Pons, the lord of Partenay, the lord of Poyanne, the lord of Tannay-Bouton, sir Perceval of Couloyne, sir Godfrey d'Argenton, Poitevins; and Gascons, the lord of Montferrant, the lord of Caumont, the lord Langoiran, sir Aymery of Tastes, the lord of Pommiers, the lord of Mussidan, the lord of Lesparre, the lord of Geronde and divers other; Englishmen, as sir Thomas Percy, the lord Ros, the lord William Beauchamp, sir Michael de la Pole, the lord Stephen Cosington, sir Richard of Pontchardon, sir Baudwin of Freville, sir Simon Burley, sir d'Aghorisses, sir John Devereux, sir William of Nevill and divers other, the which I cannot all name; and of Hainowes there was sir Eustace d'Aubrecicourt; and of the companions sir Perducas d'Albret, Naudan of Bageran, and thither came le bourg de Lesparre, le bourg de Breteuil, Espiote, Bernard de Wist and divers other. So all these men of war went forth in good ordinance and took the fields, and all the country trembled before them. The prince was so diseased that he could not ride, but so was carried in a horse litter; and he took the way of Limousin to the intent to come to Limoges, and at last thither they came, and so lodged round about the city; and there the prince sware that he would never depart thence till he had the city at his pleasure.

The bishop within and the burgesses considered well how they had greatly trespassed the prince, whereof then they repented them, but then they could not remedy it, for they were not as then lords nor masters of their own city. Sir John Villemur, sir Hugh de la Roche and Roger Beaufort, who were captains within the city, comforted greatly their people and said: 'Sirs, be not afraid, we are strong enough to resist against the prince's power; for by assault he cannot hurt nor grieve us, we are all well furnished with artillery.' When the prince and his marshals had well imagined and considered the puissance and strength of the city and had knowledge of the number of men of war within, then they said how by assault they could never win it. Then the prince thought to assay another way. He had always in his company a great number of miners, and so he set them a-work to undermine. The knights within perceived well how they were undermined and began to make dikes and to countermine, to the intent to break their mine.

[1] 'Esteemed less.'

[2] 'Three thousand,' according to the true text.

CHAPTERS CCLXXXI, CCLXXXII

SUMMARY.—Sir Robert Knolles devastated France as far as the gates of Paris.
Bertrand du Guesclin made war in Limousin and took Saint-Yrieix.

CHAPTER CCLXXXIII

How the prince took the city of Limoges, and how four companions did marvels in arms.

ABOUT the space of a month or more was the prince of Wales before the city of Limoges, and there was neither assault nor scrimmish, but daily they mined. And they within knew well how they were mined, and made a countermine thereagainst to have destroyed the English miners; but they failed of their mine. And when the prince's miners saw how the countermine against them failed, they said to the prince: 'Sir, whensoever it shall please you we shall cause a part of the wall to fall into the dikes, whereby ye shall enter into the city at your ease without any danger.' Which words pleased greatly the prince, and said: 'I will that to-morrow betimes ye shew forth and execute your work.' Then the miners set fire into their mine, and so the next morning, as the prince had ordained, there fell down a great pane of the wall and filled the dikes, whereof the Englishmen were glad and were ready armed in the field to enter into the town. The foot-men might well enter at their ease, and so they did and ran to the gate and beat down the fortifying and barriers, for there was no defence against them: it was done so suddenly that they of the town were not ware thereof.

Then the prince, the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Cambridge, the earl of Pembroke, sir Guichard d'Angle and all the other with their companies entered into the city, and all other foot-men, ready apparelled to do evil, and to pill and rob the city, and to slay men, women and children, for so it was commanded them to do. It was great pity to see the men, women and children that kneeled down on their knees before the prince for mercy; but he was so inflamed with ire, that he took no heed to them, so that none was heard, but all put to death, as they were met withal, and such as were nothing culpable. There was no pity taken of the poor people, who wrought never no manner of treason, yet they bought it dearer than the great personages, such as had done the evil and trespass. There was not so hard a heart within the city of Limoges, an if he had any remembrance of God, but that wept piteously for the great mischief that they saw before their eyen: for more than three thousand men, women and children were slain and beheaded that day. God have mercy on their souls, for I trow they were martyrs. And thus entering into the city a certain company of Englishmen entered into the bishop's palace and there they found the bishop: and so they brought him to the prince's presence, who beheld him right fiercely and felly, and the best word that he could have of him was, how he would have his head stricken off, and so he was had out of his sight.

Now let us speak of the knights that were within the city, as sir John of Villemur, sir Hugh de la Roche, Roger Beaufort, son to the earl of Beaufort, captains of the city. When they saw the tribulation and pestilence that ran over them and their company, they said one to another: 'We are all dead, without we defend ourselves: therefore let us sell our lives dearly, as good knights ought to do.' Then sir John of Villemur said to Roger Beaufort: 'Roger, it behoveth that ye be made a knight.' Then Roger answered and said: 'Sir, I am not as yet worthy to be a knight: I thank you, sir, of your good-will.' So there was no more said: they had not the leisure to speak long together. Howbeit, they assembled them together in a place against an old wall and there displayed their banners. So they were to the number of eighty persons. Thither came the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Cambridge and their companies and so lighted afoot, so that the Frenchmen could not long endure against the Englishmen, for anon they were slain and taken. Howbeit, the duke of Lancaster himself fought long hand to hand against sir John Villemur, who was a strong knight and a hardy, and the earl of Cam-

bridge fought against sir Hugh de la Roche, and the earl of Pembroke against Roger Beaufort, who was as then but a squire. These three Frenchmen did many feats of arms: their men were occupied otherwise. The prince in his chariot came by them and beheld them gladly and appeased himself in beholding of them. So long they fought together that the three Frenchmen, by one accord beholding[1] their swords, said: 'Sirs, we be yours, ye have conquered us: do with us according to right of arms.' 'Sir,' quoth the duke of Lancaster, 'we look for nothing else: therefore we receive you as our prisoners.' And thus the foresaid three Frenchmen were taken, as it was informed me.

CHAPTER CCLXXXIV

How the city of Limoges was brent and destroyed, and the bishop delivered from death; and how sir Bertram of Guesclin was chosen constable.

THUS the city of Limoges was pilled, robbed and clean brent and brought to destruction. Then the Englishmen departed with their conquest and prisoners and drew to Cognac, where my lady the princess was. Then the prince gave leave to all his men of war to depart and did no more that season; for he felt himself not well at ease, for always his sickness increased, whereof his brethren and people were sore dismayed.

Now shall I shew you of the bishop of Limoges, who was in great peril of losing of his head. The duke of Lancaster desired of the prince to give him the bishop, to do with him at his pleasure. The prince was content and caused him to be delivered to the duke. The bishop had friends, and they had newly informed the pope, who was as then at Avignon, of the bishop's taking, the which fortuned well for the bishop, for else he had been dead. Then the pope by sweet words entreated the duke of Lancaster to deliver to him the said bishop. The duke would not deny the pope, but granted him and sent him to Avignon, whereof the pope was right glad.

Now let us speak of the adventures of France.

The French king was informed of the destruction and conquest of the city of Limoges, and how it was left clean void as a town of desert, wherewith he was sore displeased and took it in great passion, the damage and annoy of the inhabitants of the same. Then was it advised in France by counsel of the nobles, prelates and commons of all the realm, that it was of necessity that the Frenchmen should have a chief and a governour called the constable; for sir Moreau of Fiennes would leave and give up his office, who was a right valiant man of his hands and a great enterpriser of deeds of arms. So that, all things considered and imagined, by a common accord they chose sir Bertram of Guesclin, so that he would take it on him, as the most valiant knight, most virtuous and most able to execute that office and most fortunate that they knew as then, that bare arms for the crown of France. Then the king wrote and sent certain messengers to him, that he should come and speak with him at Paris. The messengers found him in the county of Limoges, whereas he took fortresses and castles and made them to yield to the lady of Bretayne, wife to sir Charles of Blois, and as then he had newly taken a town called Brantome and was riding towards another. And when the king's messengers were come to him, he received them joyously and right sagely, as he that could do it right well. Then the messengers delivered to him the king's letter and did his message, and when sir Bertram saw the commandment of the king, he would make none excuse, but concluded to go and know the king's pleasure; and so departed, as soon as he might, and sent the most part of his men into garrisons such as he had conquered, and he made sovereign and keeper of them sir Oliver of Mauny his nephew. Then he rode forth so long by his journeys that he came to Paris, where he found the king and great number of lords of his council, who received him right joyously and did him great reverence; and there the king shewed him how he and his council had chosen him to be constable of France. Then he excused himself right sagely and

[1] 'En regardant' in the French text, but the true reading is 'en rendant,' 'rendering.' The mistake arose by a repetition of 'regardant' just above.

said: 'Sir, I am not worthy: I am but a poor knight as in regard of your other great lords and valiant men in France, though it be so that fortune hath a little advanced me.' Then the king said: 'Sir, it is for nothing that ye excuse you: it behoveth you to take it; for it is so ordained and determined by all the council of France, the which in no wise I will break.' Then sir Bertram excused himself again by another way and said: 'Right dear sir and noble king, I may not nor dare not withsay your noble pleasure: howbeit, sir, it is of truth that I am but a poor man and too low of blood to come to the office of constable of France, the which is so great and so noble an office. For it is convenient that he that will exercise and acquit himself well in that office must command as well and rather the great men than the small personages. And, sir, behold here my lords your brethren, your nephews and your cousins, who hath charge of many men of war in your host and journeys. Sir, how durst I then be so bold as to command them? Certainly, sir, envy is so great that I ought to fear it. Therefore, sir, I require your grace, pardon me, and give this office to some other that would gladlier have it than I, and that may better execute the office.' Then the king answered and said: 'Sir Bertram, excuse you not by that way, for I have neither brother, cousin nor nephew, earl nor baron in my realm, but that shall obey you. And if any do the contrary, I shall so anger him that he shall perceive well my displeasure. Therefore, sir, take joyously the office I require you.' Sir Bertram saw well that any excusations that he could make should not avail: then finally he accorded to the opinion of the king right sore against his will. So then with great joy sir Bertram of Guesclin was made constable of France, and farther to his advancement the king caused him to sit at his table and shewed all the tokens of love that he could devise, and gave him with the office divers gifts and great lands and heritage to him and to his heirs for ever. To this promotion did help greatly the duke of Anjou.

CHAPTERS CCLXXXV-CCXCIII

SUMMARY.—Bertrand du Guesclin defeated some of sir Robert Knolles' company at Pont-Vallain and sir Robert Knolles withdrew to Brittany.

Urban V. died, and Gregory XI. became pope.

The eldest son of the prince of Wales died, and the prince himself by the advice of his physicians returned into England. He left the duke of Lancaster to govern the duchy of Acquitaine.

The duke of Lancaster took Mont-Paon.

Bertrand du Guesclin took several places in Rouergue and elsewhere.

The earl of Hereford defeated the Flemings by sea at la Baie in Brittany, and the king of England made war by sea on the Flemings; but they of Bruges, Ypres and Gaunt sent into England to treat for a peace, which was made on certain conditions.

CHAPTERS CCXCIV-CCCI

SUMMARY.—The king of Mallorca was set free and made war on the king of Aragon.

The duke of Lancaster married the eldest daughter of the king don Pedro of Castile, and king Henry of Castile made alliance with the king of France.

The duke of Lancaster returned to England, leaving governours in Acquitaine. After the winter the king of England sent the earl of Pembroke into Poitou. The king of France ordained a fleet of Spaniards to lie in wait for him at La Rochelle. The English were totally defeated in a sea fight (June 23, 1372) and the earl of Pembroke and sir Guichard d'Angle were made prisoners.

In the same season Owen of Wales landed in Guernsey and defeated the English there.

The earl of Pembroke and the other prisoners were brought to king Henry in Spain.

CHAPTERS CCCII-CCCVI

SUMMARY.—Bertrand du Guesclin took Montcontour and Sainte-Sévère: Poitiers

and La Rochelle turned French, and the whole of Poitou, Saintonge and Rochelle was conquered from the English.

CHAPTERS CCCVII-CCCXIII

SUMMARY.—War was carried on against the English in Brittany, and siege was laid to Bécherel.

King David of Scotland died and was succeeded by Robert Stuart his nephew.

The constable du Guesclin came to Brittany, and the duke of Brittany retired to England. Nearly all Brittany was conquered by the French in spite of the efforts of the English to strengthen their forces.

The duke of Anjou conquered towns in upper Gascony.

Negotiations for a peace were carried on at Bruges, and a truce was made, to last for one year.

CHAPTER CCCXIV

Of the journey that the lord of Coucy made in Austrich, and of the death of the prince of Wales, and how there could be found no manner of treaty of peace between the two kings: and also of the death of the king of England, Edward the third.

THE same season there was come into France the lord of Coucy, who had been long in Lombardy with the earl of Vertus, son to sir Galeas, making war against sir Bernabo and his allies, because of pope Gregory the eleventh, and for the holy college of Rome. The lord of Coucy by succession of his mother, who was sister to the duke of Austrich last deceased, whereby he ought to be inheritor to the duchy, for the duke was dead without issue by way of marriage: and they of Austrich had given the duchy and lands to another farther off by lineage than the lord Coucy, whereof the lord Coucy had oftentimes complained to the emperor, the lord Charles of Bohemia. The emperor knew well that the lord Coucy had right thereto: howbeit, he might not with his ease constrain them of Austrich, for they were strong in his country and many good men of war. The lord of Coucy had made war there before by the comfort of his aunt, sister to the duke, but little it availed him. And when he was thus come into France, the king made him great cheer. Then he advised and saw well how there was in France as then many men of war sat as idle: wherefore he thought they could not be better occupied than to help him to his right during the truce between France and England. Then the lord of Coucy desired the king to let him have of the Bretons such as overran the realm, to make war with him in Austrich. The king, who would gladly that the companions were out of his realm, accorded to his desire: so the king lent or gave him, I cannot tell whether, a sixty thousand franks to depart among the said companions. So they rode forth toward Austrich about the feast of Saint Michael: they did much evil all the ways as they went: also there were divers barons, knights and squires of France, of Artois, of Vermandois, of Hainault and of Picardy, as the viscounts of Meaux and d'Aunay, sir Ralph of Coucy, the baron of Roye, Peter of Bar and divers other, desiring to advance their bodies to get them honour.

When the feast of All Saints began to approach, then there came again to Bruges to entreat for peace from the French king, the duke of Burgoyne, the earl of Sarrebruck, the bishop of Amiens and the duke of Anjou, but he lay still at Saint-Omer's; and from the king of England thither came the duke of Lancaster, the duke of Bretayne, the earl of Salisbury, the bishop of London. The town of Bruges was well garnished with divers estates, and specially the duke of Burgoyne kept there a noble estate; and with the duke of Lancaster there was sir Robert of Namur and kept him good company as long as the duke was in Flanders; and there were the ambassadors, the archbishop of Rouen and the bishop of Carpentras, who went still and laboured between both parties and laid forth many good reasons, but none came to any effect. These lords were far asunder in their treaties; for the French king demanded to have again fourteen hundred thousand franks, the which were paid for the redemption of king John, and to have Calais rased and beaten down, to the which the king of England would never consent: so the truce was continued to the feast of

Saint John Baptist next after, the year of our Lord a thousand three hundred and seventy-six. And so these lords tarried still at Bruges all that winter, and in summer they returned every part to their own countries, except the duke of Bretayne, who tarried still in Flanders with the earl Louis his cousin, who made him good cheer.

The same season on Trinity Sunday there passed out of this world the flower of chivalry of England, Edward prince of Wales and of Acquitaine, at the king's palace of Westminster beside London. And so he was embalmed and put in lead and kept till the feast of Saint Michael next after, to be interred with the greater solemnity when the parliament should be there. King Charles of France because of lineage did his obsequy reverently in the Holy Chapel of the palace in Paris, and there were many of the prelates and nobles of the realm of France: and so then the truce was prolonged to the first day of April next after.

Now let us somewhat speak of the lord Coucy and of the Almains. When they of Austrich and the Almains understood that the lord of Coucy was come with such a strength to make war, they caused to be brent and destroyed three days' journey into the country along by the river, and then they went into the mountains and places inhabitable. And so when the lord of Coucy had weened to have found victual for his host, he could get none; whereby he suffered that winter much trouble and disease, for they wist not whither to go to forage nor to get victual for them nor their horses, so that some died for hunger, cold and sickness: and therefore when the springing time began, they returned again into France, and went into divers places to refresh themselves. And the French king sent the most part of the companions into Bretayne and into base Normandy to abide and rest there, for he thought well he should have somewhat to do in short time after. And at the returning of the lord Coucy into France, he began to be good French, because he found the king so amiable to condescend to his desire, and also his council said he need not to avoid out of his heritage under the shadow of the king of England's war, for they said he was French of name, of blood, of arms and extraction. He sent his wife into England and kept still with him his eldest daughter, and left the younger still in England, whereas she had been brought up and nourished. Then the French king sent the lord Coucy to Bruges to them that were there to entreat for the peace. Howbeit, as then the great lords were not there, but all only the duke of Bretayne, who was still with his cousin the earl of Flanders; but he busied himself but little in the treaty for the peace.

And after the feast of Saint Michael, when the obsequy of the prince was done and finished, then the king of England made to be known to his sons, the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Cambridge, and to the lord Thomas the youngest, and to all the barons, earls, prelates and knights of England, how that the young Richard should be king after his decease, and so caused them all to swear solemnly to maintain him. And on Christmas day the king made him to sit at his table above all his own children in great estate, representing that he should be king after his decease. And there was sent to Bruges for the king of England's part John lord Cobham, the bishop of Hereford and the dean of London; and for the French part thither came the earl of Sarrebruck, the lord of Chatillon and master Philbert l'Espinasse; and the two bishops ambassadors always went between the parties treating for peace and spake of a marriage to be had between the young prince of England and my lady Mary, daughter to the French king. And so they departed, as well they of France as of England, and so made report to both kings. And then about Lent there was a secret treaty devised to be between the two kings at Montreuil-by-the-sea, and so were sent by the king of England to Calais sir Guichard d'Angle, Richard Stury, Geoffrey Chaucer, and from the French king was sent the lord of Coucy and of Riviere, sir Nicholas Braque and Nicholas Mercier. And they a long season treated on the said marriage, and the Frenchmen offered, as I was informed, divers things, and they would have again other things such as they named, or else nothing. Then these entreators went and made report to their lords, and so the truce was again relonged to the first day of May. And so came

again to Calais the earl of Salisbury, the bishop of Saint David's, chancellor of England, and the bishop of Hereford: and for the French king at Montreuil there was the lord of Coucy, sir Willam of Dormans, chancellor of France. But they durst never trust to meet together in any place between Montreuil and Calais, nor between Montreuil and Boulogne, nor in the frontiers, for anything that the two bishops ambassadors could do or shew. Thus these entreators abode in this estate, till the truce was expired.

And when the war was open, then sir Hugh Calverley was sent to be keeper of Calais. When pope Gregory being at Avignon understood that no peace could be had between France and England, he was right sorrowful and ordered his business shortly and went to Rome. And when the duke of Bretayne, who had been more than a year with the earl of Flanders his cousin, saw that the war was open, he took leave of the earl and went to Gravelines, and thither he came to the earl of Salisbury and sir Guichard d'Angle, and so went with them to Calais and there tarried the space of a month, and so went into England and came to Sheen, a four leagues from London along by the Thames side, where the king of England lay sore sick and passed out of this world the vigil of Saint John Baptist the year of our Lord a thousand three hundred and seventy-seven.

Then was there great sorrow made in England, and incontinent all the passages of the realm were stopped, that none should issue out of the realm; for they would not that the death of the king should be so soon known in France, till they had set the realm in some order. The same time there came into England the earl of Salisbury and sir Guichard d'Angle. So the body of king Edward the third with great processions, weepings and lamentations, his sons behind him with all the nobles and prelates of England, was brought along the city of London with open visage to Westminster, and there he was buried beside the queen his wife. And anon after, the young king Richard was crowned at the palace of Westminster with great solemnity, and by him stood the dukes of Lancaster and of Bretayne, the eleventh year of his age, in the month of July: the which day there was made four earls and nine knights; first the lord Thomas his uncle was made earl of Buckingham, the lord Percy earl of Northumberland, sir Guichard d'Angle earl of Huntingdon, the lord Mowbray earl of Nottingham: and the young king was put unto the rule of the gentle knight sir Guichard d'Angle by the accord of all the land, to be instructed in noble virtues, and the realm of England to be governed by the duke of Lancaster. And as soon as the French king knew of the death of king Edward, he said how right nobly and valiantly he had reigned, and well he ought to be put newly in remembrance among the number of the worthies. Then he assembled a great number of the nobles and prelates of his realm and did his obsequy in the Holy Chapel in his palace at Paris. And anon after died the eldest daughter of the French king, who was ensured to have been married to William of Hainault, eldest son of duke Aubert.

CHAPTERS CCCXV-CCCXVII

SUMMARY.—The French king sent a great navy to sea and ravaged the coasts of England.

The captal de Buch, after being a prisoner in France for five years, died in the Temple at Paris.

The duke of Burgundy took Ardres and other fortresses near Calais.

War was renewed between the French king and the king of Navarre, and the king of Navarre lost the county of Évreux, except Cherbourg, which was fruitlessly besieged by the French.

The French gained Auray and other towns in Brittany, and laid a garrison against Cherbourg under sir William des Bordes, who was defeated and made prisoner by the English on Saint Martin's day in July 1379.[1]

[1] Here ends the first book of the Chronicles, which coincides with the first volume of the translator's French text. Some of the events which have been shortly mentioned before this are related with more detail in the second book. Each book was originally a separate work, and that edition of the first book which was dedicated to Robert of Namur contained a summary of the events down to 1379, a part of which the author omitted afterwards when putting together the first and second books. The copyists, however, usually combined the second redaction of the first book with

CHAPTERS CCCXVIII–CCCXXV

SUMMARY.—The duke of Anjou and the constable of France made a great assembly and laid siege to Bergérac. A body of English were surprised and defeated at Eymet: sir Thomas Felton, seneschal of Bordeaux, and several Gascon lords were taken prisoners. Bergérac was surrendered to the French, and the duke of Anjou took other towns and castles in Gascony.

The Scots by stealth took the castle of Berwick, which was won again by the earl of Northumberland, who then invaded Scotland. Sir Thomas Musgrave was defeated by the Scots in the field of Saint Giles and the English retired from Scotland.

The author thus continues:—

Now let us leave to speak of Scotland for this present time and let us speak of other incidents that fell in France.

The same time, in the month of February, the French queen died, and, as the physicians said, through her own fault. For she lay in childbed of a fair lady named Katherine, who was after duchess of Berry: the queen being in childbed was not well at ease, and her physicians had defended her in any wise that she should not enter into no bain; for they said it was contrary to her disease and right perilous for her. All that notwithstanding, she would needs be bained, and so she was, and so fell sicker and died: and so king Charles of France was a widower, for he never married after.

CHAPTER CCCXXVI

How the war began again between the Navarrois and the Frenchmen; and of the beginning of the schism of holy Church.

AFTER the death of the French queen died also the queen of Navarre, sister-german to the French king, and after the death of this queen of Navarre great murmuring rose between the sage men and customiers of the county of Evreux, which is in Normandy, the which by right succession of their mother should fall to the king of Navarre's children, who were as then within age and under the rule and keeping of their uncle king Charles of France. And king Charles of Navarre was had in such suspect beforetime, in that he had made and consented and raised so many evils and inconveniences in the realm of France, that he was not worthy to hold any heritage in the realm of France under the shadow of his children. The same season there came out of Acquitaine the constable of France, who had been all that season with the duke of Anjou, and brought with him in his company the lord Mussidan of Gascoyne to see the king and to be acquainted with him, and so he did. Between the king and the constable there was many secret counsels of the state of the realm of France and of Navarre, which was not suddenly known. We shall shortly speak of that matter: but justly to chronicle all matters that fell in the same season in the world, I shall shew you of the beginning of the pestilence and inconvenience that began in the Church of God, whereby all Christendom was in great trouble and variance, and thereby many great mischiefs grew and followed.

Ye have heard herebefore how pope Gregory, the eleventh of that name, was in the city of Avignon. And when he saw that he could find no manner of peace to be had between the kings of England and France, wherewith he was in great displeasure, for he had greatly travailed thereabout and had made his cardinals to do the same, then he advised himself and had a devotion to go and revisit Rome and the see apostolic, the which Saint Peter and Saint Paul had edified. He had made before promise that, if ever he came to the degree to be pope, he would never keep his see but thereas Saint Peter kept his and ordained it. This pope was a man of feeble complexion and sickly, and endured much pain more than any other. And he thus being in Avignon was so sore let with the businesses of France and so sore travailed with the king and his brethren, that

the first of the second book. It is important to notice that the text of each separate book is an independent one, and that what has been said in the introduction about abridgment and omission in the French text hardly applies except to that of the first book, in which also the variations of the different redactions are far more important than in the other books: indeed a large part of the first book was completely rewritten twice after its first production.

with much pain he had any leisure to take heed anything to himself or to his Church. Then he said to himself he would go farther off from them to be more at rest; and so he caused provision to be made on the river of Genes[1] and all the ways as he should pass, as it appertained to such an high estate as he was; and then he said to his cardinals: 'Sirs, make you ready, for I will to Rome.' Of that motion his cardinals were sore abashed and displeased, for they loved not the Romans, and so they would fain have turned his purpose, but they could not. And when the French king knew thereof, he was sore displeased, for he thought he had the pope nearer at hand there than in any other place. Then the king wrote incontinent to his brother the duke of Anjou, who was at Toulouse, signifying him that after the sight of his letters he should go to Avignon to the pope and break his voyage to Rome, if it were possible. The duke did as the king commanded him, and so came to Avignon, where the cardinals received him with great joy, and so was lodged in the pope's palace, the ofter thereby to speak with the pope. Ye may well know he spake with the pope and shewed him divers reasons to have broken his purpose: but the pope would in no wise consent thereto nor take any heed of any businesses on this side the mountains; but the pope gave the duke full puissance to do what he might, reserving certain cases papal, the which he might not give to no man, nor put them out of his own hands. When the duke saw he could not come to his intent for no reason nor fair words that he could shew, he took leave of the pope and said at his departing: 'Holy father, ye go into a good country among such people whereas ye be but little beloved, and ye will leave the fountain of faith and the realm whereas holy Church hath most faith and excellence of all the world. And, sir, by your deed the Church may fall in great tribulation; for if ye die there, the which is right likely, and so say the physicians, then the Romans, who be malicious and traitors, shall be lords and masters of all the cardinals and shall make a pope at their own will.' Howbeit, for all these words and many other, the pope never rested till he was on his way, and so came to Marseille, whereas the galleys of Genes were ready to receive him, and the duke returned again to Toulouse. Pope Gregory entered into the sea at Marseille with a great company, and had good wind and so took land at Genes, and there new refreshed his galleys and so took the sea again and sailed till he came to Rome. The Romans were right joyful of his coming, and all the chief of Rome mounted on their horses and so brought him into Rome with great triumph, and lodged in Saint Peter's palace. And oftentimes he visited a church called our Lady the Great[1] within Rome, wherein he had great pleasure and did make therein many costly works. And within a while after his coming to Rome he died, and was buried in the said church, and there his obsequy was made, as to a pope appertained.

Anon after the death of the pope Gregory, the cardinals drew them into the conclave in the palace of Saint Peter. Anon after, as they were entered to choose a pope, according to their usage, such one as should be good and profitable for holy Church, the Romans assembled them together in a great number and came into the bourage of Saint Peter.[2] They were to the number of thirty thousand, what one and other, in the intent to do evil, if the matter went not according to their appetites. And they came oftentimes before the conclave and said: 'Hark ye, sir cardinals, deliver you at once and make a pope: ye tarry too long. If ye make a Roman, we will not change him; but if ye make any other, the Roman people and counsels will not take him for pope, and ye put yourselves all in adventure to be slain.' The cardinals, who were as then in the danger of the Romans and heard well those words, they were not at their ease nor assured of their lives, and so appeased them of their ire as well as they might with fair words; but so much rose the felony of the Romans, that such as were next to the conclave, to the intent to make the cardinals afraid and to cause them to condescend the rather to their opinions, brake up the door of the conclave, whereas the cardinals were. Then the cardinals

[1] That is, the Riviera of Genoa.

[1] Sta. Maria Maggiore, on the Esquiline.

[2] That is, the bourg of Saint Peter, the Leonine city.

weened surely to have been slain and so fled away to save their lives, some one way and some another: but the Romans were not so content, but took them and put them together again, whether they would or not. The cardinals then, seeing themselves in the danger of the Romans and in great peril of their lives, agreed among themselves, more for to please the people than for any devotion: howbeit, by good election they chose an holy man, a cardinal of the Roman nation, whom pope Urban the fifth had made cardinal, and he was called before the cardinal of Saint Peter.[1] This election pleased greatly the Romans, and so this good man had all the rights that belonged to the papality; howbeit, he lived not but three days after, and I shall shew you why. The Romans, who desired to have a pope of their own nation, were so joyful of this new pope, that they took him, who was a hundred year of age, and set him on a white mule, and so led him up and down through the city of Rome, exalting him and shewing how they had vanquished the cardinals, seeing they had a pope Roman according to their own intents, insomuch that the good holy man was so sore travailed that he fell sick, and so died the third day, and was buried in the church of Saint Peter, and there he lieth.

CHAPTER CCCXXVII

Of the orgulous words that the Romans said at the election of the new pope again: and how the war renewed between the French king and the king of Navarre.

Of the death of this pope the cardinals were right sorrowful, for they saw well how the matter should not go well to pass. For they had thought, if that pope had lived, to have dissimuled among the Romans for two or three years and at the last to have brought the see apostolic into some other place than at Rome, at Naples or at Genes, out of the danger of the Romans; but the death of the pope brake their purpose. Then the cardinals went again into the conclave in greater danger than they were in before, for the Romans assembled them together again before the conclave and made semblant to break it up and to slay them all, if they did not choose a pope according to their minds, and cried to the cardinals and said: 'Sirs, advise you well. If ye deliver us a pope Roman, we be content; or else we will make your heads redder than your hats be.' Such words and menaces abashed greatly the cardinals, for they had rather a died confessors than martyrs. Then to bring themselves out of that danger and peril, they made a pope; but he was none of the college of cardinals, he was archbishop of Bari, a great clerk who greatly had travailed for the wealth of holy Church. With his promotion of papality the Romans were appeased, for the cardinal of Genes put out his head out at a window of the conclave and said on high to the people of Rome: 'Sirs, appease you, for you have a pope Roman, and that is Bartholomew des Aigles, archbishop of Bari.' The people answered all with one voice: 'Then we be content.' The same archbishop was not as then at Rome; I think he was in Naples. Then he was incontinent sent for, of the which tidings he was right glad, and so came to Rome, and at his coming there was great feast made to him, and so he had all the rights that pertained to the papality and was called Urban, the sixth of that name. The Romans had great joy: his creation was signified to all the churches of Christenty and also to emperors, kings, dukes and earls, and the cardinals sent word to all their friends that he was chosen by good and true election: howbeit, some of them repented them after, that they had spoken so largely in the matter. This pope renounced all graces given before, and so divers departed from their countries and places and went to Rome to have grace.

Now let us leave somewhat to speak of this matter, and let us return to our principal history of the businesses of France.

Ye have heard right well herebefore how the king of Navarre, who had to his wife the French king's sister, for the love of the one and of the other it was said and pur-

[1] The cardinal de Saint-Pierre was not actually elected, but it was thought for a time that he was so (Kervyn de Lettenhove, ix. 501).

posed[1] that the heritage of the children of the king of Navarre, the which was fallen to them by the right of their mother, that the French king their uncle by the succession of his sister ought to have power thereof in name of the children, seeing the children were in his keeping; whereby all the land that the king of Navarre held in Normandy should be in the French king's hand, as long as his nephews were within age. Of all these matters the king of Navarre doubted greatly, for he knew well the usage and custom of France. Then he advised him of two things: the one was to send the bishop of Pampelone and sir Martin Carra into France to the king, desiring him heartily that for good love and favour to send him his two sons Charles and Peter, and if it pleased him not to send him both two, then at least to send him his son Charles, because he was towards a treaty for a marriage for him with the daughter of the king of Castile. The second thing was, notwithstanding that he sent thus into France, yet secretly he sent also into Normandy, to visit and to refresh the castles there pertaining to him, to the intent that the Frenchmen should not take them into their hands: for he feared, if they had them once in their possessions, he should not have them again when he would. And so he sent two valiant men of arms Navarrois, in whom he had great trust, the one called Peter Basele and the other Ferrando, into Normandy for the said intent. The first messengers went into France, as the bishop of Pampelone and sir Martin Carra, who spake with the king at great leisure, right humbly recommending the king of Navarre to him, desiring in his name that he would send to him his two sons. The king answered and said, he would take advice and counsel in the matter: and so after they were answered in the king's name, the king being present and the two children also his nephews, how that the king loved them right entirely, wherefore they could not be better in no place, and that the king of Navarre ought to be content rather to suffer them to be in France with the king their uncle than in any other place; and also the king will in no wise depart from them, but keep them about him in their estate as the children of a king and like his nephews. Other answer the messengers could not have. And in the mean season that these messengers were in France, Peter of Basele and Ferrando arrived at Cherbourg with great provision, the which they put in divers places, in towns and castles of the king of Navarre's in Normandy, and so they visited in the king of Navarre's name all the county of Evreux, and made new officers and set in people at their pleasures. And so returned again into Navarre the bishop of Pampelone and sir Martin Carra and shewed the king how they had sped in France. The king of Navarre was not very glad of that tidings, when he could not have his own sons, and so began a great hatred in his heart toward the French king, the which he would gladly have shewed, if he had might, but the puissance of himself was not so great to grieve the realm of France without help and aid of some other realm: so he suffered all these matters, till he had better cause to speak and more displeasure done to him than he had as then.

The French king and his council were well informed that the king of Navarre had new revictualled his castles and towns in Normandy, but they knew not for what intent. The same season the Englishmen made a secret army on the sea of two thousand men of arms, but they had no horse with them, of the which army the duke of Lancaster and the earl of Cambridge were chief captains. This the Normans reported surely to the French king; and this army came on the coasts of Normandy, but they could not tell to what part they would draw unto. Some in France thought that the king of Navarre had caused them to come into Normandy, to deliver to them such castles as he had there: wherefore it was said to the king: 'Sir, go hastily and be lord of those castles before, for ye may hap to tarry too long: for if the Englishmen have them, they may do much hurt to the realm of France, for

[1] The true text runs thus: 'Ye have heard right well before how the king of Navarre was left a widower, who had had to wife the sister of the king of France, and how the wise men of the realm of France, taking advice one with another, said and proposed,' etc. The translator gives us a pretty literal rendering of his text, which was hopeless. The words 'was left a widower' and 'realm of France' were there omitted, and 'par l'avis l'un de l'autre' was corrupted into 'par l'amour l'un de l'autre.'

it shall be one of the best entries that they can have, if they were lords in Normandy, of the cities, towns and castles belonging to the king of Navarre.' The same season there was taken in France two secretaries of the king of Navarre, a clerk and a squire; the clerk was called Peter of Tertre and the squire James of Rue, and they were brought to Paris to be examined; and so much it was known by them of the secrets of the realm of Navarre, how they were determined to have done damage to the king, or else to have poisoned him: so they were condemned to die, and execution was done at Paris, beheaded and quartered. These tidings multiplied so on the king of Navarre, that the French king sware that he would never attend to none other thing, till he had rid Normandy, and taken into his possession for the behoof of his nephews all the towns and castles that the king of Navarre held there. So daily there came sore informations to the French king against the king of Navarre: also it was said openly that the duke of Lancaster should give his daughter Katherine to the king of Navarre, and so by that means the king should give to the duke of Lancaster all the whole county of Evreux. These words were lightly believed in France, for the king of Navarre was but little trusted among them. So then the same time the French king came to Rouen, and there assembled a great army of men of war, whereof the lord Coucy and the lord de la Riviere were chief captains, and they all met together before a town called Evreux, a city in Normandy pertaining to the king of Navarre. And these two lords had the two sons of the king of Navarre, Charles and Peter, to shew to them of the country that the war that they made was in the name of the two children for their heritage, that was fallen to them by the right of their mother, and how that the king of Navarre had no right to keep them. But the most part of the men of arms were so joined in love with the king of Navarre, that they could not depart out of his service, and also the Navarrois that were there assembled, such as the king of Navarre had sent thither, caused his war to be the more easier and fair.

CHAPS. CCCXXVIII–CCCXXXVII

SUMMARY. — The French king seized the county of Montpellier, which belonged to the king of Navarre, and the lords de Coucy and de la Rivière laid siege to Évreux.

The king of Navarre sent for help to England and then went thither himself to make an alliance. It was agreed that the English should set garrisons in the king of Navarre's towns and castles in Normandy and send a force to help him against the king of Castile. The French took Carentan, Moulineaux, Conches and Pacy, so that the king of Navarre held nothing in Normandy but Évreux and Cherbourg. Meanwhile the English with the duke of Lancaster laid siege to Saint-Malo.

Evan of Wales was killed by his own squire before Mortagne.

Évreux surrendered to the French.

The English sent a large fleet to Bordeaux to help the king of Navarre, and the siege of Mortagne was raised. The English recovered some castles about Bordeaux.

The English failed in their assaults on Saint-Malo and so returned to England: at Cherbourg sir Oliver du Guesclin was made prisoner.

CHAPTERS CCCXXXVIII–CCCXLII

SUMMARY. — The king of Navarre asked for help from the English at Bordeaux, who entered Navarre, compelling the Spaniards to raise the siege of Pamplona, and invaded Castile. Peace was made between the kings of Navarre and of Castile. King Henry died and was succeeded by John his son.

CHAPTER CCCXLIII

How the French king's messenger was let of his viage into Scotland, and of the debate that began between the French king and the earl of Flanders.

In the same season returned into England sir Thomas Trivet and sir William Helman, with divers other knights and squires, such

as had been in Spain to aid the king of Navarre's war: and so they came to the king of England, who as then was at Chertsey with his two uncles the duke of Lancaster and the earl of Cambridge with him; and these knights were joyfully received of the king and these lords, and there they were desired to shew some tidings from those parts. And so they shewed all that they knew both of Spain and of Navarre and of the peace made between the two kings of Spain and Navarre, and how the king of Navarre had married Charles his eldest son to king Henry's daughter, and so from point to point as the treaty was between them. The duke of Lancaster and the earl of Cambridge were right pensive of these words, for they thought and named themselves to be heirs of Spain by right of their wives. Then they demanded how long it was sith king Henry the bastard died, and whether the Spaniards had crowned John his son or no. The knights answered and said: 'Sirs, at the death of king Henry nor at the coronation of John his son we were not present, for by that time we were come back into Navarre. But, sir, here is an herald was there present: ye may know everything by him, an it please you.'

Then the herald was called forth and demanded by the duke of Lancaster how the matter was. He answered and said: 'Sir, at your request I shall shew you. In the mean season, while these noblemen were at Pampelone, abiding the accomplishment of the treaty, the which was made by their good wills and leaves, I tarried behind still with the king of Navarre, whereas I had good cheer both of him and of his men: and so I went with him from Pampelone to Saint Dominic's, against whose coming king Henry issued out of the town with a goodly company and met us with great sign of love and peace. And there the king of Navarre was greatly honoured by him and all his, and gave him the same night an honest supper. And after supper tidings was brought to them how that a great wild boar was lodged in the launds thereby, and so it was ordained that the next morning they should go and hunt the same boar: and so they did, at which hunting there was both kings and a great company, and the boar taken, and against night they returned again with great love to Saint Dominic's. And the next day king Henry departed and went to Belorade for a day that he had there against his men, and there he fell sick and so died. And the king of Navarre was coming toward him to see him there, and by the way he heard word of his death, whereof he was right sorry, and so returned again; and then I took leave of him and went into Castile to know some tidings there. This king Henry died on Whitsunday, and anon after, the twenty-fifth day of July, the day of Saint James and Saint Christopher, John of Castile his eldest son was crowned king in the cathedral church in the city of Burgos, at the which coronation were all the barons and prelates of Spain, of Galice, of Cordowan and of Seville, and all they sware there on the holy Evangelists to take and maintain him for their king, and there was made the same day two hundred and ten new knights and many a great gift given. The next morning with a great company of noblemen he went to an abbey of ladies without Burgos called Horghes,[1] and there he heard mass and dined. And after dinner there was great jousting, and the viscount of Roquebertin of Aragon had the prize; and then he returned again to Burgos: and this feast endured fifteen days.'

Then the duke of Lancaster enquired if the king of Portugal was desired to be there or not. 'Sir,' quoth the herald, 'he was desired; but for all that he was not there, nor would not come thither. And, as it was said, he answered the messenger that came to him, how he would not go to the coronation of the son of a bastard.' 'By my faith,' quoth the duke of Lancaster, 'he was right well counselled to say these words: I can him great thank therefor. I trust the matter shall not long abide in that case, for my brother and I will demand that heritage, whereof he calleth himself king as now.' And so they left talking and called for drink.

Now let us leave to speak of this matter and return to the business of France.

King Charles of France, who as then reigned, was right sage and subtle, and that was well shewed as long as he lived. For though that he kept himself privy in his chamber taking his pleasure and sport, yet

[1] Huelgas.

he conquered again that his predecessors had lost in the field armed with their swords in their hands; wherefore he was greatly to be commended. And because he knew well that king Robert of Scotland and all the realm there had made war and had mortal hate to the Englishmen, for those two realms could never love together, therefore to the intent to nourish more love between France and Scotland, the French king thought to send a knight and a secretary of his council to king Robert of Scotland and to the Scots, to speak with them and to advise the country and to know if he might make any good war to England by Scotland. For Evan of Wales in his lifetime had informed him that Scotland was the place in the world whereby England might be most annoyed. And of this purpose the French king had many imaginations, so that at last he ordained a knight, a sage man called sir Peter lord of Bournazel, and said to him: 'Sir, ye shall go and do this message into Scotland and recommend me to the king there and to his barons, and shew him how that we and our realm are ready to do them pleasure and to have a treaty with them as our friends, so that thereby in the season to come we may send people thither, whereby we may have entry into England that way in like manner as our predecessors have had in time past; and in your going thither and coming homeward I will ye keep such estate as a messenger and commissary of a king should do, on our cost and charge.' 'Sir,' quoth the knight, 'all shall be as it pleaseth you.'

And so he tarried not long after, but when he was ready, departed from Paris and did so much by his journeys that he came to Sluys in Flanders, and there tarried and abode for wind and passage a fifteen days, for the wind was contrary for him. And in the mean season he held a great estate, and well stuffed with vessel of gold and silver throughout his hall as largely as though he had been a little duke or better. His minstrels played before his service daily, and bare a sword[1] garnished with gold and silver, and his men paid well for everything. Of the great estate that this knight kept in his house and in the streets divers of the town had great marvel. The baily of the town beheld it well, who was officer there under the earl of Flanders, and could keep it no longer secret, wherein he did evil; for he sent word thereof to the earl, who lay at Bruges, and the duke of Bretayne his cousin with him. And when the earl of Flanders had studied a little on the matter and by the help of the duke of Bretayne, ordained that the knight should be brought to him. The baily returned again to Sluys and came uncourteously to the French knight, for he set his hand on him and rested him in the earl of Flanders' name, whereof the knight had great marvel and said to the baily: 'What meaneth this? I am a messenger and commissary of the French king.' 'Sir,' quoth the baily, 'I believe well. Howbeit ye must needs go and speak with the earl of Flanders, for he hath commanded me to bring you to him.' So the knight could make no scuse, but that he and his company were brought to Bruges to the earl. And when he was in the earl's chamber, the earl and the duke stood together leaning out of a window into the garden-ward. Then the knight kneeled down and said: 'Sir, behold here is your prisoner': of the which word the earl was sore displeased, and said in despite and ire: 'What sayest thou, ribbald? that thou art my prisoner, because I have sent to speak with thee? Thy master's servants may right well come and speak with me: but thou hast not well acquitted thyself, sith thou hast been so long at Sluys and knowing me here so near to thee, and yet not come once to see or to speak with me. Thou haddest disdain so to do.' 'Sir,' quoth the knight, 'saving your displeasure'—then the duke of Bretayne took the words and said: 'Among you bourders and janglers in the palace of Paris and in the king's chamber ye set by the realm as ye list and play with the king at your pleasure, and do well or evil as ye will yourselves: for there is no prince of the blood royal, if ye among you have once brought him into any hate or displeasure with the king, that can be heard after. But once I trust there will be so many of such people taken, that the gibbets will be full of them.'

The knight, who sat still on his knees, was right sore abashed of those words, for the hearing of such words was right hard to him. Howbeit, he saw well it was

[1] '[Il] faisoit porter devant luy une espée,' etc.

better for him to keep his tongue than to speak, and so gave no answer to those words: and when he saw his time, he took his leave of the earl and of the lords and departed out of their presence, and some noblemen that were about the earl made him way and made him to drink, and then he returned again to Sluys to his lodging. And I shall shew you what fell after. Though all his purveyance were ready apparelled and that he had wind at will to have sailed into Scotland, yet he durst not put himself into the dangers of the sea: for it was shewed him how he was spied by the Englishmen that he lay at Sluys, and how that if he kept on his voyage he was likely to be taken and carried into England; and because of those doubts he brake his viage and returned to Paris to the king.

Ye may well know that the lord of Bournazel told no less to the French king than was done to him by the earl of Flanders, and also it was needful for him to tell all for his excuse, for the king had marvel of his returning. The same season there were divers knights in the king's chamber, and specially sir John of Ghistelles of Hainault, cousin to the earl of Flanders, who had great displeasure at the words of this knight that he had of the earl of Flanders, so that finally he could keep his tongue no longer, but said: 'I cannot suffer these words thus to be spoken of my dear lord; and, sir knight, if ye will say that he did as ye say, to let you of your viage, in that quarrel I appeal you to the field and here is my gage.' The lord of Bournazel was nothing abashed to answer, but said: 'Sir John, I say thus, how I was thus taken by the baily of Sluys and brought before the earl of Flanders, and as ye have heard, he said to me, and in like wise so did the duke of Bretayne; and if ye will say contrary to this, I will receive your gage.' 'I will say so,' quoth the lord of Ghistelles. With those words the king was not content, and said, 'Let us go hence: I will hear no more of these words': and so departed and went into his chamber, all only with his chamberlains, right glad that the lord of Bournazel had so well and freely spoken against the words of sir John of Ghistelles, and said all smiling: 'He hath holden foot well with him: I would not for twenty thousand franks but that he had done so.' And after it fortuned so that this sir John of Ghistelles, who was chamberlain with the king, was so evil beloved in the court, that he was weary thereof and thought not to abide the dangers. So he took leave of the king and departed from the court and went into Brabant, to the duke Wenceslas of Brabant, who received him joyfully. The French king was sore displeased with the earl of Flanders, because it was thought by divers of the realm that he had letted the lord of Bournazel of his viage into Scotland, and also in that he held still about him the duke of Bretayne his cousin, who was greatly in the king's displeasure. And so they that were about the king perceived well how the earl of Flanders was nothing in the king's grace.

Anon after, the king wrote sharp letters to his cousin the earl of Flanders, threatening him, because he sustained with him the duke of Bretayne, whom he reputed to be his enemy. The earl wrote again to the king excusing himself as well as he might, but it availed nothing; for the king sent him again more sharper letters, shewing him plainly that, without he would put the duke of Bretayne out of his company, he would surely displease him. When the earl of Flanders saw that the king pursued his cause with such effect, then he took advice in himself and thought he would shew these menaces and threatenings to his good towns, and specially to Gaunt, to know what they would say to the matter. And so he sent to Bruges, to Ypres and Courtray, and after departed, and the duke of Bretayne in his company, and so went to Gaunt and lodged at the Postern,[1] where he was joyfully received of the burgesses, for they loved well to have him among them.

And when the people of the good towns, such as were sent for, were come, the earl assembled them together in a place, and there he made be shewed to them by John de la Faucille his intention, and the letters read that the French king had sent him two months before. And when these letters were read, then the earl spake and said: 'All ye sirs of my good towns of Flanders, through the help of God I have been your

1 'La Poterne' the name of a house belonging to the earl of Flanders at Ghent.

lord a long season and I have kept and governed you in good peace to my power, nor ye have not seen in me the contrary but that I have entertained you in great prosperity, in like manner as a lord ought to keep his men and subjects. But it is to my great displeasure, and it ought to be to you that are my men, that the French king thus hateth me and will hate, because I sustain about me and in my company the duke of Bretayne my cousin-german, who as now is not well beloved in France, nor he dare not well trust his men in his own country because of five or six barons that loveth him not. Wherefore the king would that I should drive him out of my country, the which should be a strange thing to him. I say not nay, but if I did comfort my cousin either with towns or castles against the realm of France, then the king might have good cause to complain him of me: but I do not so, nor am not in will so to do, and therefore I have here assembled you together, shewing you the perils that may hap to fall. Therefore I would know your minds, whether he shall abide still with me or not.' They answered all with one voice: 'Sir, let him abide still: why should he not? And, sir, if there be any man living that will make you war, ye shall find ready in your land of Flanders two hundred thousand men of war to serve you.' Those words greatly rejoiced the earl, and said: 'Sirs, I thank you.'

And so ended that parliament, and the earl was well content with his men and gave every man leave to depart in peace. Then when the earl saw his time, he returned to Bruges, and the duke of Bretayne with him. Thus these matters hanged in a trance: the earl was in great grace with his people and the country in peace and prosperity; the which abode not so long after, for it was in great tribulation, as ye shall hear after in this history.

CHAPTER CCCXLIV

How the duke of Bretayne departed out of Flanders, and how the earl of Saint-Pol was taken prisoner, and how he was married in England, and of the wars that fell then in Bretayne.

YE may well know how the French king had knowledge of all this matter and how the earl had answered. He loved him not one whit the better: howbeit, he must let it pass, for more he could not have as at that time, and said how the earl of Flanders was the most proudest prince that he knew: and a man might have seen well by the manner of the king that the earl was the lord that the king would most gladly have brought somewhat to reason, when he saw that he withsaid him and that he was no more displeased than he was. The earl of Flanders for all the king's writing and that he was in his great displeasure because of keeping about him the duke of Bretayne, yet, that notwithstanding, he kept him still as long as it pleased him to tarry and made him keep a goodly estate. Finally the duke of Bretayne had counsel to draw into England, and so he took leave of the earl his cousin and went to Gravelines, and thither came to him the earl of Salisbury with five hundred spears and a thousand archers, for doubt of the French garrisons, and so brought him to Calais, whereof sir Hugh Calverley was captain, who received him right joyously; and when the duke had tarried there a five days, he had wind at will and so took the sea and the earl of Salisbury in his company, and so arrived at Dover and came to the young king Richard, who received him with great joy, and so did also the duke of Lancaster and the earls of Cambridge and of Buckingham and the great lords of England.

Ye have heard before how sir Valeran of Luxembourg, young earl of Saint-Pol, was taken prisoner between Ardres and Calais and was in England at the king's pleasure: for king Edward in his lifetime bought him of the lord of Comminges, for he was first his prisoner, because he made the journey, when he was taken of a squire, a man of arms of the country of Gueldres: so this young earl of Saint-Pol abode long prisoner in England, or he was delivered. It was of truth the king offered him oftimes in exchange for the captal of Buch, while he lived; but the French king nor the council of France would in no wise hear thereof, whereof the king of England had great disdain. Thus the matter continued a long space, and the young earl still prisoner in England in the fair castle of Windsor, and he had so courteous a keeper that he might go and sport him a-hawking

between Windsor and Westminter: he was believed on his faith. The same season the princess, mother to king Richard, lay at Windsor, and her daughter with her, my lady Maude, the fairest lady in all England. The earl of Saint-Pol and this young lady were in true amours together each of other, and sometime they met together at dancing and carolling, till at last it was spied; and then the lady discovered to her mother how she loved faithfully the young earl of Saint-Pol. Then there was a marriage spoken of between the earl of Saint-Pol and the lady Maude of Holland, and so the earl was set to his ransom to pay sixscore thousand franks, so that when he had married the lady Maude then to be rebated threescore thousand, and the other threescore thousand to pay. And when this covenant of marriage was made between the earl and the lady, the king of England suffered the earl to repass the sea to fetch his ransom, on his only promise to return again within a year after. So the earl came into France to see his friends, the king, the earl of Flanders, the duke of Brabant and his cousins in France.

In the same year there was made an hard information against the earl of Saint-Pol; for it was laid to his charge that he should deliver to the Englishmen the strong castle of Bohain, and so the French king caused him to be rested and kept in surety. And so the king shewed how the earl of Saint-Pol would have made an evil treaty for him and for the realm, and the earl in no wise could be excused. And also for the same cause there was kept in prison in the castle of Mons in Hainault the lord canon of Robersart,[1] the lord of Vertaing, sir James du Sart and Gerard d'Obies; but at length all that matter came to none effect, for there could nothing be proved against them, and so they were delivered. Then the young earl returned again into England to acquit him of his promise, and so wedded the lady and did so much that he paid his threescore thousand franks, and so passed again the sea. But he entered not into France because the king loved him not; and so he and the countess his wife went and lay at the castle of Ham on the river of Heure, the which castle the lord of Moriaumé, who had wedded his sister, lent him to lie in. And there he lay as long as king Charles of France lived, for the earl could never get his love.

Now let us leave to speak of this matter and return to the business of France.

The same season all Bretayne was kept close, what against the French king and against the duke. Howbeit, some of the good towns of Bretayne held themselves close in the duke's name, and many had great marvel that they took him for their lord. And also divers knights and squires of Bretayne were of the same accord, and also there was allied to them the countess of Penthievre, mother to the children of Bretayne. But sir Bertram of Guesclin, constable of France, the lord Clisson, the lord de Laval, the viscount of Rohan and the lord of Rochefort, they held the country in war with the puissance that came daily to them out of France; for at Pontorson, at Saint-Malo-the-Isle[1] and thereabout lay a great number of men of arms of France, of Normandy, of Auvergne and of Burgoyne, who did much hurt in the country. The duke of Bretayne, who was in England, had knowledge of everything and how the duke of Anjou was at Angers and daily destroyed his country. Also he had knowledge how the good towns kept themselves close in his name, and certain knights and squires of the same part, whereof he could them good thank. Yet that notwithstanding, he durst not well trust in them to jeopard to return into Bretayne on the trust of his men, for always he doubted of treason. Also the king of England nor the duke of Lancaster would not counsel him to return.

CHAPTER CCCXLV

SUMMARY.—William des Bordes was taken prisoner by the garrison of Cherbourg. Geoffrey Tetenoire and Aimerigot Marcel conquered castles in Auvergne, Limousin and other parts.

[1] Thierry, called le Chanoine de Robersart. It is doubtful what is the origin of this by-name, but he was certainly not an ecclesiastic. One of his sons (Louis) was made a knight of the Garter by Henry V., and married Elizabeth Bourchier, belonging to the same family as the present translator of the Chronicles (Lettenhove, xxiii. 28).

[1] Saint-Malo-de-l'Isle.

CHAPTER CCCXLVI

Of the schism that was made in the Church and the manner how, and of the Bretons who made war to Rome: and of the queen of Naples, who put all her lands into the pope's hands.

It hath been long sith I spake of holy Church: now I will return thereto; the matter requireth it. Ye have well heard herebefore, how by the exhortation of the Romans the cardinals who as then reigned, to appease the people of Rome, who were greatly moved against them, made a pope of the archbishopric of Bari, called before Bartholomew des Aigles. He received the papality and was called Urban the sixth, and so opened grace, as the usage was. The intention of divers of the cardinals was, that when they might see a better hour and time, they would again return to their election, because this pope was not profitable for them, nor also to the Church, as they said, for he was a fumish man and melancholious, so that when he saw himself in prosperity and in puissance of the papality, and that divers kings christened were joined to him and wrote to him and did put them under his obeisance, whereof he waxed proud and worked all on head,[1] and would have taken from the cardinals divers of their rights and old customs, the which greatly displeased them. And so they spake together and imagined how he was not well worthy to govern the world; wherefore they purposed to choose another pope, sage and discreet, by whom the Church should be well governed.

To this purpose the cardinals put to all their pain, and specially he that was after chosen to be pope. Thus all a summer they were in this purpose, for they that intended to make a new pope durst not show their minds generally because of the Romans; so that in the time of the vacation in the court divers cardinals departed from Rome and went about Rome[2] to sport them in divers places at their pleasure. And pope Urban went to another city called Tyeulle,[3] and there he lay a long season in this vacation time, which might not long endure, for at Rome there were many clerks of sundry places of the world abiding for graces, the which was promised to divers of them. Then the cardinals all of one accord assembled together, and their voices rested on sir Robert of Geneva, sometime son to the earl of Geneva. His first promotion was he was bishop of Terouanne, and after bishop of Cambray, and he was called cardinal of Geneva. At this election were the most part of the cardinals, and he was called Clement.

The same season there was in the marches of Rome a right valiant knight of Bretayne called Silvester Bude, and he had under him a two thousand Bretons: and in the year before he had right well borne himself against the Florentines under pope Gregory, who had cursed them because of the rebellion, and by the means of this Silvester Bude they were come to mercy. Then pope Clement and the cardinals of his part secretly sent for him and his company, and so he came and entered into the castle Angelo, the better to constrain the Romans. So pope Urban durst not depart from Tyeulle, nor such cardinals as were of his accord, for doubt of the Bretons, they were so great a number and all chosen men of war. And when the Romans saw themselves in that danger, they sent for other soldiers, Almains and Lombards, and so daily they scrimmished with the Bretons. Clement opened his graces to all clerks, such as would have it, and so he signified his name over all the world. And when the French king who as then reigned was certified thereof, he had great marvel and sent for his brother and for all the nobles and prelates of his realm and for the rector and master doctors of the university of Paris, to know of them to which election, other the first or the second, that he should hold unto. This matter was not shortly determined, for divers clerks varied, but finally all the prelates of France inclined to Clement, and so did the king's brethren and the most part of the university of Paris: and so the king was informed by all the great clerks of his realm, that he obeyed the pope Clement and held him for the true pope, and made a special commandment throughout his realm that every man should take and repute Clement for pope and that

[1] That is, acted in a headstrong manner.
[2] 'Environ Rome.' [3] Tivoli.

every man should obey him as God on earth. The king of Spain was of the same opinion, and so was the earl of Savoy, the duke of Milan and the queen of Naples.

The believing thus of the French king upon Clement coloured greatly his deeds,[1] for the realm of France was reputed to be the chief fountain of belief of the Christian faith, because of the noble churches and prelacies that be therein. As then lived Charles of Bohemia, king of Almaine and emperor of Rome, who was at Prague in Bohemia and was advertised of all these matters, whereof he had great marvel; and though that his empire of Almaine, except the bishopric of Treves, believed in faith, courage and intention in pope Urban and would not hear speaking of any other, yet he feigned and dissimuled all his lifetime, and would answer when he was spoken to of that matter so courteously, that all his barons and prelates of his realm were content. Howbeit, the churches of the Empire obeyed pope Urban, but Scotland held of Clement. The earl Louis of Flanders was greatly against Clement in the parts of Brabant, Hainault and in Liege, for he would ever abide to be Urbanist, saying how they did the same pope great wrong; and this earl was so believed and renowned in those parts where he was conversant, that the churches and lords held of the same opinion. But they of Hainault and the churches there, and the lord, called Albert, abode as neuter and obeyed no more to one than to the other; wherefore the bishop of Cambray that reigned at that time, called John, lost in Hainault all the revenues of his temporalities.

And in the same season there was sent into France, into Hainault, into Flanders and into Brabant from pope Clement, the cardinal of Poitiers, a right wise, valiant and a sage clerk, to ensign and to preach to the people, for he was at the first election; and there he shewed how by constraint they chose first the archbishop of Bari to be pope. The French king and his brethren and the prelates of France meekly received him and gladly intended to his business and words, for it seemed to them that he spake all truth, and so gave faith to him. And when he had been a season in France, then he went into Hainault, where he was also joyously received: in like wise so he was in Brabant both of the duke and of the duchess, but he did there nothing else. He thought in his returning to have gone into Liege, but he took other counsel and went not thither, but returned to Tournay, and thought to have gone into Flanders to have spoken with the earl; but it was shewed him that he had nothing to do there, because the earl held and would hold of Urban and so to live and die. Then the cardinal departed from Tournay and went to Valenciennes, and so to Cambray, and there he lay a long space in hope always to hear some good tidings.

Thus the Christian realms were in variation and the churches in great difference because of the popes. Urban had the greater part, but to speak of the most profitable revenues and plain obesiance, Clement had it; and so Clement by consent of the cardinals sent to Avignon to make ready the palace there for him, for his intent was to go thither as soon as he might, and so he went to the city of Fondes[1] and there opened his graces. Thither drew all manner of clerks, such as would take grace; and he kept about in villages many soldiers, who made great war to Rome and to the bourage of Saint Peter,[2] and travailed them day and night with divers assaults and scrimmishes. And also they that were in the castle Angelo without Rome did much trouble to the Romans; but they of Rome enforced themselves so with soldiers Almains and with the puissance of Rome, so that they assembled together on a day and conquered the bourage of Saint Peter. Then the Bretons drew them into the castle of Angelo: howbeit, they were so handled by force of arms, that they gave it up, their lives saved. Then the Bretons departed and drew to Fondes and thereabout in the country, and the Romans beat down the castle Angelo and brent the bourage of Saint Peter.

1 'Couloura grandement son fait'; that is, 'greatly strengthened his position.'

1 Fondi.

2 'And also they that were in the bourg of Saint Peter travailed them greatly,' etc. These are the partisans of Clement, Bretons and others, who had occupied the castle of Saint Angelo and the strongholds of the borgo and were driven out by the Romans as mentioned below.

When sir Silvester Bude, who was in the country, heard how his men had lost the bourage of Saint Peter and the castle Angelo, he was right sore displeased and studied how to be revenged of the Romans. It was shewed him by his spies how on a day the Romans and the noblest men of the city of Rome should assemble together in council in the Capitol. As soon as he knew that, he assembled together a certain number and rode forth by covert ways secretly, and so came to Rome in the evening and entered in at the gate of Naples. When these Bretons were within, they took the straight way to the Capitol, and came thither as the council of Rome were issued out of the chamber. Then the Bretons couched their spears and ran in among them, and slew and beat down a great number of the most notablest of the city. There was slain a six bannerets and a two hundred of other rich persons, and a great number hurt. And when these Bretons had done their enterprise, they withdrew them against night, and then it began to be late, so that they were not pursued, what for the night and for the sudden fray that they were in, for they wist not what to do but to take heed of their friends that were sore hurt. So they passed that night in great distress and sorrow of heart, and so buried the dead and dressed the hurt. And in the morning the Romans advised themselves of a great cruelty, for the poor clerks that were in Rome and were in no fault, they slew and hurt of them more than three hundred, and specially Bretons that fell in their hands there was no mercy. Thus went the matters in Rome by reason of the state of the popes, and daily they bought it dear, such as were without fault.

In the mean season that Clement and his cardinals lay thus at Fondes, the queen of Naples came thither to see him, for she did put herself under the obeisance of pope Clement. This queen had been long in purpose to put the realm of Sicily, whereof she was lady, and the county of Provence, which dependeth of the same realm, into the hands of the pope, to do with them at his pleasure and to give them to some high prince of the realm of France, being of such puissance to keep them against such as she hated deadly, who were descended out of the realm of Hungary. And when the queen of Naples was come to Fondes, she humbled herself lowly to pope Clement and was confessed of him and discovered to him all the secrets of her heart, and said: 'Holy father, I hold divers noble heritages, as the realm of Naples, the realm of Sicily, Puylle,[1] Calabre, and the county of Provence; and it is of truth that king Louis of Sicily, duke of Puylle and Calabre, my father, while he lived knowledged all these lands to hold of the Church, and on his death-bed he took me by the hand and said: "Ah, fair daughter, ye are inheritor of many a rich country, and I am sure many great lords will seek to have you in marriage because of the fair heritage that ye have. Therefore, daughter, I would ye should use you after my counsel, as to marry yourself to so high a prince that may be puissant to keep and maintain you and your heritage in rest and peace. And if it so fortune that ye have none heirs, then deliver all your lands into the hands of the pope then being alive; for king Robert my father at the hour of his death gave me in like charge. Therefore, fair daughter, I charge you and discharge me." And then I promised him on my faith in the presence of all them that were in his chamber that I should accomplish his last desire. And, holy father, so it was that after his decease by the consent of all the nobles of Sicily and Naples I was married to Andrew of Hungary, brother to king Louis of Hungary, by whom I had no issue, for he died young at Aix in Provence: and after his decease I was married again to the prince of Tarent, who was called Charles, and by him I had a daughter. Then the king of Hungary for the displeasure that he had for Andrew his brother,[2] my first husband, went and made war against my husband Charles of Tarent and took from him Puylle and Calabre, and took him in battle and led him to prison into Hungary, and there he died. And yet after again by the accord of the nobles of Sicily I married again king James of Mallorca, and sent into France for sir Louis of Navarre to have married my daughter, but he died by the

[1] Apulia.

[2] That is, 'for the death of Andrew his brother, whom Joanna was accused of having murdered. The word 'for' in the text is a correction of 'to.' The French is 'du roy Andry.'

way. Then it fell so that the king my husband went to conquer his heritage of Mallorca, the which the king of Aragon had taken from him by force, and had disherited him and caused his father to die in prison. And or he departed from me, I said to him: "Sir, I am a lady, and have puissance and riches sufficient to maintain your estate according to your desire." Howbeit, he preached so much to me and shewed me so many fair reasons, desiring to recover his heritage, so that I was fain to consent to him to take his pleasure. But at his departing I desired him to have gone to king Charles of France and to have shewed him his business and to have ordered himself by his counsel. Howbeit, he did not so, the which was his hurt; for he went to the prince of Wales, who promised to have aided him. So he had greater trust in the prince of Wales than in the French king, to whom I was near of lineage. And in the mean season, while he was in his viage, I wrote to the French king and sent great messengers to him, desiring him to send me a nobleman of his blood to marry my daughter, to the intent that mine heritage should not be without an heir. The king sent his cousin sir Robert of Artois, who wedded my daughter. And in the viage that the king my husband made he died; and after again I married sir Otho of Brunswick: and because sir Charles de la Paix[1] saw that sir Otho should have mine heritage as long as I lived, he made us war and took us in the castle of l'Œuf,[2] when the sea was so high that we feared it would have overflowen us, at which time we were so affrayed, that we yielded us all four to sir Charles de la Paix, our lives saved: and so he held us in prison, my husband and I, my daughter and her husband, and so it happed that my son and daughter died there; and after by treaty I and my husband were delivered, so that Puylle and Calabre might come to him; and also he intendeth to come to the heritage of Naples, of Sicily and of Provence, for he seeketh all about for alliance, and so will take away the right of the Church as soon as I am dead, if he may. Therefore, holy father, I will acquit me against God and you, and acquit the souls of my predecessors, and put into your hands all the heritages that I ought to have, of Sicily, of Naples, Puylle, Calabre and Provence, I give them to you to do with them your pleasure, to give them to whomsoever it pleaseth you, such as may obtain them against our adversary sir Charles de la Paix.'

Pope Clement received joyfully her words and took her gift in great reverence, and said: 'Ah, my fair daughter of Naples, we shall so ordain that your heritage shall have such an heritor of your own blood, noble and puissant to resist against them that will do or offer you or them any wrong.' Of all these words and gifts there were public instruments and authentic made, to the intent that the matter should abide firm and stable in time to come, and to be of more plain knowledge to all them that should hear thereof after.

[1] Charles of Sicily, called de la Paix, son of Louis of Durazzo.

[2] The Castel dell' Ovo at Naples.

CHAPTER CCCXLVII

How pope Clement came to Avignon, and of the gifts that he gave to the duke of Anjou, and how sir Silvester Bude and his company were beheaded: and of the country of Flanders and of their adversity.

WHEN the queen of Naples and sir Otho of Brunswick had done all things, wherefore they were come to Fondes to the pope, then they took their leave and departed and went to Naples. Then it was not long after but that pope Clement imagined in himself, that to abide long about the parts of Rome was nothing profitable for him, and saw well how the Romans and pope Urban travailed greatly to get the love of the Neapolitans and of sir Charles de la Paix: therefore he doubted lest the passages and ways should be closed against him, so that he should not get to Avignon when he would. And the principal and special cause that inclined him to go to Avignon, was to the intent to give to the duke of Anjou the rights that the queen of Naples had given unto him of all the foresaid seignories, whereof he had instruments passed and sealed. So he ordained secretly and sagely his business and took the sea, and his cardinals with him, in galleys and

vessels that were come out of Aragon. They had wind and weather at will, and arrived without damage at Marseille, whereof all the country was right glad: and from thence he went to Avignon and sent word of his coming to the French king and to his brethren, who were right glad of his coming. And the duke of Anjou, who lay at the city of Toulouse, went to see the pope, and at his coming the pope gave him all the gifts that the queen of Naples had given him. The duke of Anjou, who always desired high seignories and great honours, received the gifts in great magnificence, and so had them to him and to his heirs for ever, and said to the pope that in as short time as he might, he would go so strong into those marches, that he would be able to resist them that would do any wrong to the queen of Naples. The duke tarried with the pope a fifteen days, and then returned to Toulouse to the duchess his wife; and pope Clement delivered his men of war to sir Bernard de la Salle and to Florimont[1] to make war against his enemies.

The same season there was in the marches of Tuscany in Italy a valiant knight English called sir John Hacoude,[2] who did and had done many a noble feat of arms. He issued out of the realm of France, when the peace was made between the two kings at Bretigny beside Chartres, and in that time he was but a poor knight, and then he thought, to return again into England into his own country he thought he could win nothing there;[3] and when he saw that all men of war should avoid the realm of France by the ordinance and treaty of peace, he made himself captain of a certain number of companions called the Late-comers[4] and so went into Burgoyne, and there he assembled a great number of such rutters, English, Gascons, Bretons, Almains and companions of divers nations. And this Hacoude was one of the chief with Briquet and Creswey by whom the battle of Brignais was made, and helped to get the Pont le Spirit with Bernard of Sorges: and when they had warred and harried the country against the pope and the cardinals, then they were entreated and went to the marquis of Montferrat, who as then kept war with the lords of Milan. And so this marquis brought them all beyond the mountains, after he had delivered to them sixty thousand franks, whereof Hacoude had for his part ten thousand for him and his company. And when they had achieved the war with the marquis, divers then returned into France, for sir Bertram of Guesclin, the lord de la Marche, and the lord Beaujeu, the marshal of France, and sir Arnold d'Audrehem[1] brought them into Spain against king don Peter on king Henry's part; and sir John Hacoude and his company abode still in Italy. And pope Urban the fifth, as long as he lived, had him in his wars of Milan, and in like wise so had pope Gregory, who reigned after him. And this same sir John Hacoude had for the lord Coucy a fair journey against the earl of Vertus; for it was said for truth that the lord Coucy had been overthrown by the earl of Vertus and the Lombards, if this Hacoude had not been: for he came to his aid with five hundred, because the lord Coucy had wedded the king of England's daughter and for none other cause.

This sir John Hacoude was a knight right hardy and of great experience, and well renowned in the marches of Italy, and did there many great feats of arms. Then the Romans and Urban, who called himself pope, advised in themselves, when Clement was departed from the marches of Rome, to send for him and to make him master and governour of all their war. So they sent for him and retained him and all his company: and he acquitted himself right valiantly; for on a day with the help of the Romans he discomfited Silvester Bude and a great company of Bretons, so that they were all slain or taken, and Silvester Bude brought prisoner to Rome and was in great danger to lose his head. And to say the truth, it had been better for him to have been beheaded the same day he was brought to Rome, than otherwise, for the honour of him and of his friends; for afterward pope

[1] Froissart says, 'and Clement remained at Avignon and left his men of arms, sir Silvester Bude, sir Bernard de la Salle and Florimont, to make war upon the Romans.' The translator gives what he found in his text.

[2] Hawkwood.

[3] 'He thought that by returning again into his own country he could win nothing.'

[4] 'Les Tart-Venus.'

[1] The true reading is, 'and the marshal of France, sir Arnold d'Audrehem.'

Clement caused him to lose his head in the city of Macon, and another squire of Bretayne with him called William Boilewe, for they were had in suspect of treason, because they were issued out of the Romans' prison and could not be known by what treaty or means, and so they came to Avignon and there were taken. Of their taking was culpable the cardinal of Amiens, for he hated them sith they made war in Rome for the pope, because in the fields on a day they and their companies took the said cardinal's somers, wherein they had a great quantity of vessel and plate of gold and silver, and departed it among their companies, who could not be paid of their wages. Wherefore the same cardinal took the same deed in great displeasure, and so covertly accused them of treason; so that when they were come to Avignon, treason was laid to them, how they had falsely betrayed the pope, and thereupon sent to Macon and there beheaded both. Thus the matters went at that time in those countries; and sir Bertram of Guesclin was sore displeased for the death of Silvester Bude his cousin with pope Clement and with the cardinals, so that if he had lived long after, they should well have known that his death had been right sore displeasant to him.

Now let us leave to speak of these matters, and let us enter to speak of the wars of Flanders, the which began in the same season, which were hard and cruel, whereby much people were slain and exiled and the country turned into such a case, that it was said that in a hundred year after it should not be recovered again: and I shall shew you by what mean and occasions the unhappy wars began.

When the tribulations began first in Flanders, the country was so wealthy and so rich that it was marvel to hear; and the men of the good towns kept such estate that it was wonder to hear tell thereof. But these wars began first by pride and envy that the good towns in Flanders had one against another, as they of Gaunt against them of Bruges, and they of Bruges against them of Gaunt, and other towns one against another. But there was such resort, that no war could rise among them, without the earl of Flanders their lord did consent thereto, for he was so feared and beloved that none durst displease him. Also the earl, who was right sage and subtle, kept under the war and evil will of his people; for he would in no wise suffer no war to rise among them and him, for well he thought in his imaginations that when any difference should rise between him and his people, he should be the feebler and the less set by of his neighbours. Also he kept under the war for another cause, howbeit at the end he was driven to use it, and that was, he considered the great destruction that should fall thereby both of bodies and goods: for always he had lived in great prosperity and peace and had as much his pleasure as any other Christian prince had; but this war began for so light a cause and incident, that justly to consider and speak, if good wit and sage advice had been in the lord, he needed not to have had any manner of war. What shall they say that readeth this or heareth it read, but that it was the work of the devil: for ye know, or else ye have heard say of the wise sages, how the devil subtly ticeth[1] night and day to make war, whereas he seeth peace, and seeketh little and little how he may come to his ungracious intent: and so it fortuned in those days in Flanders, as ye may clearly know and see by the treaty of the order of the matter that followeth.

CHAPTER CCCXLVIII

Of the principal root and cause of the war between the earl of Flanders and the Flemings, and how the white hats were set up by John Lyon.

THE same season, while the duke[2] Louis of Flanders was in his greatest prosperity, there was in Gaunt a burgess called John Lyon,[3] a sage man, cruel, hardy, subtle and a great enterpriser, and cold and patient enough in all his works. This John Lyon was great with the earl, as it appeared, for the earl enticed him to slay a man in Gaunt with whom he was displeased; and at the earl's commandment covertly this John Lyon made a matter to him and so fell out with him and slew him, the which burgess was sore complained; and therefore John

1 'Subtille et atise,' 'deviseth and endeavoureth.
2 'Earl.' 3 His true name was Yoens.

Lyon went and dwelt at Douay and was there a three year and held a great estate and port, and all of the earl's cost. And for this slaughter on a day John Lyon lost all that ever he had in Gaunt and was banished the town four year; but after, the earl of Flanders did so much for him that he made his peace, and so to return again to the town of Gaunt and to have again as great franchise as ever he had: whereof divers in Gaunt and in Flanders had great marvel and were therewith right sore abashed. But for all that, so it was done; and beside that, to the intent that he should recover again his loss and to maintain his estate, the earl made him chief ruler of all the ships, mariners and navy.[1] This office was well worth by year a thousand franks, and yet to deal but truly. Thus this John Lyon was so great with the earl that there was none like him.

In the same season there was another lineage in Gaunt called the Mahews. There were of them seven brethren, they were the chief of all the mariners; and among these seven brethren there was one of them called Gilbert Mahew, a right sage man, much more subtle than any of his brethren. This Gilbert Mahew had great envy covertly at this John Lyon, because he saw him so great with the earl, and studied night and day how he might put him out of favour with the earl. Divers times he was in mind to have slain him by his brethren, but he durst not for fear of the earl. So long he studied and imagined on this matter that at last he found the way.

The chief cause that he hated him for was as I shall shew you, the better to come to the foundation of this matter. Anciently there was in the town of Damme a great mortal war between two mariners and their lineages, the one called Peter Guillon and the other John Bard. Gilbert Mahew and his brethren were come of the one lineage, and this John Lyon of the other. So this covert hate was long nourished between these two parties; howbeit, they spake and ate and drank together: and the lineage of Gilbert Mahew made more ado of the matter than John Lyon did, insomuch that Gilbert Mahew without any stroke given advised a subtle deed. The earl of Flanders would sometime lie at Gaunt: then this Gilbert Mahew came and acquainted himself with one of them that was near about the earl, and on a day said to him: 'Sir, if my lord the earl would, he might have every year a great profit of the ships and navy, whereof he hath now nothing: which profit the strangers and the mariners should pay, so that John Lyon, who is chief ruler there, will truly acquit himself.' This gentleman said he would shew this to the earl, and so he did. The earl then, in like wise as divers lords are lightly inclined naturally to hearken to their profit, and not regarding the end, what may fall thereby, so they may have riches, for covetousness deceiveth them, he answered and said: 'Let Gilbert Mahew come to me and we will hear what he will say.' Then came Gilbert and spake with the earl, shewing him divers reasons, reasonable as the earl thought, and so answered and said: 'I think it were well done that it should be thus.' Then John Lyon was sent for, who knew nothing of this matter, and there in the presence of Gilbert Mahew the earl shewed him all the matter and said: 'John, if ye will, we may have great profit in this matter.' John Lyon, who was a true man, saw well it was not a thing reasonable to be done. Howbeit, he durst not say the contrary, but said: 'Sir, that thing that ye demand and that Gilbert Mahew hath brought forth, I cannot do it alone, for it will be a hard matter to all the mariners.' 'John,' quoth the earl, 'if ye will acquit you truly in this matter, it will be done.' 'Sir,' quoth he, 'I shall do therein the best of my power'; and so they departed.

Gilbert Mahew, who intended to bring out of favour this John Lyon with the earl, intended to none other thing but to make him lose his office. Then he came to his six brethren and said: 'Sirs, it is time now that ye succour and aid me, and to maintain this matter, as good friends and brethren should help each other. It is for you that I have driven about this matter. I shall discomfit John Lyon without any stroke striking and shall bring him in as great displeasure with the earl as he is now great and in favour. Whatsoever I say in the next parliament, keep your own opinions; for if the earl require you to do such a thing, debate you well the matter:

[1] 'Doyen des navieurs.'

but I will say still and maintain, that if John Lyon will truly acquit himself, this ordinance may be done. And I know so much that my lord the earl, if the matter come not to his intent, John Lyon shall lose his favour and office, and give the office to me. And when I once have it, then ye shall agree thereto: we are puissant enough in this town to rule all the residue; there is none will say against us: and then I shall do so that John Lyon shall be overthrown. Thus we shall be revenged on him without any stroke giving.'

All his brethren accorded to him; so the parliament came and all the mariners were ready. There John Lyon and Gilbert Mahew shewed them the earl's pleasure on the new statute that he would raise on the navy of Lys and l'Escault, the which thing seemed to them all right hard and contrary to their old custom; and the chief that spake thereagainst were Gilbert Mahew's brethren more than any other. Then John Lyon, who was chief ruler of them all, was right joyous, for he would to his true power maintain them in their old ancient franchises and liberties, and he weened that all that they said had been for him: but it was contrary, for it was for an evil intent towards him. John Lyon reported to the earl the answer of the mariners, and said: 'Sir, it is a thing cannot be well done, for great hurt may come thereby. Sir, an it please you, let the matter rest in the old ancient estate and make no new thing among them.'

This answer pleased nothing the earl, for he saw that if the matter might be brought up and raised, it should be well worth to him yearly a seven thousand florins. So he held his peace as at that time, but he thought the more; and so pursued by fair words and treaties these mariners, but always John Lyon found them right obstinate in the case. Then Gilbert Mahew came to the earl and to his council, and said how that John Lyon acquitted him but slackly in the matter; but an the earl would give him the office that John Lyon hath, he would so handle the mariners, that the earl of Flanders should heritably have the said profit. The earl saw not clear, for covetousness of the good[1] blinded him, and by his own counsel he put John Lyon out of the office and gave it to Gilbert Mahew. When Gilbert Mahew saw how he had the office, within a little space he turned all his six brethren to his purpose and so made the earl to have his intent and profit; wherefore he was never the better beloved of the most part of the mariners. Howbeit, it behoved them to suffer, for the seven brethren were great and puissant with the aid of the earl. Thus by this subtle means Gilbert Mahew gat himself in favour with the earl, and he gave many gifts and jewels to them that were near about the earl, whereby he had their loves, and also he gave many great presents to the earl, the which blinded him, and so by that means he gat his love: and all these gifts and presents this Gilbert Mahew raised of the mariners, whereof there were many that were not well content; howbeit, they durst speak no word to the contrary.

John Lyon by this means and by the purchase of Gilbert Mahew was out of the earl's favour and love, and so kept his house and lived of his own, and endured and suffered patiently all that ever was done to him. For this Gilbert Mahew, who as then was chief ruler of all the ships, covertly ever hated this John Lyon, and took away the third or fourth part of the profit that he should have had of his ships. All this John Lyon suffered and spake no word, but sagely dissimuled and took in gree all that ever was done to him, and said: 'There is time to be still and time to speak.' This Gilbert Mahew had one brother called Stenuart, a subtle man, who advised well the manner of John Lyon, and said to his brethren in prophesying as it came to pass: 'Sirs, this John Lyon sufferеth now and hangeth down his head: he doth it all for policy; but I fear me he will at length make us lower than we be now high: but I counsel one thing, that while we be thus in the earl's favour, let us slay him. I shall soon slay him, if I take the charge to do it, and so we shall be out of all perils.' His other brethren would in no wise consent thereto, and said to him that in no wise he should do him any hurt, saying to him how a man ought not to be slain without the sentence of a judge.

Thus the matter continued a certain space, till the devil, who never sleepeth, awaked them of Bruges to dig about the

[1] 'Covetousness of gain.'

river of Lys, to have the easement of the course of the water. And the earl was well accorded to them and sent great number of pioneers and men of arms to assist them. Before that in time past they would have done the same, but they of Gaunt by puissance brake their purpose. These tidings came to Gaunt, how they of Bruges were digging to turn the course of the river of Lys, the which should greatly be to the prejudice of Gaunt. Many folks in the town began to murmur, and specially the mariners, for it touched them near; wherefore they said they of Bruges should not be suffered so to dig, to have the course of the river to them, whereby their town should be destroyed. And some said privily: 'Ah, God help now John Lyon, for if he had been still our governour, it should not have been thus: they of Bruges would not have been so hardy to attempt so far against us.'

John Lyon was well advertised of all these matters: then he began a little to wake, and said to himself: 'I have slept a season, but it shall appear that for a small occasion I shall wake and shall set such a tremble between this town and the earl, that it shall cost peradventure a hundred thousand men's lives.' The tidings of these diggers increased: so it was, there was a woman that came from her pilgrimage from our Lady of Boulogne, who was weary and sat down in the market-place, whereas there were divers men, and some of them demanded of her from whence she came. She answered, 'From Boulogne, and I have seen by the way the greatest mischief that ever came to this town of Gaunt: for there be more than five hundred pioneers, that night and day worketh before the river of Lys; and if they be not let, they will shortly turn the course of the water.' This woman's words was well heard and understanded in divers places of the town. Then they of the town began to moan and said: 'This deed ought not to be suffered nor consented unto.' Then divers went to John Lyon and demanded counsel of him, how they should use themselves in this matter. And when John Lyon saw himself sought on by them, whom he desired to have their good wills and love, he was greatly rejoiced. Howbeit, he made no semblant of joy, for he thought it was not as then yet time, till the matter were better ascertained. And so he was sore desired, or he would speak or declare his thought, and when he spake, he said: 'Sirs, if ye will adventure to remedy this matter, it behoveth that in this town of Gaunt ye renew an old ancient custom, that sometime was used in this town: and that is, that ye bring up again the white hats,[1] and that they may have a chief ruler to whom they may draw and by him be ruled.' These words were gladly heard, and then they said all with one voice: 'We will have it so: let us raise up these white hats.'

Then there were made white hats, and given and delivered to such as loved better to have war than peace, for they had nothing to lose; and there they chose John Lyon to be chief governour of all the white hats, the which office he took on him right gladly, to the intent to be revenged on his enemies and to bring discord between the towns of Bruges and Gaunt and the earl their lord: and so it was ordained that they should go out against the diggers of Bruges with John Lyon their sovereign captain, and with him two hundred with their companies, of such as had rather have had war than peace. And when Gilbert Mahew and his brethren saw the manner of these white hats, they were not very joyful thereof. Then Stenuart said to his brethren: 'I said to you before how this John Lyon should discomfit us at length. It had been better that ye had believed me before and to have let me have slain him rather than he should be in this estate that he is now in and is likely to be in; and all is by the white hats that he hath brought up.' 'Nay, nay,' quoth Gilbert, 'when I have once spoken with my lord the earl, I warrant you they shall be laid down again. Let them alone to do their enterprise against the pioneers of Bruges for the profit of this our town; for else, to say the truth, the town were but lost.'

John Lyon and his company with the white hats departed from Gaunt in will to slay all the pioneers and such other as kept them. These tidings came to the pioneers how the Gauntois came on them with a great puissance, wherefore they doubted to lose all and so left their work and went back again to Bruges, and were

[1] 'Les blans chaperons,' 'the white hoods.'

never after as many to dig there again. When John Lyon and his company saw nothing to do, they returned again to Calais: but for all that John Lyon left not his office. But that the wine lees went daily up and down the town and John Lyon were them still at that estate, and to make us wonder greatly. That was well meant: but not much good came of it, for we did not at anything that we disposed, much shall now a time to come for your sake, but will not give you new one penny.

[illegible]

How by the commandment of John Lyon the Lombards and certain notable burgesses of the town of Calais to the end of Parliament for the confirmation of their privileges and old customs, and of the answer the said made to us about the wine lees.

In the same week that John Lyon had been with Derham, to have had talk with the burgesses of Bruges, there came divers out of the lordships of Calais to complain to them that out of them the rate of the said [illegible]. Sir, of Lyon answered, the which is within the lordship of Calais. There is one of our burgesses of the said house, and we have answer for the said many to deliver him, but he hath many answered that he will not deliver him. For which is against the privilege of the town of Calais. Him is however title and little your privileges and to nought. For which is time that more men of name and of right worship, and wonder that a well certain maintainer, but some such some them, and that the most honest knight of Flanders here himself well towards us is Bruges of Calais. Then they of the law answered and them how they would write to the king desiring him that the burgess may be delivered, to him in other covenants that of it is to seem our burgess of the said house. Him it they wrote to the king of the deliverance of the burgess, being in prison at London. The king answered him then.

What account all these words of [illegible] say, made the lord, who has a name longer? Answered, To [illegible] Calais, but thought it were [illegible] than he is, he shall never go out of prison without my and the said commandment is. I have puissance to arrest, but I have no power to deliver. The words of the Burgo of Antwerp were reported to them of Calais, wherewith they were more displeased and said how he had answered right proudly. To these answers and accidents, as well [illegible] for the burgesses of Bruges, who would have figured against the heritage and profit of Calais, and for such other accidents whereby the franchises of Calais should have been hurt, there began to run through the town and almost in the country these unknown rumours called the wine lees, to the intent to be the more feared and answered: for it behoveth in a heritage that there be some policy and ordinance, to maintain and sustain the possession.

The things in this manner happen at Calais being in the earl's absence at London, whom the duke would not deliver, against amount in the town of Calais, and divers talks began to murmur and to say how it was not to be suffered for a sitting still and being the earl in maintaining of their franchise they might lose all. For which doth here to make. John Lyon, who to remedy always for to the thing, and that was to set in trouble the town of Calais against the earl their lord, it such wise that he should be appeased [illegible] with much sorrow and great damage, wherefore he was making abatement of these adventures, for to which avoid for the [illegible] there has taken place. To put them in which he would [illegible] the law there through the town, saying how this wherefore [illegible] he might [illegible] town, for wherefore the privileges [illegible] be well [illegible] to be not received how many there of the [illegible] which for the [illegible] of Calais, which for the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

be lost; for little and little daily the franchises be taken away and ancient privileges, and yet there is no man dare speak against it.'

Gilbert Mahew and the ruler of the mean crafts,[1] who was of Gilbert's party, heard with their own ears daily such words and knew well how they did rise by John Lyon; but they durst not remedy it, for John Lyon had sowed throughout the town the white hats, and given them to such companions hardy and outrageous, in such wise that none durst assail them: and also John Lyon went never alone; for whensoever that he went out of his house, he had ever with him a two or three hundred white hats about him: nor he never went abroad in the town without it had been for a great cause, for he was greatly desired to have his counsel on the incidents that fell within Gaunt and without concerning the franchise of the town and liberties thereof. And when he was in council, then he would shew a general word to the people: he spake in so fair rhetoric and by so great craft, that such as heard him were greatly rejoiced of his language and would say all with one voice that all was true that he said. By great prudence John Lyon said to the people: 'Sirs, I say not that we should hurt or minish any part of my lord the earl's inheritance; for though we would, we cannot, for reason and justice would not suffer us: nor that we should seek any craft or incident whereby we should be in his displeasure or indignation; for we ought always to be in love and favour with our prince and lord: and my lord the earl of Flanders is our good lord and a right high prince, feared and renowned, and always hath kept us in peace and prosperity; the which things we ought to know, and to suffer the more largely: more bound we are thereto than if he had travailed us or displeased us or made war or hated us and to have put to his pain to have our goods. But howsoever it be, at this present time he is evil counselled or informed against us and against the franchises of the good town of Gaunt, in that they of Bruges be more in his favour than we. It appeareth well by the pioneers of Bruges, that, he being there, they came to take away our heritage and to take away the river, whereby our town of Gaunt should be destroyed. And also he would have made a castle at Deynse against us, to bring us in danger and to make us weaker; and I know well how they in Bruges had promised him in time past ten or twelve thousand franks yearly, to have to them the easement of the river of Lys. Therefore I counsel, let this good town of Gaunt send to the earl some sad and discreet personages to shew him boldly all these matters, as well touching the burgess of Gaunt in prison in Eccloo, the which his baily will not deliver, as all other matters, wherewith the good town of Gaunt is not content. And also, these matters heard, then let it be shewed him also that he nor his council think that we be so dull or dead, but that, if need be, we may (if we list) make resistance thereagainst: and so, his answer once heard, then the good town of Gaunt may take advice to punish the trespass on them that shall be found culpable against them.'

And when John Lyon had shewed all these words to the people in the market-place, every man said, 'He saith well,' and then went home to their own houses. At these words thus spoken by John Lyon Gilbert Mahew was not present, for he doubted the white hats, but his brother Stenuart was there always. He prophesied of time to come, and when he was returned to his brother, he said: 'I have always said, and say yet again, how that John Lyon shall destroy us all. Cursed be the hour that ye had not let me alone; for an I had slain him, he should never have overcome us nor come so lightly up: and now it is not in our puissance, nor we dare not annoy nor grieve him: he is as now more greater in the town than the earl.' Gilbert answered and said: 'Hold thy peace, fool; for when I will, with the earl's puissance all the white hats shall be cast down; and such there be that beareth them now, that hereafter shall have no need of any hat.'

So then there were charged certain burgesses to go ambassade to the earl, of the saddest men of the town, and Gilbert Mahew was one of them that was chosen to go; and that caused John Lyon, to the intent that if they spake anything contrary to the earl's displeasure, that the earl should be displeased with him as well as with any other. So they departed and found the earl at Male, and did so much that finally they accorded so well,

[1] 'Le doyen des menus mestiers.'

that the earl granted them all their requests as touching their prisoner at Eccloo, and promising to keep and maintain the franchises of Gaunt without breaking of any of them, and defended them of Bruges that they should not be so hardy to dig on the heritage of them of Gaunt: and the better to please them of Gaunt, he commanded them of Bruges to fill again the dikes that they had made. And so they amiably departed from the earl and returned to Gaunt, and recorded all that they had done with the earl their lord, and how he will maintain them in their franchises without breaking of any of them: howbeit, he desired them by fairness to lay down the white hats. And with those words the earl's servants brought again the prisoner from Eccloo, and so yielded him again, as by the way of re-establishing, whereof they had great joy.

At this answer making was John Lyon and a ten or twelve of the most notable of his company; and when they heard that the earl required that the white hats should be laid down, every man held his peace: then John Lyon spake and said: 'All ye good people that be here present, ye know and have seen but late how the white hats hath better kept your franchises than either red or black hats have done, or of any other colour. Be ye sure, and say that I said it, as soon as the white hats be laid down by the ordinance that the earl would have it so, I will not give for all your franchises after not three pence.' The which words blinded so the people, that every man departed thence, and the most part went home to their houses and said: 'Let him alone: John Lyon saith truth: we have not seen in him but good and profitable for our town.'

So the matter stood still in the same case; and John Lyon was then in more fear of his life than he was before, and imagined anon as it fell after; for he thought that Gilbert Mahew had wrought some matter against him and his company in his last voyage with the earl, because the earl made so amiable an answer. Then he thought to find some remedy, and ordained and made secretly captains of the white hats, as centeniers and cinquanteniers,[1] and to them said: 'Sirs, say unto your company that they be day and night purveyed ready, and as soon as they know or hear any moving, let them come to me; for it were better we slew than to be slain, sith we have begun so far.' And as he ordained, so it was done, every man ready.

[1] 'Heads of hundreds and heads of fifties,' to which is added in the full text 'diseniers,' 'heads of tens.'

CHAPTER CCCL

How the white hats slew the baily in the market-place, and of the goods and houses of mariners that were destroyed, and of the great brulling that was then in Gaunt.

It was not long after but that the baily of Gaunt, Roger d'Auterive,' came with a two hundred horse and ordained to do as the earl and Gilbert Mahew and his brethren had devised. The baily, with two hundred men that he brought with him, came down along the streets with the earl's banner in his hand; and when he came into the market-place, he rested and set the banner before him: then anon drew to him Gilbert Mahew and his brethren and the ruler of the mean crafts. It was ordained that his men of arms should go to John Lyon's house, and to take him, as chief ruler of the white hats, and a five or six other of his company of them that were most culpable, and they to have been brought to the castle of Gavre and there to have had their heads stricken off. John Lyon, who thought no less and was well advised of this deed, for he had spies and watches in every corner of the town, he knew well of the coming of the baily, and knew for certain, and so did all the white hats, that the same journey was set for them. They all drew together betimes and came to John Lyon's house, who was ready in the street abiding for them. So there came ten, then twenty, and ever as they came they fell in array in the street; and when they were assembled to the number of four hundred, then John Lyon departed as fierce as a lion and said: 'Let us go on these traitors that will betray the good town of Gaunt. I thought well that all the sweet words that Gilbert Mahew brought us the last day from the earl was but deceit and destruction for us; but I shall make them repent it.'

Then he and his company went a great

pace, and always his number increased; for there were divers that fell to his company that had no white hats, but they cried, 'Treason, treason!' and came about by a strait lane into the market-place, whereas the baily was, representing the earl's person. And as soon as Gilbert Mahew and his brethren saw John Lyon come into the place, they fled away as fast as they might, and so did all other except such as the baily brought with him. As soon as John Lyon was come into the place, the captain of the white hats with a great company with him came to the baily, and without any word speaking they took and cast him to the earth and slew him there, and then the earl's banner was cast down to the ground and torn all to pieces; and they touched no man there but the baily, and then they came all about John Lyon. And when the earl's men saw the baily dead and the earl's banner all to-torn, they were greatly abashed and so took their horses and voided out of the town.

Ye may well know that Gilbert Mahew and his brethren, who were enemies to John Lyon, were not well assured of themselves in their own houses: wherefore they departed as fast as they might and voided the town one after another, and left behind them wives, children and heritages, and went as soon as they might to the earl and shewed him how his baily was slain; of the which tidings the earl was sore displeased, and good cause why, for they had done him great despite, and said and sware how it should be greatly recompensed, or ever that he returned again into Gaunt, and that they should never have peace with him, in ensample to all other towns. So Gilbert Mahew and his brethren abode still with the earl, and John Lyon and the white hats persevered still in their outrage.

When Roger d'Auterive was thus slain and all other departed, and that none appeared before the white hats to be revenged, then John Lyon, who intended to overrun the mariners,[1] because he loved them not, said: 'Sirs, on afore to these false traitors the Mahews, that would this day destroy the franchise of the town of Gaunt'; and so they ran along the streets to their houses, but they found nobody there, for they were departed: then they were sought for in lodgings, street by street and chamber by chamber. And when John Lyon heard how none of them could be found, he was sore displeased: then he gave all their goods to his company, and so all their houses were pilled and robbed, so that nothing was left, as though they had been false traitors to the town; and when they had done, they returned into their own houses. And after that there was no officer of the earl's, neither within the town nor without, that once said to them they had done evil, and as at that time they durst not, for the white hats were so multiplied that none durst displease them: they went in the streets by great companies, but there were none that would meet with them. It was said in divers places in the town, and without also, how they had some supportation of some officers and rich men in Gaunt; the which was likely to be so, for who durst begin such a riot as to enterprise to slay the earl's baily holding the earl's banner in his hands, doing his office, without some bolsterer or comforter in their deed? And after that they multiplied and were so strong in the town, that they cared for no manner of aid but of themselves: there were none that durst displease them or withsay anything that they would do. This baily Roger d'Auterive was taken by the friars and so buried in their church.

When this thing was thus fortuned, divers good men, sage and rich, of the town of Gaunt were right sorry, and began to speak and murmur, and said each to other how they had done a great outrage in slaying thus the earl's baily in doing of his office, and how of right their lord the earl must need be displeased with them, and by all likelihood never to have rest nor peace with him, and how that these ungracious people had brought all the town in peril to be destroyed, without God find some remedy. Howbeit, for all these words, there were none that durst find the means to correct or to amend them that had done this outrage. John de la Faucille, who as then was in Gaunt, a man right sage and greatly renowned, saw how the matter was gone so far and saw how outrageously they had slain the baily, he thought the matter should be evil at length: and for the intent he should not be suspect with the earl nor

[1] Or according to another reading, 'the Mahews.'

with the town, he departed from the town as privily as he might and went to a fair house that he had without Gaunt, and there abode and feigned himself sick, so that none spake with him but his own men: and daily he heard tidings out of Gaunt, for he had left behind him the most part of his goods and his wife and his children still in the town. Thus he dissimuled for a season.

CHAPTER CCCLI

How twelve burgesses of Gaunt were sent to the earl of Flanders, and how in the same season the white hats pilled and brent the fair castle of Andrehen.[1]

THE good men in Gaunt, and rich and notable merchants, who had within the town their wives, children and merchandise and their heritages, both within the town and without, and had to live by right honourably without danger, they were not well at their ease in their hearts to see the business in Gaunt. They knew all they had sore forfeited against the earl their lord, and thought well how he would provide therein some remedy and that they should be fain to make amends of their trespasses now or else another time, and they to put themselves in the earl's mercy; wherefore they thought it better to do it betimes rather than too late. Then they took counsel together to see how they might use themselves to the profit and honour both of them and of the town. To this council was called John Lyon and the captains of the white hats, or else they durst not have done it. There were many words, and divers purposes devised: finally they were all of one accord that they of the council should chose twelve notable persons and send them to the earl, requiring him of mercy for the death of his baily, whom they had slain, and so by that means if they might have peace, they would be glad, so that all might be comprised in the peace and nothing else demanded of the earl's part. Then these burgesses were chosen that should go on this viage, and always John Lyon said: 'It is good to be in favour with our lord and prince.' Howbeit, he would the contrary, and thought and said to himself that the matter was not yet thereas he would bring it unto. So these burgesses departed and went to Male beside Bruges to the earl, who at their first coming made a cruel and a fell countenance against them of Gaunt. These twelve burgesses made a pitiful complaint before the earl and required him, holding up of all their hands, that he would have mercy on them, and excused themselves of the death of the baily, both them of the law and the notable persons of the town, and said: 'Right dear sir, accord so to us that we may bring peace with us to the town of Gaunt, the which loveth you so well: and, sir, we promise you that in time to come this outrage shall be so greatly recompensed on them that hath done it and caused it to be done, so that ye shall be content and that it shall be to all other towns ensample.' These twelve burgesses made so humble requests, that the earl somewhat refrained his ire, and by means of other that was made to him that he accorded and ordained articles of the peace. And the earl pardoned all his evil will that he had against them of Gaunt by the amends that should be made. But then there came to them other new tidings, as I shall shew you hereafter.

John Lyon, who was at Gaunt, thought all contrary to that he had said in the council, how that it was good to be in favour with their lord. He knew in certainty that he had so much trespassed against the earl, that his peace should never be made with him, and if he had any peace granted him he thought it should be but dissimulation and that it should cost him his life at last. So therefore he thought he had rather be shamed than to be in peril and in adventure of his life every day. I shall shew you what he did. While the counsels of the town were with the earl for peace, he assembled together all the white hats and of all the crafts in Gaunt such as were of his accord, and so came to his purpose by a subtle means, and then said to them all: 'Sirs, ye know well how we have displeased our lord the earl of Flanders and how we have sent unto him. We know not as yet what report they will bring, whether peace or war; for the earl is not easy to be appeased, for he hath

[1] Wondelghem, about three miles to the north of Ghent.

about him such as will rather stir him to displeasure than to quietness, as Gilbert Mahew and his brethren. There is a hundred hinderers of the peace rather than one furtherer: therefore it were good that we took good heed to ourselves, if we have war, to know who shall aid us and how we shall get us love among you rulers of such a craft and such a craft. Cause to-morrow to come into the fields as many men as ye can get, and there we shall see how able every man is and how they be furnished. It is better to be advised betime than too late: this shall cost us nothing, and yet we shall be the more feared and drad.' They all answered and said: 'It is well devised: so let it be done.'

The next day they went out all at Bruges gate and so went into the fields in a fair plain without Gaunt called Andrehen. Then John Lyon beheld them gladly, for they were a ten thousand and all well armed: then he said: 'Behold, here is a goodly company': and when he had been there a certain space and had gone all about them, then he said: 'Sirs, I counsel, let us go to the earl's place hereby, sith we be so near it, for it is shewed me how he maketh there great provision: it may fortune to be great prejudice to our town of Gaunt.' They all agreed thereto, and so came to Andrehen, the which was as then without any great keeping or defence. So they entered and sought all about the house, and anon this ungracious company pilled and robbed it of all that ever they found there: there was within it much riches, for the earl had made there his wardrobe. John Lyon made semblant as though he had been sore displeased: howbeit, that was not so, as it appeared; for when they were departed from the castle and come again into the field, they looked behind them and saw all the place afire, and that the fire was more than in twenty places in the castle, so that it was not in the people's puissance to quench it, nor also they had no great will to do it. Then John Lyon, as though he had great marvel, said: 'How cometh yonder fire in my lord's house?' And some answered and said: 'We cannot tell, but by adventure.' 'Well,' quoth he, 'we cannot then amend it: it is better that it be brent by adventure rather than by us; and also, all things considered, it was a perilous neighbour to us, for my lord might there a set such a garrison, that might have done us great damage, if we should have war with him.' They all answered and said: 'Ye say truth'; and so returned into the town of Gaunt and did no more that day, for they had done evil enough and too much; for it cost after more than two hundred thousand men's lives, and it was one of the principal things wherewith the earl was most displeased: and therefore John Lyon did it, because he would have no peace; for he knew well, whatsoever treaty were made, he was likely to lose his life. This castle of Andrehen had cost the earl of Flanders the building thereof two hundred thousand franks, and he loved it best of all the houses he had. The good men of Gaunt who desired to have had peace was of this adventure right sorrowful. Howbeit, they could not amend it, nor they durst make no words thereof, for the white hats said how the castle was brent by unhap and none otherwise.

These tidings came to the earl of Flanders, who was at Male, and he that brought him word said: 'Sir, know for truth your fair house of Andrehen, the which hath cost you so much and that ye so well loved, is brent.' 'Brent!' quoth the earl. 'Yea surely, sir,' quoth he. 'And how so?' quoth the earl. 'Sir, by unhap, as it is said.' 'Ah,' quoth the earl, 'that deed shall never have peace in Flanders as long as John Lyon liveth. He hath covertly made it to be set afire, but it shall be dearly bought.' Then he made the burgesses of Gaunt to come before him and said to them: 'Ah, ye evil and unhappy people, ye pray me with sword in the hand. I have granted to you all your requests as ye will yourselves, and now your folks have brent my house, the which I loved among all other. Think they not that they have done me despite enough in slaying my baily for doing his office, and to tear there my banner and to tread it under their feet? Know for truth, saving mine honour and that I have given you safe-conduct, I should cause all your heads to be stricken off. Depart out of my presence and say to yonder unhappy people of Gaunt that they shall never have peace nor treaty with me, till I have of them whom I will, to strike

off their heads, and none shall have mercy.' The burgesses, who were full sorry of these tidings, because they were not culpable of that deed, they began to excuse them; but there was none excuse would serve, for the earl was so sore displeased, that he would not hear them speak, and so made them to avoid his presence: and they took their horses to return to Gaunt, and shewed how well they had sped and had great peace and appointment,[1] an this castle had not been brent; and also they shewed how the earl greatly menaced them and sent them word how they should never have peace with him, till he had as many of the town at his pleasure as he list to have. The good people of the town saw well how the matter went but evil for them and how the white hats had caused all; but there was none so hardy that durst speak it.

The earl of Flanders went from Male to Lille, and all his household; and then he sent for all his lords and knights of Flanders, such as held of him, to have their counsel how he might do in all his businesses and how to be revenged of them of Gaunt, who had done him so many despites. All the gentlemen of Flanders sware to him to be good and true, as they ought to be to their lord, without any mean;[2] wherefore the earl was greatly rejoiced. Then he sent men to all his castles, to Termonde, Rupelmonde, Alost, Gavre, Oudenarde, and all about he made great provision.

CHAPTER CCCLII

Of the death of John Lyon, and of other captains that the Gauntois made; and of the good towns in Flanders, that allied themselves to Gaunt.[3]

JOHN LYON was greatly rejoiced, when he saw that the earl of Flanders would take no peace with them of Gaunt, seeing he could come to no peace, and he had then put the town of Gaunt so forward in war, that they must needs then, whether they would or not, continue the war. Then he said openly: 'Sirs, ye may see and understand how our lord the earl of Flanders provideth himself against us and will have no peace with us. Therefore I counsel you for the best that, or we be more grieved or oppressed, let us know what towns in Flanders will take our part. I dare answer for them of the town of Grammont, that they will not be against us, but take our part, and in like wise so will they of Courtray, for they be within our franchise and Courtray is our chamber; but behold here them of Bruges, who be great and proud, for by them all this matter was first moved. It is good that we go to them so strong, that other by fairness or by rigour we may bring them to our accord.' They all said: 'It were good it were so.' Then by process of time all such as should go in this journey were made ready, and so departed from Gaunt about a nine or ten thousand men, and had with them great carriages, and so lay the first night at Deynse and the next morning they approached Bruges, and so came within a little league thereof. Then they arranged themselves in the fields and set themselves in order of battle, and their carriages behind them. Then John Lyon ordained that a certain of the rulers of divers crafts should go to Bruges and to know their intents. And so they went to Bruges and found the gates fast shut and well kept, and there they shewed the intent wherefore they were come thither. The keepers said they would go gladly and shew their minds to the borough-masters and chief rulers[1] of their town, and so they did. Then the rulers answered: 'Go and shew them how we will go to council and take advice in this matter.' So they returned and shewed their answer; and when John Lyon heard that answer, he said: 'Advance forward to Bruges. If we abide till they take counsel, we shall not enter but with much pain. It is better that we assail them or they take counsel, whereby they shall be suddenly taken.'

This purpose was kept, and so the Gauntois came to the barriers and dikes of Bruges, John Lyon with the foremost mounted on a black courser, and incontinent he alighted and took an axe in his hand. And when they that kept the

1 'Had come to peace and accommodation.'
2 'Sans nul moyen'; that is, without reserve.
3 The events that follow are given very much out of chronological order.

1 'Les bourgmaistres et eschevins,' but the better text gives 'bourgmaistre' (in the singular) throughout. There was of course only one burgomaster.

barriers, who were not strong enough to make defence, saw the Gauntois approach ready to give assault, they went into the streets of the town and into the market-place and cried ever as they went: 'Behold here the Gauntois ready at the gate: go to your defence, for they are ready to the assault.' Then they of the town, who were assembled together to have gone to council, were right sore abashed and had no leisure to speak together to ordain for their business, and the most part of the commonalty would that the gates should have been opened, and it behoved so to be, or else it had been evil with the rich men. Then the borough-masters and rulers of the town with other went to the gate, whereas the Gauntois were ready apparelled to make assault. The borough-masters and rulers of Bruges, who had the governing of the town for that day, opened the wicket to speak with John Lyon, and so opened the barriers and the gate to treat; and so long they spake together, that they were good friends and so entered in all together. And John Lyon rode by the borough-master, the which became him well: he was hardy and courageous, and all his men clean armed followed him. It was a fair sight to see them enter in good order, and so came to the market-place, and there he arranged his men in the streets. And John Lyon held in his hand a white warderer.

So between them of Gaunt and of Bruges there was made an alliance and sworn always to be good friends together, and that they of Gaunt might summon them and lead them whithersoever they would. And anon, after that the Gauntois were arranged about the market-place, John Lyon and certain captains with him went up into the hall and there made a cry for the good town of Gaunt, commanding that every man should draw to his lodging fair and easily and unarm them without noise or moving, on pain of their heads, and that no man dislodge other nor make no noise in their lodging, whereby any strife should rise, on the same pain; and also that no man take anything from another, without he pay therefor incontinent, on the said pain. This cry once made, then there was another cry made for the town of Bruges, that every man should meekly and agreeably receive the Gauntois into their houses and to minister to them victuals according to the common price of the town, and that the price should not be raised in no manner of thing, nor no noise to be made or debate moved; and all these things to be kept on pain of their heads. Then every man went to their houses; and so thus right amiably they of Gaunt were with them of Bruges two days, and there they allied and bound themselves each to other surely.

These obligations were written and sealed, and on the third day they of Gaunt departed and went to the town of Damme, where the gates were set open against their coming, and there they were courteously received and tarried there two days. Then suddenly a sickness took John Lyon, wherewith he swelled; and the same night that the sickness took him he supped with great revel with the damosels of the town, wherefore some said he was there poisoned, whereof I know nothing, nor I will not speak too far therein. But I know well, the next day that he fell sick, at night he was laid in a litter and carried to Ardenburg: he could go no farther, but there died, whereof they of Gaunt were right sorry and sore dismayed.

Of the death of John Lyon all his enemies were right glad and his friends sorry, and so he was brought to Gaunt, and because of his death all the host returned. When the tidings of his death came to Gaunt, all the people were right sorry, for he was well beloved, except of such as were of the earl's part. All the clergy came against him, and so brought him into the town with great solemnity, as though it had been the earl of Flanders: and so he was buried right honourably in the church of Saint Nicholas, and there his obsequy was done. Yet for all the death of this John Lyon, the alliances and promises made between them of Gaunt and of Bruges brake not; for there were good hostages in the town, wherefore it held.

Of the death of this John Lyon the earl was right glad, and so was Gilbert Mahew and his brethren and the ruler of the mean crafts in Gaunt and all such as were of the earl's part. Then the earl made sorer provision than he did before in all his castles and towns, and he sent to the town of Ypres a great number of knights and squires out of the liberties of Lille and

Douay, and said how he would have reason of Gaunt. And anon after the death of John Lyon all they of Gaunt advised how they could not be long without captains. Then they ordained of the aldermen of the crafts and of the cinquanteniers of the ports[1] four of them according to their advice, most hardy and cruel persons of all other. First they chose John Pruniaux, John Boele, Ralph de Herselle and Peter du Bois,[2] and all the other people sware to maintain and obey them as their captains, on pain of their heads that did the contrary, and the captains sware again to keep and maintain the honour and franchises of the town.

These four captains stirred them of Gaunt to go to Ypres and to [the] Franc, to have obeisance of them or else to slay them all. So these captains and their people departed from Gaunt in good array: they were a twelve thousand clean armed, and so came to Courtray. They of Courtray suffered them to enter into their town without danger, for it pertained to the franchise of Gaunt, and there took their ease two days and the third day departed and went to Ypres, and took with them two hundred[3] men of arms with the cross-bows of Courtray, and so took the way to Thourout. And when they came there, they rested and took counsel, and advised to send thither a three or four thousand of their men and the captain of the white hats with them, to treat with them of Ypres, and the great battle to follow after to comfort them, if need required. As it was ordained, so it was done, and so came to Ypres: and when they of Ypres, and especially they of the mean crafts, knew the coming of them of Gaunt, they armed them and took the market-place, and they were a five thousand: so there the rich men of the town had no puissance. The knights that were there in garrison, set by the earl, went ordinately to the gate of Thourout, whereas the Gauntois were without, desiring to have free entry: the knights and squires were ready ranged before the gate and shewed good defence, nor indeed the Gauntois had never entered without great damage, but that the ancient crafts of the town against the knights' will would that the Gauntois should enter.[1] The men of the town went out of the market-place and so came to the gate, the which the knights kept, and said: 'Sirs, open the gate: let our friends and neighbours of Gaunt enter: we will they shall enter into our town.' The knights answered that they should not enter, and said how they were stablished there by the earl of Flanders to keep the town, the which they would do to the best of their powers, saying how it lay not in the puissance of Gaunt to enter there. Insomuch that words multiplied in such wise between the gentlemen and them of the town, that at last they cried: 'Slay and beat down them: they shall not be masters of our town.' There was a sore scrimmish and long endured in the streets. The knights were not of sufficient force to resist against them of the town, so that there were five knights slain, whereof two were sir Roubaix and sir Hovard de la Hovarderie, the which was great damage, and there was in great danger sir Henry d'Antoing. With much pain some of the rich men of the town saved him and divers other: but the gate was set open and the Gauntois entered and were lords and masters of the town without damage of any hurt.[2] And when they had been there two days and taken surety of them of the town, who sware in like manner and form as they of Bruges, of Courtray, of Grammont and of Damme had done, and delivered hostages for the same intent, then they departed right courteously and so went again to Gaunt.

CHAPTERS CCCLIII-CCCLV

SUMMARY.—The men of Ghent with those of Bruges, Ypres and other towns besieged Oudenarde in great force, and also sent a body of men to Termonde, where the earl was, and attacked it both by land and water. Being unable to take it, these retired to Oudenarde, where the siege continued long and the earl feared that his garrison might be reduced by famine. The

[1] The better reading is 'paroches,' 'parishes.'
[2] The true name is Van den Bossche.
[3] A better reading is 'twelve hundred.'

[1] By the better text, 'but that the small crafts of the town, whether the greater would or not, went out of the market-place,' etc.
[2] 'Without doing any damage in it.'

countess of Artois, mother of the earl of Flanders, took pains to end the war, and desired the duke of Burgundy, who by his wife was next heir to the earldom of Flanders, to find some remedy. By his means peace was arranged, on condition that the earl should pardon all and should come to dwell in Ghent, and they of Ghent should rebuild the castle of Wondelghem. The earl came first to Bruges and there stayed some time.

The duke of Brittany at the desire of his people returned from England with sir Robert Knolles and a small force of Englishmen, and was received in Brittany with joy by most.

The emperor Charles of Bohemia died, having first secured the election of his son.

A marriage was proposed between the young king of England and the daughter of the emperor Charles.

CHAPTER CCCLVI

How the Englishmen that were sent into Bretayne were tormented on the sea, and how the Gauntois desired to have the earl of Flanders their lord to come dwell in their town of Gaunt.

THE same season it was ordained in England by the king and his council that two hundred men of arms and four hundred archers should go into Bretayne, and the chief captain of that journey should be sir John Arundel, and with him should go sir Hugh Calverley, sir Thomas Banaster, sir Thomas Trivet, sir Walter Paveley, sir John Bourchier, the lord Ferrers and the lord Basset. All these knights drew to Hampton; and when they had wind, they entered into their ships and departed. The first day the wind was reasonable good for them, but against night the wind turned contrary to them, and whether they would or not, they were driven on the coast of Cornwall. The wind was so sore and strainable, that they could cast none anchor, nor also they durst not. In the morning the wind brought them into the Irish sea, and by the rage of the tempest three of their ships brast and went to wrack, wherein was sir John Arundel, sir Thomas Banaster and sir Hugh Calverley, and a hundred men of arms, of the which hundred fourscore were drowned, and sir John Arundel their captain was there perished, which was great damage: and sir Hugh Calverley was never in his life before so nigh his death, for all that ever was in his ship, except himself and seven mariners, were all drowned. For he and the seven mariners that were saved took hold of tables[1] and masts, and the strength of the wind brought them to the sands: howbeit, they had drunk water enough, whereof they were right sick and evil at ease. Out of this danger escaped sir Thomas Trivet and sir John Bourchier, the lord Ferrers, the lord Basset and divers other, but they were sore tormented and in great peril; and after that this tempest was ceased, they returned again to Hampton, and went back again to the king and his uncles and recounted all their adventures, weening to them that sir Hugh Calverley had been drowned with the other. Howbeit, that was not so, for he was gone sick to London. Thus brake up that journey, whereby the duke of Bretayne could have no comfort of the Englishmen, which was right contrarious to him; for all that season and the winter following the Frenchmen made him right sore war, and the Bretons, as sir Oliver Clisson and his company, took the town of Dinan in Bretayne by reason of vessels and barges; and so the town was pilled and robbed and was kept against the duke a long season after.

Now let us return to the business of Flanders.

When the peace was agreed between the earl of Flanders and them of Gaunt by the means of the duke of Burgoyne, whereby he gat himself much thank in the country, the intent and pleasure of them of Gaunt was to have their lord the earl of Flanders to dwell with them in Gaunt, and there to keep his household. The earl also was counselled by the provost of Harlebecque and of them that were next about him, to do so, whereby he should nourish great love between him and them of Gaunt. The earl lay still at Bruges and came not to Gaunt, whereof they had great marvel, and specially the good and rich men of Gaunt and such as were sage and wise, for they desired nothing but peace; but the paliards[2] and white hats and such as

[1] A better reading is 'cables.' [2] 'Paillars.'

desired rather strife and debate, they cared nothing for the earl's coming, for they knew well that if he came, they should privily be corrected at last for the evil deeds that they had done. Notwithstanding that they were in this doubt, yet they that had the governing of the law, the councillors and good men of the town, would for anything that he should come thither and that they should go and require him so to do, for they thought they had no firm peace without the earl came thither. And so there was ordained twenty-four men to go to Bruges to shew to the earl the great affection that they had to have him: and so they departed honourably, as it appertained for them that should go for their lord; and it was said to them by them of the town: 'Sirs, return never again to Gaunt, without ye bring the earl with you; for if ye do, ye shall find the gates closed against you.'

Thus these burgesses of Gaunt rode forth toward Bruges, and between Bruges and Deynse they heard say how the earl was coming to Gaunt-ward, whereof they were right joyous: and they had not ridden past a league farther, but that they met the earl in the fields. Then the burgesses stood still on both sides of the way, and so the earl and all his company passed through them. As he passed by, the burgesses inclined themselves right low and humbly and made great reverence to the earl. The earl rode through them without any great regarding of them, but a little put his hand to his hat, nor all the way he made to them no semblant. So the earl rode on the one side and the Gauntois on the other, till they came to Deynse; and there they rested, for the earl did dine there, and the Gauntois went to other lodgings and dined also.

And after dinner the Gauntois in good array came to the earl and kneeled all down before him, for the earl sat, and there they presented right humbly the affection and service of them of the town of Gaunt, and shewed him how by great love they of Gaunt, who desired so much to have him with them, hath sent them to him: 'And, sir, at our departing they said to us that it were but a folly for us to return again to Gaunt, without that we brought you thither with us.' The earl, who right well heard these words, held his peace a certain space, and at last, when he spake, he said fair and softly: 'Sirs, I believe well it be as ye say, and that divers of Gaunt desireth to have me among them: but I have marvel of that they remember not, nor will not remember, of time past, what they have shewed me; and I have been to them so courteous, meek and gentle in all their requests, and I have suffered to be put out of my country my gentlemen, when they have complained of them, to acquit their law and justice. I have also opened divers times my prisons to deliver out their burgesses, when they have desired it. I have loved and honoured them more than any other of my country, and they have done to me clean contrary. They have slain my baily and destroyed the houses of my men, banished and chased away mine officers and brent the house in the world that I loved best, enforced my towns and brought them to their intents and slain my knights in the town of Ypres, and have done so many trespasses against me and my seignory, that it is noyful to me to record it, and I would I could never think on it; but I do and shall do, whether I will or not.' 'Ah, right dear lord,' said they of Gaunt, 'for God's sake never regard it: ye have all things pardoned.' 'It is truth,' quoth the earl: 'for all my words, in time to come I will ye shall be never the worse: but I shew it unto you, sirs, for the great cruelties and felonies that I have found in them of Gaunt.' Then the earl appeased himself, and rose up on his feet and caused them to rise, and said to the lord of Ramseflies,[1] who was by him, 'Go, get some wine.' So they of Gaunt drank and departed to their lodgings, and tarried there all that night, for so did the earl; and the next day all together they rode towards Gaunt.

CHAPTER CCCLVII

How the earl of Flanders entered into the town of Gaunt, and of his departing thence without knowledge of any of the town, and how the walls of Oudenarde were beaten down by the white hats and their fellows.

WHEN they of Gaunt understood that the earl was coming, they were right joyful and came to meet him, some afoot and some a-

[1] *i.e.* Reighersfliet.

horseback; and they meekly inclined themselves low and did him reverence, and he passed forth without any word speaking to any of them and but a little inclined his head, and so came to his lodging called the Postern, and there dined and had many presents given him by them of the town. And there came to see him they of the law of the town[1] and humbly inclined themselves to him, as reason required; and the earl said: 'Sirs, good peace requireth nothing but peace; wherefore I would that these white hats were laid down and amends to be made for the death of my baily, for I am sore required therein of all his lineage.' 'Sir,' quoth the men of law, 'it is right well our intent that it should so be; and, sir, we require your grace with all humility that it may please you to-morrow next to come into an open place, and there to shew your intent to the people: and when they see you, they will be so rejoiced that they will do everything that ye shall desire them.' Then the earl accorded to their request.

The same evening many folks knew in the town how the earl should be the next morning by eight of the clock in the market-place and there preach to the people. The good men were right joyful thereof, but the fools and outrageous people gave no fear thereof, and said how they were preached enough, and how they knew well what they had to do. John Pruniaux, Ralph de Herselle, Peter du Bois and John Boele, captains of the white hats, doubted lest all that matter should be laid on their charge: and then they spake together and sent for such of their company as were most outrageous and worst of all other, and said to them: 'Sirs, take heed this night and to-morrow and let your armour be ready, and whatsoever be said to you, put not off your white hats, and be all in the market-place to-morrow by eight of the bell; but make no stirring nor strife, without it be begun on you, and shew all this to your companies or else send them word thereof.'

They said it should be done and so it was. In the morning at eight of the clock they came into the market-place, not all together but in divers plumps. The earl came to the market-place a-horseback, accompanied with his knights and squires and them of the law of the town, and by him was John Faucille and a forty of the most richest of the town. The earl, as he came along the market-place, he cast his eyes on the white hats and was in his mind right sore displeased with them, and so alighted, and all other. Then he mounted up into a window and leaned out thereat, and a red cloth before him, and there he began to speak right sagely, shewing them from point to point the love and affection that he hath had to them, or they displeased him. There he shewed how a prince and lord ought to be beloved, feared, served and honoured of his men, and how they had done the contrary. Also he shewed how he hath kept and defended them against all men, and how he had kept them in peace, profit and prosperity in the passages of the sea, the which was closed from them at his first entering into his land. He shewed them divers reasonable points, which the wise men understood and conceived it clearly, how all that ever he said was truth. Divers gave good ear to him, and some never a whit, such as had rather have war than peace. And when he had been there the space of one hour and had shewed them all this and more, then finally he said how he would be their good lord in like manner as he had been in time past, and pardoned them of all the injuries, hates and evil wills that he had against them and all that they had done, he would hear no more thereof, and to keep them in their rights and seignories as in time past had been used; howbeit, he desired them that they should begin no new thing nor custom, and that the white hats should be laid down.

At all these words that he spake before, every man held their peace; but when he spake of the white hats, there was such a murmuring and whispering, that it might well be perceived that it was for that cause. Then the earl desired them sweetly every man to draw to their own houses, and so every man departed out of the place, but the white hats were the first that came thither and the last that tarried; and when the earl passed by them, they smiled and foolishly beheld him,[1] and they made no

[1] 'Les jurez de la ville,' *i.e.* the magistrates.

[1] The text is corrupt and has 'ilz soubrirent et moult folement le regardèrent,' instead of 'ils s'ouvrirent, mais fellement le regardèrent,' 'they opened to give him passage, but looked at him angrily.'

reverence to him, whereof the earl was sore displeased in his mind and said to his knights, when he came to his lodging: 'I trow I shall never come easily to mine intent against these white hats: they are unhappy people: my heart giveth me that the matter will not rest long in the case that it is now in; for as far as I can perceive, they are likely to do many evil deeds; for though I should lose all, I cannot suffer them in their pride and evil doings.'

Thus the earl of Flanders was there a four or five days, and then departed, so that he returned no more thither again, and so went to Lille and there ordained to lie all the winter. At his departing from Gaunt he took leave of no man, but departed in displeasure, wherewith divers of the town were right evil content, and said how they should never have any good of him, nor he would never love them nor they him, and how he was departed from them at that time as he had done in time past, and that Gilbert Mahew and his brethren had counselled him so to do. Seeing he was departed so suddenly from Gaunt, John Pruniaux, Ralph Herselle, Peter du Bois, John Boele and the evil captains were right joyous of his departing and sowed lewd words about in the town, saying how that, or summer come, the earl and his men will break the peace; wherefore, they said, it were good that every man took heed to himself, and that they provide for the town corn and other victuals, as flesh and salt and such other things, saying how they could see no surety in the earl. So they of Gaunt made provision of divers things that was necessary for them and for the town, whereof the earl was informed, and had great marvel wherefore they doubted themselves in such wise. To say truth, all things considered in that I say or have said before, it may be marvelled how they of Gaunt dissimuled themselves so at the beginning as they did. The rich, sage and notable persons of the town cannot excuse themselves of these deeds at the beginning; for when John Lyon began to bring up first the white hats, they might well have caused them to have been laid down,[1] if they had list, and have sent other manner of persons against the pioneers of Bruges than they: but they suffered it, because they would not meddle, nor be in no business nor press. All this they did and consented to be done, the which after they dearly bought, and specially such as were rich and wise: for afterward they were no more lords of themselves, nor they durst not speak nor do nothing but as they of Gaunt would. For they said[1] that neither for John Lyon, nor for Gilbert Mahew, nor for their wars or envies, they would never depart asunder;[2] for whatsoever war there were between one or other, they would be ever all one and ever ready to defend the franchises of their town: the which was well seen after, for they made war which endured seven year, in the which time there was never strife among them in the town: and that was the thing that sustained and kept them most of anything both within and without; they were in such unity that there was no distance among them, as ye shall hear after in this history.

It was not long after that the earl of Flanders was departed from Gaunt and returned to Lille, but that sir Oliver d'Auterive, cousin-german to Roger d'Auterive slain before in Gaunt, sent his defiance to the town of Gaunt for the death of his cousin, and in like wise so did sir Philip of Masmines and divers other: and after their defiances made they found a forty ships and the mariners to them pertaining, of the burgesses of Gaunt, who were coming on the river of l'Escault charged with corn; and there they revenged them of the death of their cousin on these ships and mariners, for they all to-hewed the mariners and did put out their eyen, and so sent them to Gaunt maimed as they were, which despite they of Gaunt took for a great injury. The learned men of Gaunt, to whom the complaints came, were right sore displeased and wist not well what to say. Great murmuring was in the town, and the most part of the people of Gaunt said how the earl of Flanders had caused all, so that there durst no man excuse him. And as soon as John

[1] This should be, 'they might well have overthrown him.'

[1] Or according to a better text: 'The reason which they of Gaunt give for it is this: they say,' etc.

[2] Or, by a better text, 'that neither for John Lyon or for Gilbert Mahew nor for their families, nor for their wars or envies would they ever have troubled themselves nor thrust themselves so far forward in the war, but only to guard their franchises.'

Pruniaux heard these tidings, who was as then captain of the white hats, without any word speaking to them of the law,[1] I cannot say whether he spake with the captains of other companions or not, I think rather yea than nay, so he took the most part of the white hats and divers other followers ready enough to do evil, and so departed from Gaunt and came suddenly to Oudenarde. When he entered first there was no watch nor keepers, for they feared no man, and so he and his company entered in at the gate to the number of five thousand and more; and the next morning he set workmen a-work, carpenters and masons, such as were there ready with him to do his commandment, and so he ceased not till he had beaten down two of the gates and the walls and towers between them and laid them up-se-down in the dikes toward Gaunt.

How may they of Gaunt excuse themselves, that thus consented to this deed? For they were at Oudenarde beating down these walls and gates more than a month. If they had sent for these men to have come back again, when they heard of it first, then they might well have been excused: but they did not so; they winked rather with their eyen and suffered it; till tidings came to the earl, who lay at Lille, how John Pruniaux had by stealth come into Oudenarde and beaten down two of the gates with the walls and towers. Of which tidings the earl was sore displeased, and also he had good cause so to be, and said: 'Ah, these unhappy cursed people, the devil I trow is with them. I shall never be in joy as long as they of Gaunt have any puissance.'

Then he sent to Gaunt some of his council, shewing them the great outrage that they had done, and how they were no people to be believed in making any peace, seeing that the peace which the duke of Burgoyne had made to his great labour and pain was now thus broken by them. The mayor and learned men[1] of Gaunt excused themselves and said that, saving the earl's displeasure, they never thought to break the peace, nor never had will thereto; for though John Pruniaux had done that outrage of himself, the town of Gaunt will in no wise avow, suffer nor sustain it; and so plainly and truly excused themselves, and said moreover how the earl had consented thereto, 'for they be issued out of his house such as have done this great outrage, slain and maimed our burgesses, the which is a great inconvenience to the whole body of the town. How say ye, sirs, to this?' quoth they. Then the earl's commissaries replied and said: 'Sirs, then I see well ye be revenged.' 'Nay, not so,' quoth they of the town, 'for though that John Pruniaux have done thus at Oudenarde, that it is done for any revenging we say not so; for by the treaty of the peace we may prove and shew, if we list, and that we take record of the duke of Burgoyne, that we might have done with Oudenarde and have brought it into the same point that it is now at; but at the desire of the duke of Burgoyne we forbare and suffered it undone as at that time.' Then the earl's commissaries said: 'It appeareth well by your words that ye have caused it to be done and that ye cannot excuse yourselves therein. Sith that ye knew that John Pruniaux was gone to Oudenarde with an army of men of war, and by stealth under the shadow of peace hath beaten down the gates and walls thereof, ye should have gone before them and have defended them from doing of any such outrage, till ye had shewed your complaints to the earl. And of the hurting and maiming of your burgesses of Gaunt ye should therein have gone to the duke of Burgoyne, who made the peace, and have shewed him all your complaint: so then ye had amended your matter; but ye have not done thus. Now sith ye have my lord the earl of Flanders thus displeased, ye send to excuse yourselves. Ye desire peace with your swords in your hands, but I ensure you one day he will take so cruel vengeance on you, that all the world shall speak thereof.' So the earl's commissaries departed from them of Gaunt and went by Courtray to Lille, and shewed to the earl what they had done and the excusations that they of Gaunt made for themselves.

[1] 'Les jurez,' equivalent to 'eschevins.'

CHAPTER CCCLVIII

How the Gauntois rendered Oudenarde, and of the houses of the noblemen of Flanders

that they beat down, and how the war began between them and the Gauntois right cruel and without pity.

THE hearing speaking of the treating of this process may well be marvelled, for the marvellous matter therein. Some giveth the right of the war, the which was at that time great and cruel in Flanders, to them of Gaunt, saying how they had a good and a just cause to make war: but I cannot see that as yet, for I could never see nor understand but that the earl loved ever peace rather than war, reserving always his highness and honour. Did he not at their desire deliver their burgess out of his prison of Eccloo? and yet for all that they slew his baily. And then he again pardoned them that great outrage to the intent to have kept them in peace; and over that again on a day they moved all the country of Flanders against him and slew in the town of Ypres five of his knights, and went and assailed and beseiged Oudenarde and did their pain to have destroyed it, and yet again they had of the earl peace. But for all that, they would make none amends for the death of Roger d'Auterive, the which his lineage oftentimes desired; wherefore they somewhat revenged the death of their cousin on a certain mariners, by whom all this war and mischief was begun. Was this yet any reasonable cause why they should beat down the walls of Oudenarde? I think, and so did many other, that it was none occasion so to do. They said the earl was rather in their debt than they in his, and that he should make them amends for that that had been done to their mariners, or ever they would deliver again Oudenarde.

The earl, who was at Lille, and his council with him, was right sore displeased in that they kept Oudenarde, and wist not well how to get it again, and so repented him of the peace that he had given to the Gauntois; and he wrote oftentimes to them commanding them to deliver up Oudenarde, or else he would make them so cruel war, that it should be ever had in remembrance. They of Gaunt would in no wise avow the deed; for if they had, they had broken the peace. Finally certain good people of Gaunt and rich men, who would have nothing by their wills but peace, went so between in this matter, as John Faucille, Gilbert Grutere, sir Simon Bette and divers other, that the twelfth day [of March] they of Gaunt being in the town of Oudenarde returned again to Gaunt and delivered the town to the earl's servants; and to appease the earl's displeasure John Pruniaux was banished Gaunt and all Flanders, because by his advice the commons had taken Oudenarde, without knowledge of the substance of the town of Gaunt. And on the other part the earl banished out of all Flanders sir Philip of Masmines, sir Oliver d'Auterive, the Gallois of Masmines, the bastard of Windingues and all those that were cause of the maiming of the mariners burgesses of Gaunt, without knowledge of the earl; and so by the reason of these banishings both parties were appeased. So John Pruniaux forsook the country of Flanders and when to Ath in Brabant and there dwelled; and sir Philip of Masmines went to Valenciennes in the county of Hainault, but when they of Gaunt knew thereof, they did so much to the provost of Valenciennes, called John Partit, who in fair manner caused the said knight to depart thence; and so he departed with his good-will and went to Warlaing beside Douay and there tarried till he heard other tidings; and the other knights and squires voided Flanders and went into Brabant.

And as soon as the earl had again possession of Oudenarde, he set workmen a-work and new repaired the town better than ever it was before, both walls, gates and dikes. The Gauntois knew well how the earl new fortified Oudenarde, but they made no semblance thereof, because they would no fault should be found in them, as in breaking of the peace; but the fools and outrageous people said among themselves: 'Let the earl alone in his work, for though he make Oudenarde of steel, yet it cannot endure against us if we list.' For all this peace thus in Flanders, they of Gaunt were ever in suspect with the earl and the earl with them, for daily there was brought to the earl hard tidings of them of Gaunt, and in like wise to them of Gaunt of the earl. John de Faucille went and dwelt at Nazareth, in a fair house that he had a league from Gaunt, and so he lay there still dissimuling as much as he might, and would not be in counsel with them of Gaunt, because he would not be noted by

the earl, and also he kept him from the earl as much as he might, to keep him still in love with them of Gaunt. Thus he swam between two waves, making himself neuter, as near as could.

In the mean time, while the earl repaired the town of Oudenarde, he procured so much by his letters to his cousin the duke of Burgundy to send him John Pruniaux, being at Ath, that so he did and sent him to the earl. And so he was sent to Lille, and there beheaded, and then set on a wheel like a traitor. Thus died John Pruniaux. Then the earl went to Ypres and did there great justice and beheaded many evil-ruled people, such as had before been at the death of his five knights there slain and had opened the gates to them of Gaunt; and this he did to the intent that other should take ensample by them.

Of all these matters the Gauntois were well informed, wherefore they doubted more than they did before, and specially the captains, such as had been forth in their journeys and before Oudenarde, and they said among themselves: 'Certainly if the earl may, he will destroy us all. He loveth us well, for he will have nothing but our lives. Hath he not put to death John Pruniaux? To say truth we did John Pruniaux great wrong, when we banished him from us: we are therefore culpable of his death; and to the same end we shall all come, if he may get us at his will. Therefore let us take good heed of ourselves.' Then Peter du Bois said: 'Sirs, if ye will believe me, there shall not a house stand upright of never a gentleman in the country about Gaunt; for by reason of the gentlemen's houses that be now standing, we may be all destroyed, if we take not heed thereto betimes and provide for some remedy.' 'That is truth,' quoth all the other, 'let us go forth and beat them all down.' Then the captains, Peter du Bois, John Boele, Ralph de Herselle, John de Launoit and divers other with their companies departed on a day from Gaunt and brent and beat down all the gentlemen's houses thereabout, and took all that ever was in them and departed it among themselves: and when they had done, they returned again to Gaunt: they found never a man that would say, 'Sirs, ye have done evil.'

When the gentlemen, knights and squires, being at Lille with the earl and thereabout, heard tidings how their houses were brent and beaten down, and their goods taken away, they were right sore displeased, and not without a good cause. They said to the earl: 'Sir, this despite must be amended and the pride of them of Gaunt beaten down.' Then the earl gave leave and abandoned to the knights and squires to make war against the Gauntois and to countervenge them of their damages. Then divers knights and squires of Flanders allied themselves together and desired their friends of Hainault to aid to revenge them of the Gauntois; and they made their captain the Hase of Flanders, the youngest son bastard of the earl's,[1] a right valiant knight. This knight with his company sometime lay at Oudenarde, another time at Gavre, and sometime at Alost and at Termonde, and scrimmished with the Gauntois daily, and sometime ran to the barriers of the town of Gaunt, and beat down the windmills about the town and did great despite to them of Gaunt. And with them there was a knight of Hainault called sir James of Werchin, seneschal of Hainault, he did many feats of arms in that season about Gaunt and adventured himself oftentimes right jeopardously: he fought two or three times at the barriers, and won bassenets and cross-bows and other habiliments of war. This knight loved well the noble feats of arms, and had been a valiant knight, if he had lived long; but he died young in his bed in the castle of Le Biez beside Mortagne, which was great damage.

CHAPTERS CCCLIX-CCCLXXIV

SUMMARY.—The war became cruel between the earl and gentlemen of Flanders and them of Ghent, who sent to the French king to ask him not to give aid to the earl of Flanders. The king and also the pope Clement rather inclined to them than to the earl.

Sir Bertrand du Guesclin fell ill and died, while at siege before a castle in Auvergne, and the lord de Coucy excused himself from being constable.

[1] Louis, called the Hase of Flanders: he bore a hare's head as his crest. The translator has written 'youngest' by mistake for 'eldest.'

The earl of Buckingham passed over with an army from England to help the duke of Brittany, who was hard pressed. He arrived at Calais in July 1380, *and passed through France. At Béthune they met the duke of Saxony on his way to England on the matter of the proposed marriage of the king of England. The English army was pursued by the lord de Coucy and others, but continued their march by Péronne, Laon and Rheims to Troyes, in which city was the duke of Burgundy. After some fighting at the barriers they passed on towards Sens, making war always in the name of the duke of Brittany and not of the king of England. The king of France wrote to them of Nantes, reminding them of their treaties with him and asking them not to receive the English. They replied that they would not aid any of the king's enemies, and desired the king to send aid to Nantes. Of this the duke of Brittany, who was at Vannes, knew nothing.*

The English army passed through Beauce and took the way to Vendôme.

The king of France fell sick and sent for the dukes of Berry, Burgundy and Bourbon, to whom he delivered his dying charge, but did not send for the duke of Anjou, because he mistrusted him. Nevertheless when he died, the duke of Anjou took on him the ordering of the realm above all other.

The duke of Brittany sent to meet the earl of Buckingham and the English army and requested them to come to Rennes, as the people of Nantes were rebellious. They met, and agreed to go and lay siege to Nantes, which accordingly the English did.

King Charles the sixth was crowned on All Saints' day with great solemnity, and so came to Paris.

The English at Nantes waited in vain for the duke of Brittany, who could not persuade his people to go with him. The garrison of Nantes made many attacks on the besiegers, whose provisions began to fail, while they of the town had plenty by the river. At length the earl of Buckingham raised the siege and went to Vannes, where the duke of Brittany met him and excused himself fairly. So the English lay that winter at Vannes and about Hennebont, Quimperlé and other places. Meanwhile the duke of Brittany sent secretly to make his peace with the French king.

Certain deeds of arms were done before the earl of Buckingham between French and English knights and squires.

The duke of Brittany made his peace with the French king by means of the duke of Anjou, and the English returned to their own country.

Now let us return to the business of Flanders.

CHAPTER CCCLXXV

How the war began again between the earl of Flanders and the Flemings, and how they of Ypres were discomfited by a bushment.

It is of truth that the earl of Flanders at this beginning feared little the Flemings nor the Gauntois, for he thought well to bring them under by wisdom and by arms little and little, and specially sith that John Lyon and John Pruniaux were dead. But the Gauntois had as then other great captains, in whom they had great affiance and did all by their counsel, and Ralph de Herselle was captain of the chatelainy of Gaunt, and John of Launoit captain of Courtray, and there were other captains, as John Boele, Peter du Bois, Arnold de Clerck and Peter of Wintere. The same season there was a strife between the great men and the commons within the town of Bruges: for the mean crafts would have had everything at their pleasure and the great men would not suffer it, and so they rebelled: and a certain weavers and fullers were slain and the other appeased. Then the great men of Bruges sent to the earl to Lille, desiring him for God's sake to come to them as their chief lord and to help to subdue the commons. The earl was glad to hear that tidings and so departed Lille, and sir William of Namur in his company and a great number of knights and squires of Flanders, and so came to Bruges, where he was received with great joy. And at the earl's coming there were taken all the principals of them that had their hearts Gauntois and such as were suspect, and so were put in prison more than five hundred, and little and little their heads were stricken off. And when they of [the] Franc[1] under-

[1] That is, the Franc of Bruges. The translator generally takes it for the name of a town and therefore omits here the words 'de Bruges,' and below translates 'le Franc de Bruges,' 'Franke and Bruges.'

stood that the earl was peaceably in Bruges, they feared, and so put themselves into the earl's mercy, and he received them and had great joy, for daily his power increased; and also they of [the] Franc always have taken more the earl's part than all the residue of Flanders. The earl, seeing that he had brought under his subjection them of Bruges and of [the] Franc, and that he had under him knights and squires of the country of Hainault and of Artois, he thought then little and little to conquer again his country and to punish his rebels: and first he ordained and said he would go and see them of Ypres, for he hated them greatly, because they opened their gates so lightly to them of Gaunt, and said how that they that had made that treaty and to let in his enemies to slay his knights should repent it, if he might get the overhand of them. Then he made his summons through [the] Franc of Bruges, saying how he would go to Ypres. Tidings came to Ypres that the earl their lord ordained himself to come and assail them: then they took counsel and determined to send word thereof to them of Gaunt, to the intent that they should send them some men to assist the town of Ypres; for they were not big enough of themselves to keep it without aid of the Gauntois, who had promised and sworn to aid them, whensoever they had any need. So they sent covertly letters to Gaunt and to the captains, and signified to them the state of the earl and how he threatened to come and assail them. Then they of Gaunt remembered well how they were bound by their faith and promise to aid and comfort them: then they set forth two captains, John Boele and Arnold Clerck, and they said to them: 'Sirs, ye shall take with you three thousand of our men and go hastily to Ypres to comfort them as our good friends.' Incontinent they departed from Gaunt, and so these three thousand men came to Ypres, whereof they of the town had great joy. Then the earl of Flanders issued out of Bruges with a great number of men, and so came to Thourout and the next day to Poperinghe, and there tarried three days till all his men were come, and then he was about a twenty thousand men of war.

They of Gaunt, who knew right well all this matter and how that the earl would go puissantly to Ypres, they determined to assemble their puissance and to go by Courtray to Ypres, and so all together to fight with the earl, saying that if they might one time overcome him, he should never be relieved after. Then all the captains departed from Gaunt, Ralph de Herselle, Peter du Bois and Peter de Wintere, John de Launoit, and divers other as centeniers and cinquanteniers, and when they were in the field, they were a nine thousand. And so long they rejourned[1] that they came to Courtray, whereas they were received with great joy, for John de Launoit was captain there. The earl of Flanders, being at Poperinghe and thereabout, understood that they of Gaunt were coming to Ypres and that they were at Courtray on their way. Then the earl took advice and held all his company together. They of Gaunt departed from Courtray and went to Roulers, and there rested and sent word to them of Ypres how they were come thither, shewing them how that if they would issue out of their town with their power and such as were sent to them before, how they should be all together men enow to fight with the earl; of the which tidings they of Ypres were right joyful, and so the next day they issued out more than eight thousand, and John Boele and Arnold Clerck were their governours.

The earl of Flanders and his power, who was in those marches, knew how they of Ypres were issued out of their town to meet with them of Gaunt (I cannot tell how nor by what means), insomuch that the earl ordained at a passage, by the which they of Ypres must pass, two great bushments, with his son the Hase, bastard of Flanders, and the lord d'Enghien with divers other knights and squires of Flanders and of Hainault, with them of Bruges and them of [the] Franc, and in every company there were ten thousand men. Then when they of Ypres and the Gauntois that were with them with John Boele were in the fields and had not journeyed past one mile, they found two ways, the one went to Roulers and the other to Thourout. Then they rested and took advice which way they should take: then Arnold de Clerck said: 'I counsel let us go and see our fellows at Roulers.' 'By my faith,' quoth John

[1] 'Cheminèrent.'

Boele, 'and I think it were better that we were lodged on the Mount d'Or; for be you sure I know so well Peter du Bois and Ralph de Herselle, sith that they have sent for us, surely they will fight with the earl: wherefore I am sure they will approach as near to him as they can; therefore I counsel let us go that way.' So they determined to take that way; and when they had gone a two miles, they were weary of going afoot, and or they were ware, they were between the two bushments; and when they saw that, they cried all, 'We be betrayed.'

There were never men that made less defence than they did as then, for every man did what he could to save himself: some returned to Ypres, and some took the fields and fled, he that best might, without array or order, and the earl's men took and slew them without mercy: howbeit, John Boele and Arnold Clerck saved themselves. They that fled towards Courtray met with the Gauntois, who were departed from Roulers and were in the way to Rosebeque. When Peter du Bois and the other saw them that fled, they demanded of them what they ailed. They answered and said they could not tell, for they said they had not the leisure to know the matter, but they said they fled like men betrayed. Then Peter du Bois had divers imaginations, other to go forward and to return again the flyers and to fight with their enemies who chased them, or else to draw to Courtray. All things considered, they determined to draw back for that time, the which they thought was for them as then most profitable. So they drew aback in a battle ranged in good order, and the same day returned to Courtray; and thither also drew many of them that fled: so they lodged all within Courtray, and made the gates to be well kept, to the intent that they should not be suddenly taken. And when John Boele and Arnold Clerck were returned and had reckoned all their people, then they knew well that of them of Gaunt, such as had been sent to Ypres before, they had lost in number a twelve hundred, and as many of them of Ypres; and if they of the bushment had chased them that fled to Ypres and to Courtray, there had but a few scaped, but all had been dead or taken; but they chased not far, they took heed to nothing but to slay them that were within their bushment, the which saved all the residue. They of Ypres were sore abashed when they saw their people return beaten and discomfited the same day that they were issued out, and demanded how it might be, and divers answered and said how John Boele had betrayed them and had brought them to be shamefully slain.

Ye have heard oftentimes recorded how it is a hard work to appease a commonty when they be stirred. I say this because of them of Gaunt. When they were the same day drawn back to Courtray, they that were discomfited knew well that John Boele was in the town. Then more than a thousand drew together and said: 'Let us go on the false traitor John Boele, who hath betrayed us; for by him and by none other we took that way that brought us into the bushment of our enemies: for if we had believed Arnold de Clerck, we had been in surety, for he would have brought us to our own company, an John Boele had not been, who hath sold and betrayed us and brought us whereas we were betrayed and discomfited.' Lo, ye may see how these commons accused him of treason, and yet I think verily they had no cause so to do; for if it had been as they said, and that he had sold and betrayed them to the earl, he would never have returned again to them, but rather have bidden still with the earl. Howbeit, I cannot excuse him so, but that it cost him his life, and I shall tell you how. The Gauntois went and took him in his lodging and so brought him into the street, and there he was stricken all to pieces, so that every man bare away a piece of him. Thus ended John Boele. The next day the Gauntois departed from Courtray and returned to Gaunt, and did send John de Launoit to the castle of Gavre, a castle of the earl's standing by the river of l'Escault, and there this John made a garrison.

CHAPTER CCCLXXVI

How they of Ypres and Courtray turned to the earl of Flanders' part, and how the town of Gaunt was besieged.

Now let us speak of the earl of Flanders and of his company. When they had thus

by their bushment overthrown the Gauntois and slain a three thousand of them or thereabout, what of them of Gaunt and of Ypres, then the earl determined to draw toward the town of Ypres and to lay siege thereto. And as he was counselled, so it was done, and he drew thither with all his people, a great number of knights and squires of Flanders, of Hainault and of Artois, who were come thither to serve the earl. And when they of Ypres understood that the earl came on them so strongly, they were all sore afraid, and the rich men of the town took counsel and said among themselves how they would open their gates and go and meet the earl and put themselves under his obeisance and cry him mercy, and to shew him how they were Gauntois by force, by reason of the commonty, as fullers, weavers and such other unhappy people in the town, and they thought that the earl was so pitiful, that he would have mercy on them. And as they ordained, so they did; and so more than three hundred in a company came out of the town of Ypres and had the keys of the gates with them, and so they fell down on their knees before the earl crying for mercy, and did put themselves and their town at his pleasure. The earl had pity on them and took them to mercy, and so entered with all his puissance into the town of Ypres, and there tarried a three weeks and sent home again them of [the] Franc and of Bruges. And while the earl lay in Ypres, he caused to be beheaded more than seven hundred of fullers and weavers and of such manner of people as had brought first into that town John Lyon and the Gauntois, and slain such valiant men as the earl had set there; for the which cause the earl was sore displeased, and to the intent that they should no more rebel, he sent a three hundred of the most notablest of them into prison in Bruges, and so then took his way to Courtray, to bring that town to his obeisance.

When they of Courtray understood that the earl their lord came to them so strongly, and how that Ypres was under his obeisance, then they greatly doubted, for they saw no comfort apparent from them of Gaunt; wherefore they were advised lightly to yield them to their lord, thinking it was better for them to hold with the earl, to whom they ought to owe their faith and homage, rather than to the Gauntois. Then they ordained a three hundred of the best of the town afoot to go into the fields to the earl, and the keys of the town with them; and when the earl came by, they all kneeled down and cried for mercy. The earl had pity of them and received them to mercy and entered into the town joyously, and they all made to him reverence and honour. Then he took a two hundred of the best of the town of Courtray and sent them to Lille and to Douay in hostage, to the intent that that town should no more rebel. And when the earl had been there a six days, then he went to Bruges, and there refreshed him a fifteen days; then he made a great summons to the intent to lay siege to Gaunt, for all the residue of Flanders was as then at his commandment. Then the earl departed from Bruges and so came and laid siege before Gaunt, and lodged at a place called the Biete.[1] Thither came to the earl sir Robert of Namur to serve the earl with a certain number of men of war according as the earl had written unto him; but sir William of Namur was not there; he was in France with the king and with the duke of Burgoyne.

This siege began about the feast of the decollation of Saint John Baptist,[2] and sir Walter d'Enghien was marshal of all the host of Flanders: he was young and hardy and feared no pain nor peril, whatsoever fell. For all that the earl lay thus before the town of Gaunt, yet he could not so constrain them of the town, but that they kept still open three or four of their gates, so that victuals might come in to them without any danger, for they of Brussels and of Brabant were right favourable to them; and also they of Liege, to comfort them in their opinion, sent to them a message saying thus: 'Ye good people of Gaunt, we of Liege know well how ye be sore travailed and have much ado with the earl your lord, whereof we are sore displeased: but, sirs, know for truth if we did march near you, as within four or five leagues, we should give you such comfort as men ought to do to their good neighbours and friends; but ye be far off from us, and also the country of Brabant is

[1] Ter Boote, close to Wondelghem.
[2] 29th August.

between you and us, wherefore we must forbear: but though it be so, that ye be as now besieged, yet be not discomforted, for God knoweth and so doth all other good towns, that ye be in the right of this war, wherefore all your business shall achieve the better.' Thus they of Liege sent to them of Gaunt to comfort them.

The earl of Flanders, who had thus besieged the town of Gaunt on the side towards Bruges and toward Courtray, but as toward Brussels the earl could not come nor lay his siege because of the great rivers, that is to say the river of Lys and the river of l'Escault: and I say unto you, all things considered, Gaunt is one of the most strongest towns of the world, for it behoveth more than two hundred thousand men to besiege it round and to stop from it all the rivers and passages, and also that the hosts lie near together, for else they could not comfort one another because of the rivers, and also there is much people in the town of Gaunt; they were in those days men of defence a fourscore thousand men able to bear harness between sixty year and fifteen.

And when the earl had lain at this siege the space of a month, and that his men and the Hase his son and his marshal had made many a scrimmish with them of Gaunt, and some day won and some day lost, as the adventures of war falleth, then the earl was counselled on a day to send them of Bruges, of Ypres and of Poperinghe to scrimmish with the Gauntois at a place called the long bridge; for it was thought that if they might win that place, it should be a great advantage and profit for them, for then they should enter into the Four Crafts[1] and thereby approach near to Gaunt. And so there was ordained sir Josse Halewyn to be chief captain of that enterprise; and so when they were come to this passage, they found it not disgarnished, but well provided for with a great number of men of Gaunt; there was Peter du Bois, Peter de Wintere and Ralph de Herselle. There began a sore scrimmish: there was shooting of guns and crossbows on both parties, whereby divers were slain and wounded; and right well the Gauntois did acquit themselves, for they reculed their enemies and won by force the goldsmiths' banner of Bruges, and there it was cast down into the water; and there were of the goldsmiths and other a great number slain and hurt, and specially sir Josse Halewyn was there slain, which was great damage; and so the other returned again without doing any more: so the Gauntois bare themselves valiantly.

[1] This is the district called 'les Quatre-Métiers,' lying on the north side of Ghent and including the townships of Assenede, Bouchaute, Hulst and Axel.

CHAPS. CCCLXXVII, CCCLXXVIII

SUMMARY.—The men of Ghent took Alost, Termonde and Grammont during the siege, and at length the earl of Flanders raised the siege and retired to Bruges. In April of the next year he assembled his host to the number of about 20,000 men, and shortly after they met a body of 6000 Gauntois under Ralph de Herselle in the fields near Nivele. A battle ensued, in which the Gauntois fought well, but were outnumbered and compelled to retreat to Nivele. Many took refuge in the minster, where Ralph de Herselle was slain, and by order of the earl of Flanders the minster was set on fire and many of those within were burnt. Peter du Bois, who had another army in the neighbourhood, was unable to come to the rescue and retired to Ghent, for which he was much blamed, but excused himself. The earl of Flanders retired to Bruges and sent his people home, and those of Ghent issued forth to Courtray and returned. Arnold de Clerck with twelve hundred of the white hoods was sent to Gavre to annoy the garrison of Oudenarde. Some of these he slew by an ambush and others at the abbey of Eham, where they had taken refuge.

CHAPTER CCCLXXIX

How the white hoods and their captain were slain, and how Philip d'Arteveld was chosen captain of Gaunt.

WHEN the knights and squires that were within Oudenarde understood that Arnold Clerck and the white hoods to the number

of twelve hundred were at the abbey of Eham and had taken there divers of their companions, they were right sore displeased, and so determined to send the same night their spies, to see where they might find their enemies in the next morning: and as they ordained, so they did. And in the morning the spies brought report how the white hoods were determined to abide there all that day, wherewith these lords and knights were right joyful. Then they armed them, as the lord d'Enghien, the lord of Montigny, the lord of Briffeuil, sir Michael de la Hameide, and more than six hundred knights and squires of Hainault and as many of Flanders, and out of Oudenarde a three hundred spears and more than a thousand cross-bows and other varlets. And when they approached near to them, they sent before sir Oliver of Eham and a hundred spears with him to begin the assault, to the intent to draw out of the abbey Arnold Clerck and to occupy the time while their foot-men and cross-bows were come to them. Then sir Daniel and sir Peter of Dixmude and the Hase of Flanders came before the abbey of Eham and cried, 'Flanders with the lion of the bastard.'[1] The Gauntois, who were not ware of the bushment, because it was so early, nor they were not fully ready; and ere Arnold Clerck could bring his men together in good array, the lord d'Enghien, the lord of Lens, the lord of Briffeuil, the lord of Escornay, the lord of Montigny and their battles entered behind into the town in crying 'd'Enghien!' and set on the Gauntois and white hoods so valiantly, that they could not endure, but brake their order; so that there was slain of them, what in the abbey and in the fields, eleven hundred, and they were but twelve hundred in all. And there was Arnold Clerck slain with two pikes as he was flying, and so he was laid up leaning against a hedge. And after this discomfiture the lord d'Enghien and the other knights returned to Oudenarde, and so this deed was reputed a great prowess. And when the earl of Flanders knew these tidings, he was greatly rejoiced and said to the lord d'Enghien how he was his fair godson and should prove a noble valiant man. To say the truth of the lord d'Enghien, in him was all the honour of the county of Flanders, and so while the earl lay at Bruges, he called him not only his cousin but also his fair son.

When it was known at Gaunt that Arnold Clerck was dead and his men discomfited, there were many then that were sore abashed and said among themselves: 'Our business proveth but evil: little and little our captains and men are slain: we think we have done evil to move this war thus against our own lord, for he doth minish us thus little and little; the evil will and hatred that was between Gilbert Mahew and John Lyon turneth to our great damage: I trow we have too long sustained the opinions of John Lyon and Peter du Bois, they have brought us so deep into this war and into the hatred of the earl our lord, that now we cannot nor know not how to find any remedy to have mercy and peace; yet it were better that twenty or thirty did repent it than all the whole town.' Thus there were divers that said each to other privily; they durst not speak it generally for doubt of them that were evil; for they were all of one sect and daily increased in puissance, and in the beginning they were but poor companions without any substance, but then they had gold and silver enough; for when they needed and complained to their captains, they were well heard and comforted, for then anon some of the rich men of the town should be sent for to them, and when they were come (for fear they durst not refuse so to do), then the captains would say to them: 'Sirs, it behoveth that the good town of Gaunt make some shift to pay our soldiers, who aideth and helpeth to defend and to keep our jurisdictions and franchise, and it behoveth that our companions must live.' And so they would ask of every man as they list themselves, and none durst say nay, for an they had, incontinent they should have been slain, and borne in hand how they had been traitors to the good town of Gaunt and loved not the wealth, honour nor profit thereof. Thus the knaves and evil-disposed people were masters in the good town of Gaunt and so continued as long as the war was between them and the earl of Flanders their lord. And to say the very truth, though the rich and noble men of the good town of Gaunt were thus

[1] 'Flandres au lion au bastard!' The Hase bore the lion of Flanders quartered upon his shield.

beaten with such rods, there ought none to be sorry thereof, nor they could not excuse themselves but that by their own faults they were cause of their own trouble. Reason proveth how: for when the earl of Flanders sent to them his baily to have done justice on certain rebels and evil-disposed people, they might, if they had list, have bidden by him and have given him comfort in doing of justice, the which they did not, but it seemed that they had liefer the matter had gone evil, as it did, rather than well, and had rather to have war with their own lord than peace; for well they might know that if they had war, that the evil people should be lords of the town and should be their masters, and not to be put down again when they would. This proved well by John Faucille, who to the intent to dissimule the matter departed out of the town of Gaunt and went and dwelt in Hainault, whereby he thought to be purged out of blame for the war between the earl and the town, thinking to bear no blame of neither party. Howbeit, the matter was so laid to his charge, that he died thereby; which was great damage, for this John Faucille was in his time a right sage and a noble wise man; but it is hard halting before lords and their counsels, for they see clearly.[1] This man could well aid and counsel other, but as touching himself he could not take the best way. I cannot say whether he were culpable or not of the articles that he was examined of at Lille by sir Simon Rin, but the knights and evil fortune turned all against him, so that he died. And in like wise so is fallen of all the captains of Gaunt that sustained the rebellion against their lord. Also it hath cost sith many a man's life in Gaunt, and peradventure many a one that were in no default.

When Peter du Bois saw that the town of Gaunt daily impaired and feebled, as well in their captains as in their men, and saw well how the rich men began to wax weary and were in mind to leave the war; wherefore he doubted greatly, and imagined and saw well that by no means of the world there could any peace be made with the earl, so that he should be sure of his life. Then he remembered himself of John Lyon, who was his master, and studied by what means he wrought, and he saw well that he could not do all thing alone, nor that he had not the wit and understanding to govern the whole town of Gaunt; wherefore he thought he would not have the principal charge, but in all foolish enterprises he thought covertly to have the study[1] of them. Then he remembered himself of a man, the which was not greatly taken heed of in the town of Gaunt. He was a wise man, but his wisdom was not known, nor he was not taken heed of till the same day. He was called Philip d'Arteveld, son to Jaques d'Arteveld, who in his time seven year together had the governance of all the county of Flanders; and he heard Peter du Bois and John Lyon his master[2] and divers other ancient men of Gaunt oftentimes say that the country of Flanders was never more loved, honoured and feared than it was in the time of Jaques d'Arteveld, the which endured the space of seven year; and as then he heard daily the Gauntois say how that when Jaques d'Arteveld lived, their business was in good estate, for then, they said, they might have peace at their wills and the earl was glad when he might pardon us all. Peter du Bois remembered well these words in himself, and saw how Jaques d'Arteveld had a son called Philip, a right convenable and gracious man, and the queen of England, while she lay at Gaunt during the siege before Tournay, was his godmother, and so for the love of her he was named Philip. Then Peter du Bois in an evening came to this Philip, who was abiding in his mother's house and lived honestly on their rents, and Peter du Bois began to reason with him and began to open the matter wherefore he was come to him, and said thus: 'Philip, if ye will take good heed to my words and believe my counsel, I will make you the greatest man in all the county of Flanders.' 'How can that be, sir?' said Philip. 'I shall shew you,' said Peter; 'ye shall have the governing and ministration of all them in the town of

[1] 'But one could not in those days halt before lords and their councillors, for they saw too clearly'; that is, it was not possible to take a middle course such as John de la Faucille had done. A better reading is, 'but one cannot in these days (à présent) halt before, etc., for they see too clearly.'

[1] 'Le soing,' 'the charge.'

[2] Mistranslated. It should be: 'And this Peter du Bois had heard John Lyon his master,' etc.

Gaunt, for we be now in great necessity to have a sovereign captain of good name and of good renown, and so by this means your father Jaques d'Arteveld shall rise again in this town by the remembrance of you; for every man saith that sith his days the country of Flanders hath not been so loved, honoured nor feared as it was while he lived; and I shall lightly set you in his stead, if ye list yourself: and when ye be in that authority, then ye shall govern yourself by my counsel, till ye have full understanding of every case, the which ye shall soon learn.' Then this Philip, who was at man's state and naturally desired to be advanced, honoured and to have more than he had, answered and said: 'Peter du Bois, ye offer me a great thing and I believe you: and if I were in the state that ye speak of, I swear to you by my faith that I should do nothing without your counsel.' Then Peter answered and said: 'How say you? Can ye bear yourself high and be cruel among the commons, and specially in such things as we shall have to do? A man is nothing worth without he be feared, doubted and sometime renowned with cruelty: thus must the Flemings be governed. A man must set no more by the life of men, nor have no more pity thereof, than of the lives of swallows or larks, the which be taken in season to eat.' 'By my faith,' said Philip, 'all this can I do right well.' 'That is well said,' quoth Peter, 'and I shall make you so, that ye shall be sovereign above all other.' And so therewith he took leave of him and departed.

The night passed; the next day came: then Peter du Bois came into a place, whereas there were assembled more than four thousand of his sect and other, to hear some tidings and to know how they should be ordered and who should be chief captain of Gaunt; and there was present the lord of Herselle, after whom much of the business within Gaunt was ordered, but of going outward he would not meddle. And so there among them there was named divers persons of the town of Gaunt, and Peter du Bois stood still and heard them well; and then he spake openly and said: 'Sirs, I believe well all this that ye say: ye speak of good affection and by great deliberation of courage, that ye have to the keeping of the honour and profit of this town; and also such persons as ye have named be right able and have well deserved to have part of the governing of the town of Gaunt. But, sirs, I know one that, if he will meddle therewith, I think there should not be a meeter man therefor, nor of a better name.' Then Peter was desired to shew his name, and so he named him and said: 'Sirs, it is Philip d'Arteveld, who was christened at Saint Peter's in this town of Gaunt by the noble queen of England called Philippa, the same season that Jaques d'Arteveld was before Tournay with the king of England and the duke of Brabant, the duke of Gueldres and the earl of Hainault, the which Jaques d'Arteveld this Philip's father governed the town of Gaunt and the country of Flanders so well, that it was never so well ruled sith, as I have heard say and do hear daily of the ancient men who had knowledge thereof, who say the town was never so well kept sith, as it was in his time: for Flanders was in a great jeopardy to be lost, and by his wisdom he recovered it. Sirs, know for truth, we ought better to love the branches and members that cometh from so high a valiant man as he was, than of any other.' And as soon as Peter du Bois had said those words, Philip d'Arteveld entered so into every man's courage, that they said all with one voice: 'Let us have him; we will have none other: go send for him.' 'Nay, not so,' quoth Peter du Bois, 'let him not be sent for: it were better we went to him. We know not as yet how he will maintain himself: let him first be examined.'[1]

CHAPTER CCCLXXX

Of the ordinance of Gaunt. And of the war of Spain and of Portugal.

AND so with Peter du Bois' words all they that were there and divers other that followed them came to the house whereas Philip d'Arteveld was, who knew right well before their coming the matter. There was the lord of Herselle, Peter du Bois, Peter

[1] The meaning is just the reverse: 'we must not examine him,' or 'we must not trouble him.' The translator's text had 'exonnier,' a combination of the two readings 'ensonnier' and 'examiner.'

de Wintere and a ten or twelve of the chief aldermen of the crafts;[1] and there they shewed to Philip d'Arteveld how the good town of Gaunt was in great danger, without they might have a captain and a sovereign, who both without and within might order all manner of people abiding in Gaunt. Wherefore they said they gave all their voices to him and did choose him to be their sovereign captain: for the good renown of his name and for the love of his good father they were better content with him than with any other. Wherefore they desired him affectuously that he would take on him the charge, and they sware unto him faith and truth as to their lord, promising how everybody within the town should be under his obeisance. Philip understood well all their words and requests, and then right sagely he answered and said: 'Sirs, ye require me of a great thing, and I think ye remember not well how the case standeth, when ye would that I should have the governing of the town of Gaunt. Ye say how the love that your predecessors had to my father draweth you to this purpose: but for all the service that my father did, yet at the last he was slain among you; and so if I should take on me the governing, as ye speak of, and then at last to be slain, then I should have but a small reward.' 'Philip,' quoth Peter du Bois, 'that is past cannot be recovered. Work by counsel, and ye shall always be so well counselled, that every man shall praise you.' Then said Philip: 'I would be loath to do otherwise.' There he was taken up among them and brought into the market-place, and there they made to him assurance, both mayors, aldermen and masters of every craft in Gaunt. Thus Philip was made chief captain in all Gaunt, and thus at the beginning he was in great grace; for he spake sweetly to every man that had anything to do with him, and dealt so wisely, that every man loved him: for part of the revenues that pertained to the earl of Flanders in Gaunt as his heritage he caused them to be distributed to the lord of Herselle, because of gentleness and the more honestly to maintain his estate; for all that ever he had in Flanders without the town of Gaunt he had lost it clearly.

[1] 'Des doyens des mestiers.'

Now let us leave a little to speak of the business of Flanders, and let us somewhat speak of England and of Portugal.

SUMMARY.—The king of Portugal made war on the newly-crowned king of Castile on behalf of Constance and Isabel, daughters of don Peter, and sent to England for help.

CHAPTER CCCLXXXI

How the earl of Cambridge departed out of England to go into Portugal; and how the commons of England rebelled against the noblemen.

SUMMARY.—The earl of Cambridge went to Portugal, while the duke of Lancaster went to treat with the Scots.

THE chapter then continues thus:—

In the mean season while this treaty was, there fell in England great mischief and rebellion of moving of the common people, by which deed England was at a point to have been lost without recovery. There was never realm nor country in so great adventure as it was in that time, and all because of the ease and riches that the common people were of, which moved them to this rebellion, as sometime they did in France, the which did much hurt, for by such incidents the realm of France hath been greatly grieved.

It was a marvellous thing and of poor foundation that this mischief began in England, and to give ensample to all manner of people I will speak thereof as it was done, as I was informed, and of the incidents thereof. There was an usage in England, and yet is in divers countries, that the noblemen hath great franchise over the commons and keepeth them in servage, that is to say, their tenants ought by custom to labour the lords' lands, to gather and bring home their corns, and some to thresh and to fan, and by servage to make their hay and to hew their wood and bring it home. All these things they ought to do by servage, and there be more of these people in England than in any other realm. Thus the noblemen and prelates are served by them, and specially in the county of Kent, Essex, Sussex and Bedford. These unhappy people of these

said countries began to stir, because they said they were kept in great servage, and in the beginning of the world, they said, there were no bondmen, wherefore they maintained that none ought to be bond, without he did treason to his lord, as Lucifer did to God; but they said they could have no such battle,[1] for they were neither angels nor spirits, but men formed to the similitude of their lords, saying why should they then be kept so under like beasts; the which they said they would no longer suffer, for they would be all one, and if they laboured or did anything for their lords, they would have wages therefor as well as other. And of this imagination was a foolish priest in the country of Kent called John Ball, for the which foolish words he had been three times in the bishop of Canterbury's prison: for this priest used oftentimes on the Sundays after mass, when the people were going out of the minster, to go into the cloister and preach, and made the people to assemble about him, and would say thus: 'Ah, ye good people, the matters goeth not well to pass in England, nor shall not do till everything be common, and that there be no villains nor gentlemen, but that we may be all unied together, and that the lords be no greater masters than we be. What have we deserved, or why should we be kept thus in servage? We be all come from one father and one mother, Adam and Eve: whereby can they say or shew that they be greater lords than we be, saving by that they cause us to win and labour for that they dispend? They are clothed in velvet and camlet furred with grise, and we be vestured with poor cloth: they have their wines, spices and good bread, and we have the drawing out of the chaff[2] and drink water: they dwell in fair houses, and we have the pain and travail, rain and wind in the fields; and by that that cometh of our labours they keep and maintain their estates: we be called their bondmen, and without we do readily them service, we be beaten; and we have no sovereign to whom we may complain, nor that will hear us nor do us right. Let us go to the king, he is young, and shew him what servage we be in, and shew him how we will have it otherwise, or else we will provide us of some remedy; and if we go together, all manner of people that be now in any bondage will follow us to the intent to be made free; and when the king seeth us, we shall have some remedy, either by fairness or otherwise.' Thus John Ball said on Sundays, when the people issued out of the churches in the villages; wherefore many of the mean people loved him, and such as intended to no goodness said how he said truth; and so they would murmur one with another in the fields and in the ways as they went together, affirming how John Ball said truth.

The archbishop of Canterbury, who was informed of the saying of this John Ball, caused him to be taken and put in prison a two or three months to chastise him: howbeit, it had been much better at the beginning that he had been condemned to perpetual prison or else to have died, rather than to have suffered him to have been again delivered out of prison; but the bishop had conscience to let him die. And when this John Ball was out of prison, he returned again to his error, as he did before.

Of his words and deeds there were much people in London informed, such as had great envy at them that were rich and such as were noble; and then they began to speak among them and said how the realm of England was right evil governed, and how that gold and silver was taken from them by them that were named noblemen: so thus these unhappy men of London began to rebel and assembled them together, and sent word to the foresaid countries that they should come to London and bring their people with them, promising them how they should find London open to receive them and the commons of the city to be of the same accord, saying how they would do so much to the king that there should not be one bondman in all England.

This promise moved so them of Kent, of Essex, of Sussex, of Bedford and of the countries about, that they rose and came towards London to the number of sixty thousand. And they had a captain called Water Tyler, and with him in company was Jack Straw and John Ball: these three were

[1] The true text is, 'Mais ils n'avoient pas cette taille,' 'but they were not of that nature.' The translator found the corruption 'bataille' for 'taille.'

[2] Froissart says 'le seigle, le retrait et la paille,' 'the rye, the bran and the straw.' The translator's French text had 'le seigle, le retraict de la paille.'

chief sovereign captains, but the head of all was Water Tyler, and he was indeed a tiler of houses, an ungracious patron. When these unhappy men began thus to stir, they of London, except such as were of their band, were greatly affrayed. Then the mayor of London and the rich men of the city took counsel together, and when they saw the people thus coming on every side, they caused the gates of the city to be closed and would suffer no man to enter into the city. But when they had well imagined, they advised not so to do, for they thought they should thereby put their suburbs in great peril to be brent; and so they opened again the city, and there entered in at the gates in some place a hundred, two hundred, by twenty and by thirty, and so when they came to London, they entered and lodged: and yet of truth the third part[1] of these people could not tell what to ask or demand, but followed each other like beasts, as the shepherds[2] did of old time, saying how they would go conquer the Holy Land, and at last all came to nothing. In like wise these villains and poor people came to London, a hundred mile off, sixty mile, fifty mile, forty mile and twenty mile off, and from all countries about London, but the most part came from the countries before named, and as they came they demanded ever for the king. The gentlemen of the countries, knights and squires, began to doubt, when they saw the people began to rebel; and though they were in doubt, it was good reason; for a less occasion they might have been affrayed. So the gentlemen drew together as well as they might.

The same day that these unhappy people of Kent were coming to London, there returned from Canterbury the king's mother, princess of Wales, coming from her pilgrimage. She was in great jeopardy to have been lost, for these people came to her chare and dealt rudely with her, whereof the good lady was in great doubt lest they would have done some villany to her or to her damosels. Howbeit, God kept her, and she came in one day from Canterbury to London, for she never durst tarry by the way. The same time king Richard her son was at the Tower of London: there his mother found him, and with him there was the earl of Salisbury, the archbishop of Canterbury, sir Robert of Namur, the lord of Gommegnies and divers other, who were in doubt of these people that thus gathered together, and wist not what they demanded. This rebellion was well known in the king's court, or any of these people began to stir out of their houses; but the king nor his council did provide no remedy therefor, which was great marvel. And to the intent that all lords and good people and such as would nothing but good should take ensample to correct them that be evil and rebellious, I shall shew you plainly all the matter, as it was.

[1] 'Bien les trois pars,' *i.e.* 'three-fourths.'

[2] 'Les pastoureaulx.' The reference no doubt is to the Pastoureaux of 1320, who were destroyed at Aigues-Mortes when attempting to obtain a passage to the Holy Land.

CHAPTER CCCLXXXII

The evil deeds that these commons of England did to the king's officers, and how they sent a knight to speak with the king.

THE Monday before the feast of Corpus Christi the year of our Lord God a thousand three hundred and eighty-one these people issued out of their houses to come to London to speak with the king to be made free, for they would have had no bondman in England. And so first they came to Saint Thomas of Canterbury, and there John Ball had thought to have found the bishop of Canterbury, but he was at London with the king. When Wat Tyler and Jack Straw entered into Canterbury, all the common people made great feast, for all the town was of their assent; and there they took counsel to go to London to the king, and to send some of their company over the river of Thames into Essex, into Sussex and into the counties of Stafford and Bedford, to speak to the people that they should all come to the farther side of London and thereby to close London round about, so that the king should not stop their passages, and that they should all meet together on Corpus Christi day. They that were at Canterbury entered into Saint Thomas' church and did there much hurt, and robbed and brake up the bishop's chamber, and in robbing and bearing out their pillage they said: 'Ah, this chancellor

of England hath had a good market to get together all this riches: he shall give us now account of the revenues of England and of the great profits that he hath gathered sith the king's coronation.' When they had this Monday thus broken the abbey of Saint Vincent, they departed in the morning and all the people of Canterbury with them, and so took the way to Rochester and sent their people to the villages about. And in their going they beat down and robbed houses of advocates and procurers of the king's court and of the archbishop, and had mercy of none. And when they were come to Rochester, they had there good cheer; for the people of that town tarried for them, for they were of the same sect, and then they went to the castle there and took the knight that had the rule thereof, he was called sir John Newton, and they said to him: 'Sir, it behoveth you to go with us and you shall be our sovereign captain and to do that we will have you.' The knight excused himself honestly and shewed them divers considerations and excuses, but all availed him nothing, for they said unto him: 'Sir John, if ye do not as we will have you, ye are but dead.' The knight, seeing these people in that fury and ready to slay him, he then doubted death and agreed to them, and so they took him with them against his inward will; and in like wise did they of other countries in England, as Essex, Sussex, Stafford, Bedford and Warwick, even to Lincoln; for they brought the knights and gentlemen into such obeisance, that they caused them to go with them, whether they would or not, as the lord Moylays, a great baron, sir Stephen of Hales and sir Thomas of Cosington and other.

Now behold the great fortune. If they might have come to their intents, they would have destroyed all the noblemen of England, and thereafter all other nations would have followed the same and have taken foot and ensample by them and by them of Gaunt and Flanders, who rebelled against their lord. The same year the Parisians rebelled in like wise and found out the mallets of iron, of whom there were more than twenty thousand, as ye shall hear after in this history; but first we will speak of them of England.

When these people thus lodged at Rochester departed, and passed the river and came to Brentford, alway keeping still their opinions, beating down before them and all about the places and houses of advocates and procurers, and striking off the heads of divers persons. And so long they went forward till they came within a four mile of London, and there lodged on a hill called Blackheath; and as they went, they said ever they were the king's men and the noble commons of England:[1] and when they of London knew that they were come so near to them, the mayor, as ye have heard before, closed the gates and kept straitly all the passages. This order caused the mayor, who was called Nicholas Walworth,[2] and divers other rich burgesses of the city, who were not of their sect; but there were in London of their unhappy opinions more than thirty thousand.

Then these people thus being lodged on Blackheath determined to send their knight to speak with the king and to shew him how all that they have done or will do is for him and his honour, and how the realm of England hath not been well governed a great space for the honour of the realm nor for the common profit by his uncles and by the clergy, and specially by the archbishop of Canterbury his chancellor; whereof they would have account. This knight durst do none otherwise, but so came by the river of Thames to the Tower. The king and they that were with him in the Tower, desiring to hear tidings, seeing this knight coming made him way, and was brought before the king into a chamber; and with the king was the princess his mother and his two brethren, the earl of Kent and the lord John Holland, the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Warwick, the earl of Oxford, the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord of Saint John's,[3] sir Robert of Namur, the lord of Vertaing, the lord of Gommegnies, sir Henry of Senzeille, the mayor of London and divers other notable burgesses. This knight sir John Newton, who was well known among them, for he was one of the king's officers, he kneeled down before the king and said: 'My right

[1] 'That they were for the king and the noble commons (or commonwealth) of England.'

[2] Froissart calls him John: his name was really William.

[3] That is, the grand prior of the Hospital.

redoubted lord, let it not displease your grace the message that I must needs shew you, for, dear sir, it is by force and against my will.' 'Sir John,' said the king, 'say what ye will: I hold you excused.' 'Sir, the commons of this your realm hath sent me to you to desire you to come and speak with them on Blackheath; for they desire to have none but you: and, sir, ye need not to have any doubt of your person, for they will do you no hurt; for they hold and will hold you for their king. But, sir, they say they will shew you divers things, the which shall be right necessary for you to take heed of, when they speak with you; of the which things, sir, I have no charge to shew you: but, sir, an it may please you to give me an answer such as may appease them and that they may know for truth that I have spoken with you; for they have my children in hostage till I return again to them, and without I return again, they will slay my children incontinent.'

Then the king made him an answer and said: 'Sir, ye shall have an answer shortly.' Then the king took counsel what was best for him to do, and it was anon determined that the next morning the king should go down the river by water and without fail to speak with them. And when sir John Newton heard that answer, he desired nothing else and so took his leave of the king and of the lords and returned again into his vessel, and passed the Thames and went to Blackheath, where he had left more than threescore thousand men. And there he answered them that the next morning they should send some of their council to the Thames, and there the king would come and speak with them. This answer greatly pleased them, and so passed that night as well as they might, and the fourth part of them[1] fasted for lack of victual, for they had none, wherewith they were sore displeased, which was good reason.

All this season the earl of Buckingham was in Wales, for there he had fair heritages by reason of his wife, who was daughter to the earl of Northumberland and Hereford; but the voice was all through London how he was among these people. And some said certainly how they had seen him there among them; and all was because there was one Thomas in their company, a man of the county of Cambridge, that was very like the earl. Also the lords that lay at Plymouth to go into Portugal were well informed of this rebellion and of the people that thus began to rise; wherefore they doubted lest their viage should have been broken, or else they feared lest the commons about Hampton, Winchester and Arundel would have come on them: wherefore they weighed up their anchors and issued out of the haven with great pain, for the wind was sore against them, and so took the sea and there cast anchor abiding for the wind. And the duke of Lancaster, who was in the marches of Scotland between Moorlane and Roxburgh entreating with the Scots, where it was shewed him of the rebellion, whereof he was in doubt, for he knew well he was but little beloved with the commons of England; howbeit, for all those tidings, yet he did sagely demean himself as touching the treaty with the Scots. The earl Douglas, the earl of Moray, the earl of Sutherland and the earl Thomas Versy, and the Scots that were there for the treaty knew right well the rebellion in England, how the common people in every part began to rebel against the noblemen; wherefore the Scots thought that England was in great danger to be lost, and therefore in their treaties they were the more stiffer again the duke of Lancaster and his council.

Now let us speak of the commons of England and how they persevered.

[1] 'Les quatre pars d'eux,' 'four-fifths of them.'

CHAPTER CCCLXXXIII

How the commons of England entered into London, and of the great evil that they did, and of the death of the bishop of Canterbury and divers other.

IN the morning on Corpus Christi day king Richard heard mass in the Tower of London, and all his lords, and then he took his barge with the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Warwick, the earl of Oxford and certain knights, and so rowed down along the Thames to Rotherhithe, whereas was descended down the hill a ten thousand men to see the king and to speak with him. And when they saw the king's barge coming, they began to shout, and made such a cry, as though all the devils of hell had been among them. And they had brought

with them sir John Newton to the intent that, if the king had not come, they would have stricken him all to pieces, and so they had promised him. And when the king and his lords saw the demeanour of the people, the best assured of them were in dread; and so the king was counselled by his barons not to take any landing there, but so rowed up and down the river. And the king demanded of them what they would, and said how he was come thither to speak with them, and they said all with one voice: 'We would that ye should come aland, and then we shall shew you what we lack.' Then the earl of Salisbury answered for the king and said: 'Sirs, ye be not in such order nor array that the king ought to speak with you.' And so with those words no more said: and then the king was counselled to return again to the Tower of London, and so he did.

And when these people saw that, they were inflamed with ire and returned to the hill where the great band was, and there shewed them what answer they had and how the king was returned to the Tower of London. Then they cried all with one voice, 'Let us go to London,' and so they took their way thither; and in their going they beat down abbeys and houses of advocates and of men of the court, and so came into the suburbs of London, which were great and fair, and there beat down divers fair houses and especially they rased to the king's prison of the Marshalsea and other, and delivered out all the prisoners that were within; and there they did much hurt, and at the bridge had they taken first of London because the gates of the bridge were closed, saying how they would have all the authority and sovereignty of London in hand, and it was not long ere they had the commons of the city [illegible] within the city of London against [illegible]

[illegible]

Then the captains, as John Hall, Jack Straw and Wat Tyler, went throughout London and a twenty thousand with them, and so came to the Savoy in the way in Westminster, which was a goodly house and it pertained to the duke of Lancaster. And when they entered, they slew the keepers thereof and robbed and pilled the house, and when they had so done, then they set fire on it and clean destroyed and burnt it. And when they had done that outrage, they left not therewith, but went straight to the fair hospital of the Rhodes called Saint John's, and there they burnt house, hospital, minster and all. Then they went from street to street and slew all the Flemings that they could find in church or in any other place, there was none respited from death. And they brake up divers houses of the Lombards and robbed them and took their goods at their pleasure, for there was none that durst say them nay. And they slew in the city a rich merchant called Richard Lyon, to whom before that time Wat Tyler had done service in France, and on a time this Richard Lyon had beaten him, while he was his varlet, the which Wat Tyler then remembered, and so came to his house and drank all his liquor and caused it to be brought to a great pond before him all upon the city. Then these misgoverned people demanded [illegible] his people answered that with [illegible] they did much worse in London

[illegible]

[illegible]

and such as were with him were in. For some time these unhappy people shouted and cried so loud, as though all the devils of hell had been among them. In this evening the king was counselled by his brethren and lords and by sir Nicholas Walworth, mayor of London, and divers other notable and rich burgesses, that in the night time they should issue out of the Tower and enter into the city, and so to slay all these unhappy people, while they were at their rest and asleep; for it was thought that many of them were drunken, whereby they should be slain like flies; also of twenty of them there was scant one in harness. And surely the good men of London might well have done this at their ease, for they had in their houses secretly their friends and servants ready in harness, and also sir Robert Knolles was in his lodging keeping his treasure with a sixscore ready at his commandment; in like wise was sir Perducas d'Albret, who was as then in London, insomuch that there might well [have] assembled together an eight thousand men ready in harness. Howbeit, there was nothing done, for the residue of the commons of the city were sore doubted, lest they should rise also, and the commons before were a threescore thousand or more. Then the earl of Salisbury and the wise men about the king said: 'Sir, if ye can appease them with fairness, it were best and most profitable, and to grant them everything that they desire, for if we should begin a thing the which we could not achieve, we should never recover it again, but we and our heirs ever to be disherited.' So this counsel was taken and the mayor countermanded, and so commanded that he should not stir; and he did as he was commanded, as reason was. And in the city with the mayor there were twelve aldermen, whereof nine of them held with the king and the other three took part with these ungracious people, as it was after well known, the which they full dearly bought.

And on the Friday in the morning the people, being at Saint Katherine's near to the Tower, began to apparel themselves and to cry and shout, and said, without the king would come out and speak with them, they would assail the Tower and take it by force, and slay all them that were within. Then the king doubted these words and so was counselled that he should issue out to speak with them: and then the king sent to them that they should all draw to a fair plain place called Mile-end, whereas the people of the city did sport them in the summer season, and there the king to grant them that they desired; and there it was cried in the king's name, that whosoever would speak with the king let him go to the said place, and there he should not fail to find the king. Then the people began to depart, specially the commons of the villages, and went to the same place: but all went not thither, for they were not all of one condition; for there were some that desired nothing but riches and the utter destruction of the noblemen and to have London robbed and pilled; that was the principal matter of their beginning, the which they well shewed; for as soon as the Tower gate opened and that the king was issued out with his two brethren and the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Warwick, the earl of Oxford, sir Robert of Namur, the lord of Vertaing, the lord Gommegnies and divers other, then Wat Tyler, Jack Straw and John Ball and more than four hundred entered into the Tower and brake up chamber after chamber, and at last found the archbishop of Canterbury, called Simon, a valiant man and a wise, and chief chancellor of England, and a little before he had said mass before the king. These gluttons took him and strake off his head, and also they beheaded the lord of Saint John's and a friar minor, master in medicine, pertaining to the duke of Lancaster, they slew him in despite of his master, and a sergeant at arms called John Leg; and these four heads were set on four long spears and they made them to be borne before them through the streets of London and at last set them a-high on London bridge, as though they had been traitors to the king and to the realm. Also these gluttons entered into the princess' chamber and brake her bed, whereby she was so sore affrayed that she swooned; and there she was taken up and borne to the water side and put into a barge and covered, and so conveyed to a place called the Queen's Wardrobe;[1] and there she was all that

[1] The Queen's Wardrobe was in the 'Royal' (called by Froissart or his copyist 'la Réole'), a palace near Blackfriars.

day and night like a woman half dead, till she was comforted with the king her son, as ye shall hear after.

CHAPTER CCCLXXXIV

How the nobles of England were in great peril to have been destroyed, and how these rebels were punished and sent home to their own houses.

WHEN the king came to the said place of Mile-end without London, he put out of his company his two brethren, the earl of Kent and sir John Holland, and the lord of Gommegnies, for they durst not appear before the people: and when the king and his other lords were there, he found there a threescore thousand men of divers villages and of sundry countries in England; so the king entered in among them and said to them sweetly: 'Ah, ye good people, I am your king: what lack ye? what will ye say?' Then such as understood him said: 'We will that ye make us free for ever, ourselves, our heirs and our lands, and that we be called no more bond nor so reputed.' 'Sirs,' said the king, 'I am well agreed thereto. Withdraw you home into your own houses and into such villages as ye came from, and leave behind you of every village two or three, and I shall cause writings to be made and seal them with my seal, the which they shall have with them, containing everything that ye demand; and to the intent that ye shall be the better assured, I shall cause my banners to be delivered into every bailiwick, shire and countries.'

These words appeased well the common people, such as were simple and good plain men, that were come thither and wist not why. They said, 'It was well said, we desire no better.' Thus these people began to be appeased and began to withdraw them into the city of London. And the king also said a word, the which greatly contented them. He said: 'Sirs, among you good men of Kent ye shall have one of my banners with you, and ye of Essex another, and ye of Sussex, of Bedford, of Cambridge, of Yarmouth, of Stafford and of Lynn, each of you one; and also I pardon everything that ye have done hitherto, so that ye follow my banners and return home to your houses.' They all answered how they would so do: thus these people departed and went into London. Then the king ordained more than thirty clerks the same Friday, to write with all diligence letter patents and sealed with the king's seal, and delivered them to these people; and when they had received the writing, they departed and returned into their own countries: but the great venom remained still behind, for Wat Tyler, Jack Straw and John Ball said, for all that these people were thus appeased, yet they would not depart so, and they had of their accord more than thirty thousand. So they abode still and made no press to have the king's writing nor seal, for all their intents was to put the city to trouble in such wise as to slay all the rich and honest persons and to rob and pill their houses. They of London were in great fear of this, wherefore they kept their houses privily with their friends and such servants as they had, every man according to his puissance. And when these said people were this Friday thus somewhat appeased, and that they should depart as soon as they had their writings, every man home into his own country, then king Richard came into the Royal, where the queen his mother was, right sore affrayed: so he comforted her as well as he could and tarried there with her all that night.

Yet I shall shew you of an adventure that fell by these ungracious people before the city of Norwich, by a captain among them called Guilliam Lister of Stafford. The same day of Corpus Christi that these people entered into London and brent the duke of Lancaster's house, called the Savoy, and the hospital of Saint John's and brake up the king's prisons and did all this hurt, as ye have heard before, the same time there assembled together they of Stafford, of Lynn, of Cambridge, of Bedford and of Yarmouth; and as they were coming towards London, they had a captain among them called Lister. And as they came, they rested them before Norwich, and in their coming they caused every man to rise with them, so that they left no villains behind them. The cause why they rested before Norwich I shall shew you. There was a knight, captain of the town, called sir Robert Sale. He was no gentleman born, but he had the grace to be reputed sage and

valour in arms, and for his valiantness king Edward made him knight. He was of his body one of the biggest knights in all England. Later and his company thought it have had this knight with them and it make him their chief captain, it the which it be the more feared and beloved: so they sent it him that he should come and speak with them in the field, or else they would burn the town. The knight considered that it was better for him it go and speak with them rather than they should all that damage in the town: then he mounted on his horse and issued out of the town all alone, and is come it speak with them. And when they saw him, they made him great cheer and honoured him much, desiring him it alight off his horse and it speak with them, and so he did: wherein he did great folly; for when he was alighted, they came round about him and began it speak fair it him and said: 'Sir Robert, we are a knight and a man greatly beloved in this country and renowned a valiant man; and though we be thus, yet we know you well, we be no gentlemen born, but are it a villain such as we be. Therefore come you with us and be our master, and we shall make you so great a lord, that one quarter of England shall be under your allegiance.' When the knight heard them speak thus, it was greatly commotioned it his mind, for he thought never it make any such bargain, and answered them with a fierce regard: 'Ha, sirs, ye unreasonable people, false and evil traitors that ye be, would you that I should forsake my natural lord for such a company of knaves as ye be, it my dishonour for ever? I had rather we were all hanged, as we shall be; for that shall be your end.' And with those words he had thought it have leapt again upon his horse, but he failed of the stirrup and the horse started away. Then they cried all at him and said: 'Slay him without mercy.' When he heard those words, he let his horse go and drew out a good sword and began it skirmish with them, and made a great place about him, that it was pleasure it behold him. There was none that durst approach near him: there were some that approached near him, but at every stroke that he gave he cut off other leg, head or arm: there was none so hardy but that they feared him: he did there such deeds of arms that it was marvel it report. But there were more than forty thousand of these unhappy people: they shot and cast at him, and he was wounded: it was truth, if he had been of iron or steel, yet he must needs have been slain; but yet, or he died, he slew twelve out of hand, beside them that he hurt. Finally he was stricken it the earth, and they cut off his arms and legs and then stroke his body all it pieces. This was the end of sir Robert Sale, which was great damage: for which deed afterward all the knights and squires of England were angry and sore displeased when they heard thereof.

Now let us return it the king. The Saturday the king departed from the Wardrobe it the Lewes and went it Westminster and heard mass it the church there, and all his lords with him. And beside the church there was a little chapel with an image of our Lady which did great miracles and it whom the kings of England had ever great trust and confidence. The king made his orisons before this image and did there his offering: and then he leapt on his horse, and all his lords, and so the king rode toward London: and when he had ridden a little way, on the left hand there was a way it pass without London.[1]

The same former morning Wat Tyler, Jack Straw and John Ball had assembled their company it common together in a place called Smithfield, whereas every Friday there is a market of horses; and there were together all of affinity more than twenty thousand, and yet there were many still it the town, drinking and making merry it the taverns and paid nothing, for they were happy that made them best cheer. And these people it Smithfield had with them the king's banners, the which were delivered them the day before, and all these gluttons were it mind it overrun and it rob London the same day: for their captains said how they had done nothing as yet. 'These liveries that the king hath given us is it us but a small profit: therefore let us be all of one accord and let us overrun this rich and puissant city, or they of Essex, of Sussex, of Cambridge, of Bedford, of Arundel, of Warwick, of Reading, of Oxford, of Guildford, of Lynn, of Staf-

[1] Or rather, he found a place on the left hand it pass without London.

ford, of Yarmouth, of Lincoln, of York and of Durham do come hither. For all these will come hither; Baker and Lister will bring them hither; and if we be first lords of London and have the possession of the riches that is therein, we shall not repent us; for if we leave it, they that come after will have it from us.'

To this counsel they all agreed; and therewith the king came the same way unware of them, for he had thought to have passed that way without London, and with him a forty horse. And when he came before the abbey of Saint Bartholomew and beheld all these people, then the king rested and said how he would go no farther till he knew what these people ailed, saying, if they were in any trouble, how he would rappease them again. The lords that were with him tarried also, as reason was when they saw the king tarry. And when Wat Tyler saw the king tarry, he said to his people: 'Sirs, yonder is the king: I will go and speak with him. Stir not from hence, without I make you a sign; and when I make you that sign, come on and slay all them except the king; but do the king no hurt, he is young, we shall do with him as we list and shall lead him with us all about England, and so shall we be lords of all the realm without doubt.' And there was a doublet-maker of London called John Tycle, and he had brought to these gluttons a sixty doublets, the which they ware: then he demanded of these captains who should pay him for his doublets; he demanded thirty mark. Wat Tyler answered him and said: 'Friend, appease yourself, thou shalt be well paid or this day be ended. Keep thee near me; I shall be thy creditor.' And therewith he spurred his horse and departed from his company and came to the king, so near him that his horse head touched the croup of the king's horse, and the first word that he said was this: 'Sir king, seest thou all yonder people?' 'Yea truly,' said the king, 'wherefore sayest thou?' 'Because,' said he, 'they be all at my commandment and have sworn to me faith and truth, to do all that I will have them.' 'In a good time,' said the king, 'I will well it be so.' Then Wat Tyler said, as he that nothing demanded but riot: 'What believest thou, king, that these people and as many more as be in London at my commandment, that they will depart from thee thus without having thy letters?' 'No,' said the king, 'ye shall have them: they be ordained for you and shall be delivered every one each after other. Wherefore, good fellows, withdraw fair and easily to your people and cause them to depart out of London; for it is our intent that each of you by villages and townships shall have letters patents, as I have promised you.'

With those words Wat Tyler cast his eyen on a squire that was there with the king bearing the king's sword, and Wat Tyler hated greatly the same squire, for the same squire had displeased him before for words between them. 'What,' said Tyler, 'art thou there? Give me thy dagger.' 'Nay,' said the squire, 'that will I not do: wherefore should I give it thee?' The king beheld the squire and said: 'Give it him; let him have it.' And so the squire took it him sore against his will. And when this Wat Tyler had it, he began to play therewith and turned it in his hand, and said again to the squire: 'Give me also that sword.' 'Nay,' said the squire, 'it is the king's sword: thou art not worthy to have it, for thou art but a knave; and if there were no more here but thou and I, thou durst not speak those words for as much gold in quantity as all yonder abbey.'[1] 'By my faith,' said Wat Tyler, 'I shall never eat meat till I have thy head': and with those words the mayor of London came to the king with a twelve horses well armed under their coats, and so he brake the press and saw and heard how Wat Tyler demeaned himself, and said to him: 'Ha, thou knave, how art thou so hardy in the king's presence to speak such words? It is too much for thee so to do.' Then the king began to chafe and said to the mayor: 'Set hands on him.' And while the king said so, Tyler said to the mayor: 'A God's name what have I said to displease thee?' 'Yes truly,' quoth the mayor, 'thou false stinking knave, shalt thou speak thus in the presence of the king my natural lord? I commit never to live, without thou shalt dearly abye it.'[2] And with those words the

[1] The full text has, 'for as much gold as that minster of Saint Paul is great.'

[2] 'Jamais je veux vivre, si tu ne le compares.'

mayor drew out his sword and strake Tyler so great a stroke on the head, that he fell down at the feet of his horse, and as soon as he was fallen, they environed him all about, whereby he was not seen of his company. Then a squire of the king's alighted, called John Standish, and he drew out his sword and put it into Wat Tyler's belly, and so he died.

Then the ungracious people there assembled, perceiving their captain slain, began to murmur among themselves and said: 'Ah, our captain is slain, let us go and slay them all': and therewith they arranged themselves on the place in manner of battle, and their bows before them. Thus the king began a great outrage;[1] howbeit, all turned to the best: for as soon as Tyler was on the earth, the king departed from all his company and all alone he rode to these people, and said to his own men: 'Sirs, none of you follow me; let me alone.' And so when he came before these ungracious people, who put themselves in ordinance to revenge their captain, then the king said to them: 'Sirs, what aileth you? Ye shall have no captain but me: I am your king: be all in rest and peace.' And so the most part of the people that heard the king speak and saw him among them, were shamefast and began to wax peaceable and to depart; but some, such as were malicious and evil, would not depart, but made semblant as though they would do somewhat.

Then the king returned to his own company and demanded of them what was best to be done. Then he was counselled to draw into the field, for to fly away was no boot. Then said the mayor: 'It is good that we do so, for I think surely we shall have shortly some comfort of them of London and of such good men as be of our part, who are purveyed and have their friends and men ready armed in their houses.' And in the mean time voice and bruit ran through London how these unhappy people were likely to slay the king and the mayor in Smithfield; through the which noise all manner of good men of the king's party issued out of their houses and lodgings well armed, and so came all to Smithfield and to the field where the king was, and they were anon to the number of seven or eight thousand men well armed. And first thither came sir Robert Knolles and sir Perducas d'Albret, well accompanied, and divers of the aldermen of London, and with them a six hundred men in harness, and a puissant man of the city, who was the king's draper,[1] called Nicholas Bramber, and he brought with him a great company; and ever as they came, they ranged them afoot in order of battle: and on the other part these unhappy people were ready ranged, making semblance to give battle, and they had with them divers of the king's banners. There the king made three knights, the one the mayor of London sir Nicholas Walworth, sir John Standish and sir Nicholas Bramber. Then the lords said among themselves: 'What shall we do? We see here our enemies, who would gladly slay us, if they might have the better hand of us.' Sir Robert Knolles counselled to go and fight with them and slay them all; yet the king would not consent thereto, but said: 'Nay, I will not so: I will send to them commanding them to send me again my banners, and thereby we shall see what they will do. Howbeit, other by fairness or otherwise, I will have them.' 'That is well said, sir,' quoth the earl of Salisbury. Then these new knights were sent to them, and these knights made token to them not to shoot at them, and when they came so near them that their speech might be heard, they said: 'Sirs, the king commandeth you to send to him again his banners, and we think he will have mercy of you.' And incontinent they delivered again the banners and sent them to the king. Also they were commanded on pain of their heads, that all such as had letters of the king to bring them forth and to send them again to the king; and so many of them delivered their letters, but not all. Then the king made them to be all to-torn in their presence; and as soon as the king's banners were delivered again, these unhappy people kept none array, but the most part of them did cast down their bows, and so brake their array and returned into

[1] 'Outrage' here means 'act of boldness,' as elsewhere, *e.g.* 'si fist une grant apertise d'armes et un grant outrage.'

[1] 'Qui estoit des draps du roy.' He owned large estates in Essex and also shops in London. He became one of the councillors of Richard II.

London. Sir Robert Knolles was sore displeased in that he might not go to slay them all: but the king would not consent thereto, but said he would be revenged of them well enough; and so he was after.

Thus these foolish people departed, some one way and some another; and the king and his lords and all his company right ordinately entered into London with great joy. And the first journey that the king made he went to the lady princess his mother, who was in a castle in the Royal called the Queen's Wardrobe, and there she had tarried two days and two nights right sore abashed, as she had good reason; and when she saw the king her son, she was greatly rejoiced and said: 'Ah, fair son, what pain and great sorrow that I have suffered for you this day!' Then the king answered and said: 'Certainly, madam, I know it well; but now rejoice yourself and thank God, for now it is time. I have this day recovered mine heritage and the realm of England, the which I had near lost.' Thus the king tarried that day with his mother, and every lord went peaceably to their own lodgings. Then there was a cry made in every street in the king's name, that all manner of men, not being of the city of London and have not dwelt there the space of one year, to depart; and if any such be found there the Sunday by the sun-rising, that they should be taken as traitors to the king and to lose their heads. This cry thus made, there was none that durst brake it, and so all manner of people departed and sparkled abroad every man to their own places. John Ball and Jack Straw were found in an old house hidden, thinking to have stolen away, but they could not, for they were accused by their own men. Of the taking of them the king and his lords were glad, and then strake off their heads and Wat Tyler's also, and they were set on London bridge, and the valiant men's heads taken down that they had set on the Thursday before. These tidings anon spread abroad, so that the people of the strange countries, which were coming towards London, returned back again to their own houses and durst come no farther.

CHAPTER CCCLXXXV

How the duke of Lancaster kept himself still in Scotland for fear of this rebellion, and how the king punished of these traitors the chief masters.

SUMMARY. — The duke of Lancaster concluded the treaty with the Scots and returned. On his way he was refused admittance to the town of Berwick, and hearing bad news of the rebellion, returned into Scotland to wait till better tidings came. He was singularly hated by the rebels, who spread abroad that he was a traitor to the realm.

THE chapter continues thus:—

Now I shall shew you the vengeance that the king of England took of these ungracious people in the mean season, while the duke of Lancaster was in Scotland.

When these people were rappeased and that Baker was executed to death, and Lister of Stafford,[1] Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, John Ball and divers other at London, then the king was counselled to go visit his realm, through every shire, bailiwick and village, to purge and punish all the said evil-doers, and to get again all such letters as by force he had given them in divers places, and so to bring again his realm in good order. Then the king sent secretly for a certain number of men of arms to come to him at a day appointed, and so they did to the number of a five hundred spears and as many archers; and when they were all come as the king had devised, the king departed from London with his household-men all only and took the way into Kent, whereas first these ungracious people began to stir: and these foresaid men of war followed after the king and coasted him, but they rode not in his company. The king entered into Kent and came to a village called Ospringe, and called the mayor and all the men of the town before him. And when they were all come into a fair place, the king made to be shewed them by one of his council how they had erred against the king, and how they had near turned all England to tribulation and to loss. And because that the king knew well that this

[1] The true reading is 'at Stafford.'

business was begun by some of them and not by all, wherefore it were better that some did bear the blame than all, therefore he commanded them that they should shew what they were that were culpable, on pain to be for ever in the king's indignation and to be reputed as traitors against him. And when they that were there assembled heard that request and saw well that such as were culpable should excuse all the other, then they beheld each other and at last said: 'Sir, behold him here by whom this town was first moved.' Incontinent he was taken and hanged, and so there were hanged to the number of seven; and the letters that the king had given them were demanded again, and so they were delivered again, and torn and broken before all the people. And it was said to them all: 'Sirs, ye that be here assembled, we command you in the king's name on pain of death every man to go home to his own house peaceably, and never to grudge nor rise against the king nor none of his officers; and this trespass that ye have done the king doth pardon you thereof.' Then they cried all with one voice: 'God thank the king's grace and all his council!'

In like manner as the king did at Ospringe, he did at Canterbury, at Sandwich, at Yarmouth, at Orwell and in other places in Kent:[1] in like wise he did in all other places of his realm, whereas any rebellion had been; and there were hanged and beheaded more than fifteen hundred. Then the king was counselled to send for his uncle the duke of Lancaster out of Scotland: so the king sent for him by a knight of his house called sir Nicholas Carnefell. The knight rode so long that he came to Edinbro', and there he found the duke and his company and delivered his letters of credence from the king. The duke obeyed, as it was reason, and also gladly he would return into England to his own heritage, and so took his way to come to Roxburgh; and at his departing he thanked the lords of Scotland of the comfort that they had done to him, as in sustaining him in their realm as long as it pleased him. The earl Douglas, the earl Moray and other of Scotland brought him to the abbey of Melrose. Thus the duke came to Roxburgh and to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and so to Durham and to York, and in every place he found cities and towns ready apparelled, as it was reason.

And the same season there died in London a knight called sir Guichard d'Angle, earl of Huntingdon and master to the king. He was reverently buried in the Friars preachers in London. And on the day of his obsequy there was the king, his two brethren, the princess his mother and a great number of prelates, barons and ladies of England, and there did him great honour. And truly this gentle knight was well worthy to have honour; for in his time he had all noble virtues that a knight ought to have. He was merry, true, amorous, sage, secret, large, prewe, hardy, adventurous and chivalrous. Thus ended this gentle knight sir Guichard d'Angle.

[1] 'In Kent' is added by the translator, who knows even less about the geography than Froissart. This is due partly to the corruption of the names, for he writes 'Germeney' and 'Coneulle' for Yarmouth and Orwell.

CHAPTER CCCLXXXVI

The evil will that the duke of Lancaster conceived in his courage for the refuse that was made him at Berwick: and how the earl of Cambridge arrived in Portugal.

SUMMARY.—The duke of Lancaster had words with the earl of Northumberland, because he was refused admission to Berwick, but the king and other lords made peace between them.

The earl of Cambridge with his fleet arrived at Lisbon after suffering great peril on the sea.

Philip d'Arteveld made himself feared and beloved in Ghent. The earl of Flanders laid siege to Ghent, but finally, the young lord d'Enghien being slain by an ambush, he raised the siege and returned to Bruges. A council was held at Harlebecque, to which twelve notables of Ghent were sent, to make peace with the earl, and certain terms were privately agreed to.

CHAPTER CCCLXXXVII

How two valiant men of Gaunt were slain by Peter du Bois and by Philip d'Arteveld. And of the rebellion at Paris against the French king.

IT is said most commonly, 'If it be as he doth, it is as he saith.'[1] Peter du Bois, who thought himself not well assured of his life and had his spies about to hear every new tidings; and such as had been at this said treaty had reported in the town how that this treaty was brought about by Gilbert Grutere and Simon Bette. And when Peter du Bois understood it, he was mad in his mind therefor, and took the matter to himself and said: 'If any be corrected for this war, yet I shall not be the first, for the matter shall not go all as they ween. Shall they that have been at this treaty rule everything as they list? Mayhap nay; I purpose not yet to die: I think the war hath not endured so long as it shall do: as yet such as were my good masters, John Lyon and William Craffort, their deaths is not yet well revenged. If the matters be now in trouble, yet I will bring them into more trouble.' And so he did: I shall shew you how.

The same proper evening that the council should have been the next day in the council-hall, there to hear reported the treaty that was taken at Harlebecque, Peter du Bois came the same evening to Philip d'Arteveld's house and found him in his chamber, lying in a window musing and studying. And the first word he spake he said: 'Philip d'Arteveld, hear you any tidings?' 'Nay truly,' quoth he, 'but that I hear say our men are returned from the council at Harlebecque, and to-morrow we shall hear in the hall what tidings they have brought.' 'That is true,' quoth Peter, 'but I know already what ways they have taken and purpose to take; for such as have been there hath shewed it to some of my friends. Certainly, Philip, the treaty that they have made and would make lieth on the jeopardy of our heads; for if there be peace taken between the earl and this town, know for truth that you and I and the lord of Herselle and all such captains as have aided us in this war shall be the first that shall die, and the rich men shall go quit: they will bring us into danger and go themselves free, and this was ever the opinion of John Lyon my master. Always the earl hath these marmosets about him, as Gilbert Mahew and his brethren and the provost of Harlebecque, who is of the lineage of the alderman of the mean crafts,[1] who fled away with them. We ought wisely to look on this matter and to see what were best to do.' Philip answered and said: 'Peter, I shall shew you my mind. Let us give knowledge of this to all our aldermen and captains, that they be to-morrow all ready apparelled in the market-place, and then let us two enter into the hall with a hundred with us, to hear the content of the treaty; and then let me alone, so ye will avow my deed and abide puissantly by me: for without we be feared among the commons, it is nothing.' And so they agreed. Then Peter du Bois departed and sent to all rulers and captains under him, commanding them and all their men to be ready in the morning in the market-place to hear tidings. They all obeyed, they durst do none otherwise, and also they were ever ready to do evil.

The next morning about the hour of nine the mayor and aldermen and rich men of the town came into the market-place and entered into the hall, and thither came they that had been at the treaty at Harlebecque. Then thither came Peter du Bois and Philip d'Arteveld and such of their sect, well accompanied. And when they were all assembled and set, such as would sit, then the lord of Herselle was missed, for he was not there; and so he was sent for, but he excused himself, because he was sick and not well at ease. 'Say what ye will,' quoth Peter du Bois, 'for I am here in his stead: here be enow; let us hear what they will say that hath been at Harlebecque.' Then there rose up two of the notablest men of the company, Gilbert Grutere and Simon Bette, and one of them said: 'Lords of Gaunt, we have been at the parliament at Harlebecque and have had much pain and travail, and also so had the good men of Brabant, of Liege and of Hainault, to

[1] The original is, 'S'il est qui fait, il est qui dit,' 'Where there is one to do, there is one to tell.'

[1] 'And the provost of Harlebecque, who is of their lineage, and the dean of the small crafts.'

make accord and agreement between our lord the earl of Flanders and us of Gaunt. Finally at their requests and by the help of my lady of Brabant, who sent thither her council and the duke Aubert his, so that by their means the good town of Gaunt is come to a peace and to agreement with our lord the earl in this manner, that two hundred men of ours, such as he shall send us their names in writing within fifteen days, we must send them into the earl's prison at Lille, to put them clearly to his mercy and pleasure. He is so free and so noble, that it is no doubt but that he will have mercy on them.' With those words Peter du Bois stept forth and said: 'Gilbert Grutere, how durst you be so bold to make such agreement as to send two hundred of our men of Gaunt into the town of our enemy in great rebuke and shame to all the town of Gaunt? It were better Gaunt were turned up-se-down, than they of Gaunt should have such reproach as to make war and end it so shamefully. We that have heard you may well know that ye shall be none of the two hundred prisoners, nor also Simon Bette. Ye have chosen for yourself; now then we will choose for ourself. On forth, Philip d'Arteveld, set hands on these false traitors, that would betray and dishonour the town of Gaunt.' Therewith Peter du Bois drew out his dagger and came to Gilbert Grutere and strake him into the belly, and so he fell down dead. And Philip d'Arteveld drew out his dagger and he strake Simon Bette and slew him in like wise, and then they cried, 'Treason, treason!' And they that were slain had of their men above and beneath, for they were men of great lineage and the richest men of the town; but they gat themselves out of the town to save themselves, so that there was no more done but they two slain: but to appease the people and to bring them to their belief they sent out of their men crying and saying: 'These false traitors, Gilbert Grutere and Simon Bette, would have betrayed the town of Gaunt.' Thus the matter passed; these two notable men were slain and no man to revenge them.

And when the earl of Flanders, being at Bruges, heard of these tidings, he was sore displeased and said: 'At the desire of my cousins of Brabant I lightly agreed to have peace with them of Gaunt, and now and before this time they have wrought falsely; but I will they know that they shall never have peace again with me, but I will have them at my pleasure.'

Thus there was slain in the town of Gaunt these two valiant men, rich and sage: they might each of them spend of their own patrimony two thousand franks yearly. They were sore bemoaned privily, but none durst speak of them openly. Thus the war was more fiercer than it was before; for they of the garrisons about Gaunt were night and day busy to stop all provision coming to Gaunt, so that they of Brabant nor of Hainault durst not adventure to bring anything to Gaunt; for if the earl's men met any victuallers, they would slay their horses and bring them prisoners into Oudenarde or Termonde, so that all victuallers feared the peril thereof.

SUMMARY.— The commons of Paris made rebellion, breaking up prisons and robbing houses. The king and his uncles sent the lord of Coucy to appease them.

CHAPTERS CCCLXXXVIII–CCCXCV

SUMMARY.—The lord of Coucy made a treaty with the Parisians, that instead of the taxes of which they complained they should pay 10,000 *francs weekly to a receiver, to be spent on paying men of war; and the commons of Rouen, who also rose, came to a like treaty.*

The king of England was married to the lady Anne of Bohemia.

The duke of Anjou passed into Italy with thirty thousand men and entered into Puglia and Calabria.

In the mean time the English and Gascons continued to fight and plunder in Spain, until peace was made against their will, and the king of Castile was married to the daughter of the king of Portugal.

CHAPTER CCCXCVI

Of the great necessity of victuals that they of Gaunt endured, and how they were succoured by them of Liege.

ALL the season after the destruction and brenning of the town of Grammont and of the raising of the siege of Gaunt because of the displeasure that the earl of Flanders had for the death of his cousin the young lord d'Enghien, slain by the ambushment of the Gauntois, as ye have heard herebefore, the knights and squires nor good towns made no war to them of Gaunt but by garrisons; so that all the country held with the earl against Gaunt except the Four Mestiers, and so by them some victual came into Gaunt, and some victual came into Gaunt out of the county of Alost; but the earl of Flanders, as soon as he knew that, he found remedy; for incontinent he sent to the garrison of Termonde commanding them to overrun and to bren all the plain country of the county of Alost, which was done at his commandment, so that the poor folks with their beasts were fain to fly away into Brabant and into Hainault, and the most part to go a-begging. Yet there was a country pertaining to the Four Mestiers,[1] from whom there came ever some aid or victual into Gaunt. Thus all this winter the earl and they of Flanders constrained so sore them of Gaunt, that they could have nothing come to them nother by land nor by water. The earl had so won his cousins, the duke of Brabant and duke Aubert, that their countries were kept close against them of Gaunt, so that nothing came to them from thence, without it were by stealth and by great adventure and peril for them that did it. The sage men said how it could not long endure, but that they must die for famine; for all their garners were void and the people could get no bread for no money, and when any bread was baken in the town, they were fain to keep it by strong hand, or else the common people that died for hunger would have taken it by force. It was great pity to see and to hear the poor people, both men, women and children, yea, such as were right notable fell in this danger, and every day increased the complaints, weepings and cries made to Philip d'Arteveld their sovereign captain, who had of them great pity and compassion and made many good orders, whereof he was greatly praised: for he caused the garners of the abbeys to be opened, and of rich men, and set a reasonable price of the corn, whereby the town was greatly comforted. And some corn there came to them by stealth out of Holland and Zealand, and tuns full of flour and biscuit bread, the which greatly comforted them; for they had been long discomfited before, if they had not been comforted by these said countries. It was defended in all Brabant by the duke that on pain of death they should carry anything to Gaunt, but if they of Gaunt would jeopard to fetch any, then they might give them or sell to them at their pleasure.

And when the time of Lent came, then were they in great distress, for they had no lenten stuff. Then there departed out of the town a twelve thousand of soldiers and such as had nothing to live by but were overcome with famine, and so they came to the town of Brussels. The town closed their gates against them, for they feared them, they knew not their thoughts. When they were near to Brussels, they sent a certain of their company unarmed to the gate of the town, and there they desired them of the town for God's sake to have pity of them, as to suffer them to have victual for their money, saying how they died for hunger, and sware how they thought none evil to them nor to the country about. The good men of Brussels had pity on them and brought them victual for their money, and so they passed their time about in the country the space of three weeks, but they could enter into no good town; and so they came to Louvain, who had pity on them and did them much good and refreshing: their captain and leader was Francis Ackerman, he made the treaties for them with the good towns.

And in this season, while they of Gaunt lay in the marches of Louvain, their captain spake with the masters of the city of Liege, and they had compassion on them and so had the bishop of Liege, sir Arnold d'Arcle,[1]

[1] 'Yet there remained one country, that which is called the Quatre-Métiers.'

[1] John d'Arckel bishop of Liege died in 1378, and was succeeded by Arnold de Hornes, who was bishop at this time.

and promised them to send to the earl of Flanders and to do so much as to make their peace, saying unto them: 'Ah, ye good men of Gaunt, if the country of Liege were as near to you as Brabant is, or Hainault, ye should be otherwise comforted by us than ye be by them, to maintain your franchise. Howbeit, we shall aid you as much as we may: we will that ye that be merchants and use merchandise may go and come through the country, as it is reason, to the sum of five or six hundred carts laded with corn, so that the owners of the corn may be truly paid therefor. They will suffer our merchandise to pass through Brabant, they and we are at a peace, and though it be so that Brussels be closed, we know it well it is more for fear than for any evil will, for they have of you great compassion; but the duke of Brabant and the duchess at the desire of their cousin the earl of Flanders inclineth rather to his part than to yours, as it is reason, for always great lords will hold each with other.' Of these offers and love that the Liegeois offered to the Gauntois they were thereof greatly rejoiced and thanked them heartily, and said how of such people and friends the Gauntois had great need.

Francis Ackerman and the burgesses of Gaunt that were in the city of Liege took leave of the masters of Liege, who ordained certain men to go with them into the country to get them chares; and so in two days they had a six hundred charged with corn, whereof they had most need. And so they went forth with their carriage and passed between Louvain and Brussels; and when Francis Ackerman came to his company, he shewed them the love and courtesy that they of Liege had offered them and offereth yet to do, and moreover he said how he would go to Brussels to speak with the duchess of Brabant and to desire her to find some means how the good town of Gaunt might have peace with the earl of Flanders. And so he sent unto her to know her pleasure, and she was content that he should come and speak with her, and so he went to Brussels.

The same time the duke of Brabant was at Luxembourg, and so this Francis and three with him[1] entered into Brussels, and so came to the duchess to her lodging at Codeberg. The duchess had part of her council about her: then Francis Ackerman kneeled down before her and said: 'Right honourable and dear lady, through your benign grace may it please you to have pity and compassion of them of Gaunt, who can come to no mercy with the earl of Flanders by no means. Right dear lady, if by your means ye could cause my lord the earl to descend to some reason and to have pity of these poor men of Gaunt, ye should do herein a great alms-deed, and, madam, they of Liege would gladly help thereto to the best of their powers.' Then the lady answered right humbly and said how that the dissension between her cousin the earl and them of Gaunt displeased her right greatly, and how that long or that time she would gladly there had been a peace between them, if she could have found any means how: but also she said: 'Ah, ye sirs of Gaunt, ye have so ofttimes displeased him and have holden so marvellous opinions against him, which hath caused him to sustain still his displeasure against you. Howbeit, for God's sake and for pity I shall employ me herein to do the best I can. I shall send to him desiring that he will come to Tournay, and there shall be my council, and do you so much that ye may have there the council of Hainault and of Liege, as ye say they will.' 'Yea truly, madam,' quoth he, 'so they have promised us.' 'Well,' quoth the duchess, 'and ye shall see that I shall do the best I can.' 'Madam,' quoth they, 'God reward you both bodily and ghostly.' And so took their leave and departed from Brussels, and so came to their company and chariots, who tarried for them, and then they did so much that they came to their town of Gaunt.

When the tidings came to Gaunt that their men were returned and had brought with them more than six hundred chares with victual, they were right joyful. Howbeit, all that they brought would not suffice the town of Gaunt the space of fifteen days, yet to them that were discomforted it was a great comfort. And so there went against this carriage much people in manner of procession, and kneeled and held up their hands to the merchants that brought it, saying: 'Ah, ye good people, ye have done great alms thus to comfort the mean people

[1] 'Lui troisième,' 'and two with him.'

of Gaunt, who had nothing to live by, if ye had not come. First laud and praise be to God, and then to you.' And so these chares were conveyed into the market-place and there discharged; and so this corn was divided and delivered by weight to them that had most need, and so five thousand of them of Gaunt conveyed again these chares into Brabant out of danger.

All this knew well the earl of Flanders, being at Bruges, and knew well they of Gaunt were so sore constrained, that they could not long endure. He was nothing sorry of their poverty, no more were his council, who would gladly have seen the destruction of the town, as Gilbert Mahew and his brethren with other. All this fell in the Lent in the month of March and April the year of our Lord God a thousand three hundred fourscore and one.[1] The earl of Flanders was in purpose to come more puissantly than ever he did to lay siege before Gaunt, and was determined to enter on the Four Mestiers and to bren all before him, because they had aided Gaunt with victual. The earl sent his mind and intent to all the good towns of Flanders, commanding them to be ready, for the procession day once past at Bruges, he said he would depart to go and lay siege before Gaunt, and also he wrote to all knights and squires that held of him in Hainault, that they should be with him at Bruges within eight days after.

CHAPTER CCCXCVII

The hard answer that the earl of Flanders made to them of Gaunt. And of the number of men of arms that were then at Paris in France.

For all the summons that the earl of Flanders made, yet the duchess of Brabant and the duke Aubert and the bishop of Liege travailed so much with the earl, that a day was set that their council should meet to treat for a peace in the city of Tournay. Though the earl were loath thereto, yet at the desire of these lords he agreed to have a council for that matter in the city of Tournay the week after Easter the year of our Lord a thousand three hundred fourscore and two, and to be there himself.

[1] The year is reckoned, as usual by Froissart, to begin at Easter, which fell on 6th April.

At this day assigned, thither came the bishop of Liege, and of the good towns to the number of twelve, and sir Lambert of Oupey, a right sage knight. Also the duchess of Brabant sent thither the most notablest persons of her council and certain of every good town. Also duke Aubert sent thither out of the county of Hainault his council, as sir Simon de Lalain his bailiff and divers other. All these came to Tournay in Easter week: and they of Gaunt sent thither twelve notable persons, whereof Philip d'Arteveld was chief; and all they of Gaunt were agreed, whatsoever end these twelve made, so that none of them should suffer death, if it pleased the earl they were content to be banished Gaunt and the county of Flanders for ever, and so hereupon they were concluded. And Philip d'Arteveld had so much pity of the common people, that for all the displeasure that he had done to the earl, yet he was content to put himself into the earl's mercy. And so when he departed from Gaunt to go to Tournay, men, women and children fell down on their knees before him holding up their hands, desiring him, whatsoever mischief they endured, that he would bring them peace; of the which cry he had such pity, that he was determined to do as it is shewed before.

When they of Liege, of Hainault and of Brabant had been in Tournay the space of three days after the day appointed was past, and saw that the earl came not nor was not coming, they had great marvel and then took counsel together and determined to send to Bruges to him, and so they did. And they sent to him sir Lambert of Oupey, and of Brabant the lord of Crupelant, and of Hainault sir William of Herimez, and six burgesses of the three countries. And when the earl saw these three knights, he made them great cheer, as it was reason, and when he knew their message, he answered them how it was not his ease to come to Tournay as at that time; howbeit, he said, because they were come and travailed to have him to Tournay, and for the honour of such as were come thither, and at the instance of my lady of Brabant his sister and of duke Aubert his cousin and the bishop of Liege, he said he was content to send hastily to Tournay a final answer by some of his council.

These three knights could have none other answer of him as at that time, and so they returned again to Tournay and shewed how the earl answered them. And a six days after there came to Tournay from the earl the lord of Ramseflies and the lord of Gruthuse and sir John Vilain and the provost of Harlebecque, and they excused the earl because he came not; and then they declared the earl's full intent as touching the peace, saying how they of Gaunt can have no peace with the earl without that they will generally, all manner of men in Gaunt of the ages between fifteen and sixty, come out of the town of Gaunt in their shirts, bare-headed, with halters about their necks, and so meet the earl between Bruges and Gaunt, and the earl to do with them his pleasure, other to let them live or to put them all to death at his pleasure.

When this answer was made and the relation thereof declared to them of Gaunt by the councils of these three countries, then they were more abashed than ever they were before. Then the bailiff of Hainault said to them: 'Sirs, ye be in great peril: every man take heed to himself. I think, if ye take this way and put yourselves at his will, he will not put all to death that he seeth in his presence; peradventure some he will, as such as hath displeased him more than other. I think he shall have such means of pity, that peradventure such as weeneth himself to be most in peril may hap to come to pardon and mercy. Therefore, sirs, I would counsel you to take this offer and refuse it not; for if ye do, I think it will be long or ye recover again such another offer.' 'Sir,' quoth Philip d'Arteveld, 'we have no such charge to go so far as to bring the good people of Gaunt into that point; for I ensure you they will not so do. For, sir, when we be come again to Gaunt and have shewed them the earl's pleasure, know for truth they will not do it: if they will, I ensure you they shall not be let for us. Sir, we thank you for the travail and good diligence that ye have had in this matter.' And so then they of Gaunt took their leave of the councils of these three countries and made well semblant that they would in no wise agree to this purpose, and so departed and returned to Gaunt through Brabant.

So thus brake up this council at Tournay and every man went home. Then the earl of Flanders demanded what answer they of Gaunt made, and it was shewed him. The earl as then set little price by them, for he knew well they had endured and suffered so much that they could never suffer no longer: wherefore he thought he should have shortly an honourable end of the war, and to bring Gaunt into that point that all other towns should take ensample by it.

The same season the commons of Paris began again to murmur because the king came not thither, and they feared lest the king would have come suddenly on them with a certain men of war and overrun the city, and to have put to death whom he had list: and for doubt of that peril they made great watch every night in the streets and market-places and raised up their chains, that no man should ride nor enter in among them, and if any person were found abroad after nine of the clock, without he were well known among them, he was but dead. So they were in Paris rich men and other men of arms to the number of thirty thousand, as well harnessed at all pieces as any knight ought to be; and also they had servants right well harnessed, bearing great mallets of iron and steel to confound helms, and when they were numbered and viewed, they thought themselves able to fight with the greatest prince in all the world. These people were called the routs and mallets[1] of Paris.

CHAPTER CCCXCVIII

How that a five thousand Gauntois issued out of Gaunt to fight with the earl and with them of Bruges after the answer that Philip d'Arteveld had shewed them.

When Philip d'Arteveld and his company entered again into Gaunt, a great number of the common people desiring nothing but peace were right joyful of their coming, trusting to hear some good tidings. They came against him and could not restrain, but demanded tidings, saying: 'Ah, dear sir Philip d'Arteveld, rejoice us with some good word, let us know how ye have sped': to which demands Philip gave none answer,

1 'Les routes à mailletz,' 'the companies with the mallets,' etc.

but passed by holding down his head. The more he held his peace, the more the people followed him, pressing to hear some tidings, and once or twice as he rode to his lodging-ward, he said to them that followed him: 'Sirs, return to your houses: for this day God aid you, and to-morrow at nine of the clock come into the market-place, and there ye shall hear the tidings that I can shew you.' Other answer could they have none of him, whereof every man was greatly abashed.

And when Philip d'Arteveld was alighted at his lodging, and such as had been at Tournay with him, and every man gone to their own lodgings, then Peter du Bois, who desired to hear some tidings, came in the evening to Philip's house, and so then they two went together into a chamber. Then Peter demanded of him how he had sped, and Philip, who would hide nothing from him, said: 'By my faith, Peter, by that the earl of Flanders hath answered by his council sent to Tournay, he will take no manner of person within the town of Gaunt to mercy, no more one than another.' 'By my faith,' quoth Peter, 'to say the truth, he doth but right to do so; he is well counselled to be of that opinion, for they be all part-takers, as well one as another. Now the matter is come even after mine intent, and also it was the intent of my good master John Lyon that is dead; for now the town will be so troubled, that it will be hard ever to appease it again. Now it is time to take bridle in the teeth: now it shall be seen who is sage and who is hardy in the town of Gaunt: other shortly the town of Gaunt shall be the most honoured town in Christendom, or else the most desolate: at the least if we die in this quarrel, we shall not die all alone. Therefore, Philip, remember yourself well this night, how ye may make relation to-morrow to the people of the determination of your council holden now at Tournay, and that ye may shew it in such manner, that the people may be content with you: for ye have already the grace of the people for two causes: one is because of your name, for sometime Jaques d'Arteveld your father was marvellously well beloved; the other cause is, ye entreat the people meekly and sagely, as the common saying is throughout the town, wherefore the people will believe you, to live or die: and at the end shew them your counsel and say how ye will do thus and thus, and they will all say the same. Therefore it behoveth you to take good advice in shewing words, whereon lieth your honour.' 'Truly,' quoth Philip, 'ye say truth: and I trust so to speak and shew the besynes of Gaunt, that we who are now governours and captains shall other live or die with honour.' So thus they departed for that night each from other: Peter du Bois went home to his house, and Philip d'Arteveld abode still in his.

Ye may well know and believe that when the day desired was come, that Philip d'Arteveld should generally report the effect of the council holden at Tournay, all the people of the town of Gaunt drew them to the market-place, on a Wednesday in the morning; and about nine of the bell Philip d'Arteveld, Peter du Bois, Peter de Wintere, Francis Ackerman and the other captains came thither and entered up into the common hall. Then Philip leaned out at a window and began to speak, and said: 'O all ye good people, it is of truth that at the desire of the right honourable lady my lady of Brabant and the right noble duke Aubert, bailiff[1] of Hainault, Holland and Zealand, and of my lord the bishop of Liege, there was a council agreed and accorded to be at Tournay, and thereat to be personally the earl of Flanders, and so he certified to these said lords, who have nobly acquitted themselves, for they sent thither right notable councillors and knights and burgesses of good towns. And so they and we of this good town of Gaunt were there at the day assigned looking and abiding for the earl of Flanders, who came not nor would not come: and when they saw that he came not nor was not coming, then they sent to him to Bruges three knights for the three countries and burgesses for the good towns, and they travailed so much for our sakes that they went to him to Bruges, and there they found him, who made them great cheer, as they said, and heard well their message; but he answered them and said that for the honour of their lords and for the love of his sister the lady of Brabant, he said, he would send his council to Tournay within five or six days after, so well instructed by him that they should

[1] That is, 'ruler.'

plainly shew the full of his intention and mind. Other answer could they none have, and so they returned again to us to Tournay. And then the day assigned by the earl there came from him to Tournay the lord of Ramseflies, the lord of Gruthuse, sir John Vilain and the provost of Harlebecque; and there they shewed graciously their lord's will and certain arrest of this war, how the peace might be had between the earl and the town of Gaunt. First, determinately they said, the earl will that every man in the town of Gaunt except prelates of churches and religious, all that be above the age of fifteen year and under the age of sixty, that they all in their shirts, bare-headed and bare-footed, with halters about their necks, avoid the town of Gaunt and so go a twelve mile thence into the plain of Buscampfeld, and there they shall meet the earl of Flanders accompanied with such as it shall please him: and so when he seeth us in that case, holding up our hands and crying for mercy, then he shall have pity and compassion on us, if it please him: but, sirs, I cannot know by the relation of any of his council but that by shameful punition of justice there shall suffer death the most part of the people that shall appear there that day. Now, sirs, consider well if ye will come to peace by this means or not.'

When Philip d'Arteveld had spoken these words, it was great pity to see men, women and children weep and wring their hands for love of their fathers, brethren, husbands and neighbours. And after this torment and noise Philip d'Arteveld began again to speak and said: 'Peace, sirs, peace!' and incontinent every man was still. Then he began to speak and said: 'Ah, ye good people of Gaunt, ye be here now assembled the most part, and ye have heard what I have said. Sirs, I see none other remedy but short counsel, for ye know well what necessity we be in for lack of victual: I am sure there be thirty thousand in this town that did eat no bread this fifteen days past. Sirs, of three things we must of necessity do the one. The first is, if ye will let us enclose ourselves in this town and mure up all our gates, and then confess us clean to God and let us enter into the churches and minsters, and so let us die for famine repentant of our sins, like martyrs and such people as no man will have mercy of: yet in this estate God shall have mercy of our souls, and it shall be said in every place where it shall be heard, that we be dead valiantly and like true people. Or else secondly let us all, men, women and children, go with halters about our necks, in our shirts, and cry mercy to my lord the earl of Flanders: I think his heart will not be so indurate, as when he seeth us in that estate, but that his heart will mollify and take mercy of his people; and as for myself I will be the first of all to appease his displeasure, I shall present my head and be content to die for them of Gaunt. Or else thirdly let us choose out in this town five or six thousand men of the most able and best appointed, and let us go hastily and assail the earl at Bruges and fight with him; and if we die in this voyage, at the least it shall be honourable and God shall have pity of us and all the world shall say that valiantly and truly we have kept and maintained our quarrel. And in this battle, if God will have pity of us, as anciently he put his puissance into the hands of [Judith, as our fathers tell us, who slew Holofernes that was under][1] Nabugodonosor, duke and master of his chivalry, by whom the Assyrians were discomfited, then shall we be reputed the most honourable people that hath reigned sith the days of the Romans. Now, sirs, take good heed which of these three ways ye will take, for one of them must ye needs take.'

Then such as were next him and had heard him best said: 'Ah, sir, all we have our trust in you to counsel us, and, sir, look, as ye counsel us, so shall we follow.' 'By my faith,' quoth Philip, 'then I counsel you, let us go with an army of men against the earl: we shall find him at Bruges, and as soon as he shall know of our coming, he will issue out to fight with us by the pride of them of Bruges and of such as be about him, who night and day informeth and stirreth him to fight with us. And if God will by his grace that we have the victory and discomfit our enemies, then shall we be recovered for ever and the most honoured people of the world; and if we be discomfited, we shall die honourably and God shall have pity of us and thereby all the

[1] The words in brackets were omitted in the translator's French text.

other people in Gaunt shall escape and the earl will have mercy on them.' And therewith they all answered with one voice: 'We will do thus, we will do thus, we will make none other end.' Then Philip answered and said: 'Sirs, if it be your wills to do thus, then return home to your houses and make ready your harness, for to-morrow some time of the day I will that we depart out of Gaunt and go toward Bruges, for the abiding here is nothing for us profitable; and within five days we shall know if we shall die or live with honour: and I shall send the constables of every parish from house to house to choose out the most able and best appointed men.'

In this estate every man departed out of the market-place and made them ready; and this Wednesday they kept the town so close, that nother man nor woman entered nor issued out of the town till the Thursday in the morning, that every man was ready, such as should depart; and they were to the number of five thousand men and not past, and they had with them two hundred chares of ordnance and artillery, and but seven carts of victual, five of biscuit bread and two tun of wine, for in all they had but two tun and left no more behind them in the town. This was a hard departing, and they that were left behind were hardly bestead. It was pity to behold them that went forth, and they that abode behind said to them: 'Sirs, now at your departure ye know what ye leave behind you, but never think to come hither again without ye come with honour; for if it be otherwise, ye shall find here nothing, for as soon as we hear tidings that ye be other slain or discomfited, we shall set the town afire and destroy ourselves like people despaired.' Then they that went forth said to comfort them: 'Sirs, pray to God for us, for we trust he shall help us and you also, or we return again.' Thus these five thousand departed from Gaunt with their small provision, and that Thursday they went and lay a mile[1] without Gaunt, and brake not up their provision but passed that night with such things as they found abroad in the country; and the Friday they went forth, not touching as yet their victual, for the foragers found somewhat in the country, wherewith they passed that day, and so lodged a seven mile[1] from Bruges, and there rested and took a place of ground at their device, abiding their enemies; and before them there was a great plash of standing water, wherewith they fortified themselves on the one part, and on the other part with their carriages. And so they passed that night.

[1] 'A league': but the best reading is 'une heure et demie.'

CHAPTER CCCXCIX

Of the order of the battle of the Gauntois, and how they discomfited the earl and them of Bruges, and by what means.

AND when it came to the Saturday in the morning, the weather was fair and clear and a holiday called in Bruges, for that day of custom they made processions.[2] Then tidings came to them how the Gauntois were come thither. And then ye should have seen great murmurings in Bruges, so that at last word thereof came to the earl and to his company, whereof the earl had great marvel and said: 'Behold yonder ungracious people of Gaunt; I trow the devil hath brought them to their destruction: now is the time come to have an end of this war.' And so then his knights and squires came to him, and he received them graciously and said to them: 'We shall go fight with yonder unhappy people of Gaunt: yet,' quoth the earl, 'they had rather die by the sword than by famine.' Then the earl was counselled to send three men of arms into the field to see the demeanour of his enemies. And so then the marshal of Flanders appointed out three squires, valiant men of arms, to go and see the behaving of the Gauntois, as Lambert of Lambres, Damas of Bussy and John of Bourc, and so they three departed from Bruges and rode toward their enemies. And in the mean time, while these three went forth, they of Bruges made them ready to issue out to go and fight with the Gauntois. Of whom I shall shew somewhat of their order.

This Saturday in the morning Philip d'Arteveld ordained and commanded that

[1] 'A une grande lieue.'

[2] The day was 3d May, Invention of the Cross, 'le jour Saint-Helaine,' as Froissart calls it.

every man should make him ready to God, and caused masses to be sung in divers places by certain friars that were with him, and so every man confessed him and prayed to God for grace and mercy. And there were certain sermons made enduring an hour and a half, and there it was shewed to people by these friars and clerks, figuring them to the people of Israel, whom king Pharaon kept long in servitude, and how after by the grace of God they were delivered and led into the land of behest by Moses and Aaron, and king Pharaon and the Egyptians slain and taken. 'In like wise,' quoth these friars, 'ye good people, ye be kept in servitude by your lord the earl of Flanders and by your neighbours of Bruges, before whom now ye be come and shall be fought with by all likelihood, for your enemies have great will to fight with you, for they fear little your puissance. But, sirs, take no heed to that, for God, who knoweth and seeth all thing, shall have mercy on you; nor think nothing of that ye have left behind you, for ye may well know it is without recoverance, if ye be discomfited: therefore sell your lives valiantly and die, if there be none other remedy honourably. And be not dismayed, though great puissance of people issue out of Bruges against you, for victory lieth not in puissance of people, but it is all only in God, and by his grace it hath been oftentimes seen, as well by the Maccabees as by the Romans, that a small people of good will trusting in the grace of God hath discomfited a great number of people. And, sirs, in this quarrel ye have good right and a just cause, and therefore by many reasons ye ought to be hardy and of good comfort.' Thus with such words and other these friars preached to the people that morning, wherewith they were well content. And three parts of the host were houselled, shewing themselves to have great trust in God.

And after these masses sung, then they assembled together on a little hill, and there Philip d'Arteveld by great sentence[1] shewed them from point to point the right that they thought they had in their quarrel, and how that oftentimes the town of Gaunt had required their lord the earl to have mercy on them, but they could never come to no point with him, but to the great confusion and damage of the town of Gaunt and to the inhabitants thereof: also saying how they were then come so far forth, that to recule again they could not, and also then to return, all things considered, they could win nothing thereby, for they had left nothing behind them but poverty and heaviness; and moreover he said: 'Sirs, think nother of your wives nor children, but think of your honour.' Thus such fair words Philip d'Arteveld shewed among them, for he was well languaged and could speak right well, and well it became him; and finally he said: 'Now, fair lords, let us truly and equally depart our victual each to other like brethren, without any manner of outrage; for when this is spent, it must behove us to seek for new, if we think to live.' And so then right humbly the chares were discharged and the bread was divided by the constables, and the two tuns of wine the bottoms were set upward, and so there they dined with the bread and with the wine, and were content with their small repast for that time, and felt themselves better disposed both in courage and in their members than an they had eaten more meat. And when this dinner was past, then they set themselves in order and drew themselves within their rihaudeux, the which were high stakes bound with iron and sharp pointed, which they used ever to bear with them in their war, and so they set them before their battle and closed themselves within them, and in this estate the three squires that were sent from the earl to see their demeaning found them; for they approached so near that they might well aview them, for they came just to their stakes: but the Gauntois never stirred for all them, but let them alone and made semblant that they were right joyful of their coming.

Then these currours rode to Bruges to the earl, and found him in his lodging with a great number of knights and squires with him: so they came through the press to the earl, and they spake out aloud, because the earl would they should be heard; and so there they shewed how they had ridden so near to the Gauntois, that they might have shot at them if they had list, but they suffered them to pass peaceably, and also they shewed how they had seen their

[1] 'Parla de grand sentement,' 'spoke with great correctness': 'sentement' usually means 'knowledge' or 'conviction.'

banners. Then the earl demanded what number of people they were by estimation: they answered that surely, as far as they could descry, they passed not a five or six thousand. Then the earl said: 'Well, let every man apparel himself; I will go fight with them: they shall not depart without battle.' And therewith the trumpets did sown through Bruges, and then every man armed him and assembled in the market-place, and set themselves in order with their banners, as was the usage. And before the earl's lodging assembled lords, knights and squires.

When everything was ready, then the earl went to the market-place and saw there great number of people well ordered and arranged, whereof he rejoiced; and so at his commandment every man drew in bone order into the fields. It was great pleasure to behold them; they were a forty thousand armed men, and so, what a-horse-back and afoot, they came near to the place where the Gauntois were, and there they rested; and by that time that the earl was come thither, it was past noon and the sun began to decline. Then some said to the earl: 'Sir, ye see yonder your enemies: they be but a handful of men, as to the regard of your company, and, sir, they cannot fly away. We would counsel you not to fight with them this night; let them alone till to-morrow: and, sir, thereby ye shall see what they will do; they shall be feebler than they be now, for they have nothing to eat.' The earl accorded well to that counsel, and would that it should so have been done; but they of Bruges were so hot and hasty to fight, that they would not abide, but said, 'Set on them, they shall not long endure'; and so then they of Bruges began to shoot guns at them: and then they of Gaunt discharged at once three hundred guns at one shot, and so turned about the plash of water and caused the sun to be in the eyen of them of Bruges, the which grieved them sore, and so entered in among them and cried 'Gaunt!' And as soon as they of Bruges heard them cry 'Gaunt!' and heard so many guns come in among them, and saw how they set full front on them, like false-hearted people and of evil courage they gave way to the Gauntois to enter in among them; and so without any defence they cast down their weapons and turned their backs. Then the Gauntois, seeing well how their enemies were discomfited, kept themselves still close together and beat down on both sides and before them, and ever went forth crying 'Gaunt!' saying also, 'Follow, follow, our enemies are discomfited, and let us enter into Bruges with them: God hath regarded us this evening by his pity.' And as they said, so they did; for they pursued them of Bruges sharply, and as they overtook them they slew them, and tarried not but kept on still their way, and ever they of Bruges fled on before. There were many slain and beaten down, for among them of Bruges there was no defence. I trow there was never so unhappy people nor more re-creantly maintained themselves, for all the great pride and bobance that they were of before. Some would think and suppose by imagination that there had been some treason, the which was not so: it was none other but their simple defence and evil fortune that fell on them.

CHAPTER CCCC

How the town of Bruges was taken by the Gauntois, and how the earl of Flanders saved himself in a poor woman's house in the town of Bruges.

WHEN the earl of Flanders and the company that was about him saw the evil order and rule of them of Bruges, and saw how they were discomfited by their own folly, and could see no recoverance, for they fled away before the Gauntois, the earl then was abashed and all they that were about him, and so discomfited that they fled away every man to save himself. Of a truth, if they of Bruges would have returned again and assailed the Gauntois with their help, they had been likely to have recovered all again; but they saw no remedy, for they fled toward Bruges as fast as they might, the father tarried not for the son nor the son for the father. So then the men of arms and all brake their array, but they had no list to take the way to Bruges: the press was so great in the way toward Bruges, that it was marvel to see, and to hear the clamour and cry of them that were slain and hurt, and the Gauntois

following them of Bruges crying, 'Gaunt, Gaunt!' still going forward and beating down of people. The most part of the men of arms would not put themselves in that peril: howbeit, the earl was counselled to draw to Bruges and to be one of the first that should enter, and then to close the gates, to the intent that the Gauntois should not be lords of Bruges. The earl seeing none other remedy, nor no recoverance by abiding in the field, for he saw well every man fled and also it was dark night, wherefore he believed the counsel that was given him and so took the way toward Bruges with his banner before him, and so came to the gate and entered with the first, and a forty with him: then he set men to keep the gate, and to close it if the Gauntois did follow. Then the earl rode to his own lodging and sent all about the town commanding every man on pain of death to draw to the market-place. The intention of the earl was to recover the town by that means; but he did not, as ye shall hear after.

In the mean time that the earl was at his lodging and sent forth the clerks of every ward from street to street, to have every man to draw to the market-place to recover the town, the Gauntois pursued so fiercely their enemies, that they entered into the town with them of Bruges; and as soon as they were within the town, the first thing they did they went straight to the market-place and there set themselves in array. The earl as then had sent a knight of his called sir Robert Marescal to the gate, to see what the Gauntois did, and when he came to the gate, he found the gate beaten down and the Gauntois masters thereof; and some of them of Bruges met with him and said: 'Sir Robert, return and save yourself if ye can, for the town is won by them of Gaunt.' Then the knight returned to the earl as fast as he might, who was coming out of his lodging a-horseback with a great number of cressets and lights with him, and was going to the market-place. Then the knight shewed the earl all that he knew: howbeit, the earl, willing to recover the town, drew to the market-place; and as he was entering, such as were before him, seeing the place all ranged with the Gauntois, said to the earl: 'Sir, return again: if ye go any farther, ye are but dead or taken with your enemies, for they are ranged on the market-place and do abide for you.' They shewed him truth; and when the Gauntois saw the clearness of the lights coming down the street, they said: 'Yonder cometh the earl: he shall come into our hands.' And Philip d'Arteveld had commanded from street to street as he went,[1] that if the earl came among them, that no man should do to him any bodily harm, but take him alive and then to have him to Gaunt, and so to make their peace as they list. The earl, who trusted to have recovered all, came right near to the place whereas the Gauntois were. Then divers of his men said: 'Sir, go no farther, for the Gauntois are lords of the market-place and of the town: if ye enter into the market-place, ye are in danger to be slain or taken: a great number of the Gauntois are going from street to street seeking for their enemies: they have certain of them of the town with them to bring them from house to house, whereas they would be. And, sir, out at any of the gates ye cannot issue, for the Gauntois are lords thereof; nor to your own lodging ye cannot return, for a great number of the Gauntois are going thither.'

And when the earl heard those tidings, which were right hard to him, as it was reason, he was greatly then abashed and imagined what peril he was in. Then he believed the counsel and would go no farther, but to save himself if he might, and so took his own counsel. He commanded to put out all the lights, and said to them that were about him: 'I see well there is no recovery: let every man depart and save himself as well as he may': and as he commanded it was done; the lights were quenched and cast into the streets, and so every man departed. The earl then went into a back lane and made a varlet of his to unarm him, and did cast away his armour and put on an old cloak of his varlet's, and then said to him: 'Go thy way from me and save thyself if thou canst; and have a good tongue, an thou fall in the hands of thine enemies, and if they ask thee anything of me, be not beknown that I am in the town.' He answered and said: 'Sir, to die therefor I will speak no word

[1] The better reading is 'from rank to rank' of his men.

of you.' Thus abode there the earl of Flanders all alone: he might then well say that he was in great danger and hard adventure, for at that time, if he had fallen in the hands of his enemies, he had been in danger of death; for the Gauntois went from house to house searching for the earl's friends, and ever as they found any they brought them into the market-place, and there without remedy before Philip d'Arteveld and the captains they were put to death. So God was friend to the earl, to save him out of that peril: he was never in such danger before in his life, nor never after, as ye shall hear after in this history.

Thus about the hour of midnight the earl went from street to street and by back lanes, so that at last he was fain to take a house, or else he had been found by them of Gaunt; and so, as he went about the town, he entered into a poor woman's house, the which was not meet for such a lord: there was nother hall, palace nor chamber, it was but a poor smoky house, there was nothing but a poor hall, black with smoke, and above a small plancher and a ladder of seven steps to mount upon, and on the plancher there was a poor couch, whereas the poor woman's children lay. Then the earl, sore abashed and trembling, at his entering said: 'O good woman, save me: I am thy lord the earl of Flanders; but now I must hide me, for mine enemies chase me, and if ye do me good now, I shall reward you hereafter therefor.' The poor woman knew him well, for she had been oftentimes at his gate to fetch alms, and had often seen him as he went in and out a-sporting; and so incontinent, as hap was, she answered, for if she had made any delay, he had been taken talking with her by the fire. Then she said: 'Sir, mount up this ladder and lay yourself under the bed that ye find, thereas my children sleep': and so in the mean time the woman sate down by the fire with another child that she had in her arms. So the earl mounted up the plancher as well as he might, and crept in between the couch and the straw and lay as flat as he could: and even therewith some of the rutters of Gaunt entered into the same house, for some of them said how they had seen a man enter into the house before them; and so they found the woman sitting by the fire with her child. Then they said: 'Good woman, where is the man that we saw enter before us into this house, and did shut the door after him?' 'Sirs,' quoth she, 'I saw no man enter into this house this night. I went out right now and cast out a little water and did close my door again. If any were here, I could not tell how to hide him: ye see all the easement that I have in this house: here ye may see my bed, and here above this plancher lieth my poor children.' Then one of them took a candle and mounted up the ladder and put up his head above the plancher, and saw there none other thing but the poor couch, where her children lay and slept, and so he looked all about and then said to his company: 'Go we hence; we lose the more for the less: the poor woman saith truth; here is no creature but she and her children': and then they departed out of the house. After that there was none entered to do any hurt. All these words the earl heard right well, whereas he lay under the poor couch: ye may well imagine then that he was in great fear of his life: he might well say, 'I am as now one of the poorest princes of the world,' and might well say that the fortunes of the world are nothing stable.[1] Yet it was a good hap that he scaped with his life: howbeit, this hard and perilous adventure might well be to him a spectacle all his life after and an ensample to all other.

Now let us leave the earl of Flanders in this hard estate and speak of them of Bruges, and how the Gauntois persevered.

CHAPTER CCCCI

How they of Gaunt spared the merchants strangers; and how the earl parted from Bruges and went to Lille, and how he was received there joyously.

FRANCIS ACKERMAN was one of the chief captains of these rutters: he was sent by Philip d'Arteveld and by Peter du Bois to seek about Bruges for their enemies and to

[1] The French text was corrupt, but it required no Bentley to amend it. 'In the morning he might well say, I am one of the greatest (*text* poorest) princes in the Christian world, and on the night following he found himself in this case: thus he might well say that the fortunes,' etc.

keep the market-place all night till the next day, that they might see that they were lords of all the town: and they were straitly commanded that they should do no hurt to any merchant stranger being then in Bruges, saying how it were no reason that they should take hurt for their war. This commandment was well kept. The chief occasion fell on the four mestiers,[1] for they had always been favourable to the earl before Oudenarde and in other places. The Gauntois went all about searching for them, and as they were found they were slain without mercy. The same night there were slain more than twelve hundred, what of one and other, with many other robberies and evil deeds, the which came not all to knowledge, as divers houses robbed and pilled, women defoiled and destroyed, and coffers broken up, so that the most poorest of Gaunt were then become rich.

The Sunday in the morning the joyful tidings came to the town of Gaunt, how that their company had discomfited the earl and all his chivalry and were lords and masters of Bruges. Ye may well believe and know that this tidings greatly rejoiced the people, being before in tribulation, and so for joy they made divers processions lauding God in that he had so regarded them with his eye of pity, and so comforted them as to give them victory of their enemies, and so always there came fresh tidings to them of their victory, whereby they were so rejoiced, that they wist not what to do. The lord of Herselle, who was as then abiding in Gaunt, if he had taken the same Sunday or the Monday after a three or four thousand men in harness and gone to Oudenarde, he had taken the town at his pleasure; for they of the town were so abashed when they heard the tidings, that nigh for fear they had fled out of the town into Hainault or into other places to have saved themselves. Thereto they were ready apparelled, but when they saw that they of Gaunt came not to them-ward, then courage came to them, and also such knights as came thither did comfort them, as sir John Baronaige, sir Thierry d'Anvaing and sir Florent of Heule, these three knights comforted them of Oudenarde unto such time as sir Daniel of Halewyn come thither from the earl, as ye shall hear after.

There were never people that did with their enemies as they of Gaunt did with them of Bruges: they did hurt no man or any of the small crafts of the town, without he were sore accused. When Philip d'Arteveld and the captains of Gaunt saw how they were lords of Bruges, and all at their commandment and under their obeisance, then they made a cry that every man on pain of death should draw to their lodgings and not to rob nor pill nor to make no debate, without they were commanded. Then it was enquired if any man knew where the earl was become: some said how he was fled the Saturday, and some other said how he was still in the town hid, and could not be found. The captains of Gaunt took little heed thereof, for they were so rejoiced with their victory that they cared for nothing, nother for earl, baron, knight nor other in all Flanders: they reputed themselves so great that they thought to have all under their obeisance. Then Philip d'Arteveld and Peter du Bois remembered that when they departed from Gaunt they left no victual nor other purveyance in the town: therefore they sent straight a certain number of men to Damme and to Sluys, to the intent to be lords thereof and of the victual in them; and when such as were sent came to Damme, they opened the gates to them, and all that was in the town was put into their hands, and everything at their commandment. Then there was taken out of the fair cellars the good wines of Poitou, of Gascony and of Rochelle and of other far countries, a five or six thousand tuns, and it was laid into ships and into carts and conveyed to Gaunt, what by land and by water: and then they went farther and came to Sluys, which town incontinent was opened to them and put under their obeisance; and there they found great quantity of corn and meal in ships and cellars of merchants strangers; so all was bought and paid for and sent to Gaunt by water and by land. Thus the town of Gaunt was refreshed and delivered from misery by the grace of God; otherwise it could not have been done. The Gauntois then ought well to remember that God plainly had holpen

[1] 'The pursuit of the Gauntois was directed upon the four crafts of Bruges, brokers, glass-makers, butchers and fishmongers, to slay all without delay, as many as might be found.' But for 'verriers' we ought to read 'vieswariers,' a word of uncertain meaning.

them, seeing that five thousand men near famished discomfited forty thousand men at home at their own doors. The captains nor they had no cause to be proud thereof; but they were so proud thereof, that God was displeased with them, and that was well seen or the year passed, as ye shall hear after in the story, to give ensample to all people.

I was informed, and I believe it well, that the Sunday at night the earl of Flanders issued out of the town of Bruges, by what means I cannot say. If any did help him to make his way I cannot tell, but I believe, yes. He issued out afoot all alone in an old simple cloak; and when he was in the fields, he was joyful, for then he might well say how he had escaped a dangerous passage; and so went forth at adventure and went to a thick bush[1] to see what way he might take, for he knew not well the ways, nor he was not wont to go afoot. And as he stood under a thick bush in the night, he heard by adventure a man speak as he came by, and it was a knight of his, who had married his bastard daughter, and he was called sir Robert Marescal. The earl knew him well by his words, and as he passed by, he said: 'Robert, are ye there?' The knight, who knew the earl well by his speech, said: 'Ah, sir, ye have made me this day to seek in many places for you about Bruges. How are ye got out?' 'Let us go our way,' quoth the earl, 'it is no time to tell our adventures. I pray you let us do so much that I may have a horse, for I am sore weary with going afoot, and I pray you let us take the way to Lille, an ye know it.' 'Yes, sir,' quoth the knight, 'I know it well': and so they went forth all that night, till it was the next morning, or they could get a horse; and yet they could get none, but the first that they found was a mare, the which they took from a poor man in a village. So the earl leapt on her without saddle or panel and at night came to Lille, where the most part of his knights that fled out of the field were come thither, some afoot, some a-horseback, and some were gone into Holland and into Zealand, as sir Guy of Ghistelles; he arrived at a good port, for he found in Zealand in a town there the earl Guy of Blois, who made him good cheer and departed largely with him[1] and willed him to tarry there with him as long as it should please him. Thus they that were desolate were recomforted by the lords that they resorted unto, who had pity on them, as it was reason, for nobleness and gentleness ought to be aided by nobles and gentles.

[1] 'Into a thicket.'

CHAPTER CCCCII

Of the great riches that the Gauntois found in Bruges, and how all the towns of Flanders yielded them to Gaunt, except Oudenarde.

THE tidings spread abroad into divers countries of the discomfiture of them of Bruges and of the earl their lord, done by the Gauntois, wherewith there were divers people rejoiced and specially commonalties. All the good towns about Gaunt and in the bishopric of Liege were as joyful as though the matter had been their own: in like wise so were they of Rouen and Paris in France, if they durst have spoken it. And when pope Clement heard thereof, he bethought him a little, and said surely this discomfiture was a stroke of God to give ensample to the earl, and that God had sent him that tribulation because he was rebel against his opinions. Also other great lords in France and in other places said how the earl's adversity was not greatly to be complained, for he had well deserved to bear it, for he had been so presumptuous that he loved no lord neighbour, French king nor other, wherefore they complained less his persecutions: howbeit, it is an old saying, 'He that hath any evil fortune, men will speak the worst thereof.'[2] And specially they of the town of Louvain were greatly rejoiced with the victory of the Gauntois and of the earl's trouble; for they were but in hard case with the duke of Brabant their lord, who was in purpose to make them war and to beat down their gates, to keep them thereby the rather under. Also it was said in the town of Louvain, that if Gaunt had been as near them as Brussels was, they would have joined together and have been all one. Of all their words and devices the duke and duchess of Brabant were in-

[1] 'Imparted to him largely of his goods.'
[2] 'Men will speak ill of him.'

formed; but it behoved them as at that time to close their eyen and to hold down their heads, for it was no time for them then to speak.

Thus they of Gaunt, being in Bruges, devised many new things, and among other they devised to beat down two gates that were toward Gaunt and to fill the dikes, to the intent that they of Bruges should never rebel after against Gaunt; and when they should depart, to take with them a five hundred men of them of Bruges, to the intent to keep them in the more fear and subjection. Thus in the mean season, while these captains were at Bruges beating down gates and walls and filling of dikes, they sent to Ypres, to Courtray, to Bergues, to Cassel, to Poperinghe, to Bourbourg and to all the towns and castles of Flanders on the sea coast, that they should be all under the obeisance of them, and to send them the keys of their towns and castles, submitting themselves to their obeisance and service: and so they all obeyed, none durst say against it, but came all to Bruges putting themselves under the obeisance of Philip d'Arteveld and Peter du Bois; for these two named and wrote themselves sovereign captains of all other, and specially Philip d'Arteveld was he that most busied himself with the charge of all Flanders: and as long as he abode in Bruges, he kept the estate of a prince, for every day he had playing at his lodging door minstrels dinner and supper, and was served in vessel of silver, as though he had been the earl of Flanders; and well he might keep then that estate, for he had all the earl's vessel, gold and silver, and all his jewels found in his house at Bruges, there was nothing saved. Also there was sent a certain number of Gauntois to Male, a fair house of the earl's standing half a mile[1] from Bruges. They that went thither did much hurt, for they brake down all the house and brake down the font wherein the earl was christened, and laid in chariots all the gold and silver jewels and other things that they found there, and sent it to Gaunt. The term of fifteen days there was going and coming with carriages from Bruges to Gaunt with their pillage that they had got that journey: it was hard to esteem the profit that they gat there.

[1] 'Half a league.'

And when they of Gaunt had done all their will and pleasure in the town of Bruges, they sent a five hundred of the notablest burgesses of the town to Gaunt, to lie there in hostage; and Francis Ackerman and Peter de Wintere and a thousand of their men conveyed them thither, and Peter du Bois abode as captain of Bruges, till the gates and walls were beaten down and the dikes filled. And Philip d'Arteveld departed with four thousand men and went to Ypres, and there all manner of people came out against him and received him as honourably as though he had been their own natural lord that had come first to his land: and there they all did put themselves under his obeisance, and there he made new mayors and aldermen and made new laws; and to him came thither they of Cassel, of Bergues, of Bourbourg and of Poperinghe, they all submitted themselves under his obeisance and sware to him faith and troth, and to hold of him as to their lord the earl of Flanders. And when he had thus done and taken the assurance of them and had tarried at Ypres the space of eight days, then he departed and came to Courtray, whereas he was also received with great joy, and there he tarried three days; and then he sent messengers and letters to Oudenarde, commanding them to come to him and to be under his obeisance, seeing how all the country was turned to them of Gaunt, and how they were behind and did not as other did; wherefore he sent them word surely that the Gauntois should lay siege to them and not to depart till they had the town and slain all them within. When these tidings and message came to Oudenarde sent from Philip d'Arteveld, then the three knights answered hotly and said how they set but little by the menacing of a son of a brewer of honey, nor that the heritage of the earl their lord should be so soon given to him nor to none such, saying how they would defend it to die in the quarrel. Thus the messengers returned again to Courtray.

CHAPTER CCCCIII

How the earl of Flanders was at Lille, and how Oudenarde was besieged by the Gauntois and Flemings.

WHEN Philip d'Arteveld heard his messenger speak and report how they of the garrison of Oudenarde set nothing by him, then he sware that, whatsoever it cost him or the country of Flanders, he would nothing intend till he had taken that town and cast it down to the earth, he was so sore displeased. He thought this to do had been well in his puissance, seeing that all Flanders was inclined to him. When he had sojourned a six days at Courtray and had renewed their law and had taken fealty and homage of them, as though he had been earl of Flanders, then he returned to Gaunt, and there he was met with procession with so great joy that the earl their natural lord was never so honourably received. The people worshipped him like their god, because he gave the counsel whereby their town recovered their estate and puissance; for it could not be esteemed the great riches and wealth that came daily to them by water and by land from Bruges, from Damme and from Sluys, and the loaf of bread that in three weeks together was worth an old groat was then worth but four mites, and the wine that was worth twenty-four groats was then valued but at two groats. As then everything in Gaunt was better cheap than at Tournay or at Valenciennes. Philip d'Arteveld then kept a great stable of good horses like a great prince, and he was as well stuffed in all thing in his house as though he had been earl of Flanders, and better than the earl was appointed at Lille: and also he had through all Flanders his officers, bailiffs, constables, receivers and other, who daily brought him substance, whereby he maintained his estate; and he ware scarlet gowns furred with miniver, like as the duke of Brabant or earl of Hainault did: also he had his chamber of account to pay and to reckon for everything, as the earl had. And he gave divers suppers and banquets to ladies and damosels in like manner as the earl had done before, and spared nother gold nor silver for his pleasure. And he wrote and called himself 'Philip d'Arteveld, the Regard and overlooker of Flanders.'[1]

The earl of Flanders being at Lille had much to think on when he saw his country so sore rebelled against him, and could not see that he was of puissance as of himself ever to recover it again: for all the towns were in unity and of one accord against him, the which he could never fordo but by great force and puissance; for all the country spake no more of him nor did him no more honour nor would not know him for their lord, no more than he had never been so. Then the alliance that he had with the duke of Burgoyne, who had married his daughter the lady Margaret, by whom the duke had two fair sons, this alliance stood the earl as then in good stead: it was happy also then for him that king Charles was dead and that the young king as then was under the governing of his uncle the duke of Burgoyne, who might lead the king at his pleasure; and also the king was young and had good will to the war, wherefore it was the less mastery to stir him thereto, and the earl hoped that the duke of Burgoyne would soon set him thereon, if he would shew him how he is bound to aid his men, when their men will rebel against them. But some thought that if king Charles had lived still till that time, that he would have done nothing; and if he had, men supposed that he would thereby [have] annexed the county of Flanders to the crown of France; for the earl of Flanders was not so well in his grace that he would have done anything for him, without he had known well why.

Now let us leave to speak of these devices, till time be that we return thereto again; but let us shew how the earl of Flanders, being at Lille after the great loss that he had at Bruges, he understood how sir Thierry d'Anvaing and sir Florent de Heule kept still the town of Oudenarde and had kept it ever sith the besynes before Bruges, and knew well that these knights were not able to resist against the puissance of Flanders, if they came to lay siege thereto, as it was thought that they would do shortly. Then to refresh the town the

[1] 'Regart de Flandres,' 'ruler of Flanders.' The words 'and overlooker' are added by the translator as an explanation of 'regard.' The word is the same as the Flemish 'rewaert.'

earl called to him sir Daniel of Halewyn and said: 'Sir, I will ye go to Oudenarde and be sovereign captain there, and take with you a hundred and fifty spears, a hundred cross-bows, and two hundred other varlets with spears and pavises; and take ye heed to that garrison, I give you the charge thereof, and new victual it with corn, wheat and oats and salt flesh and with wine out from our friends and neighbours of Tournay: they will not fail us at this need.' 'Sir,' quoth the knight, 'all this shall be done: and, sir, I shall take as good heed to the town as I can, sith it please you that I shall do so; there shall none evil come thereto by my fault.' 'Daniel,' quoth the earl, 'of that I am sure.' And so the knight took leave of the earl and went to Oudenarde, and there refreshed the town with new men of war, victual and other things necessary.

When Philip d'Arteveld being in Gaunt understood the tidings how they of Oudenarde were refreshed with new men, then he said he would provide for remedy, saying how it was not to be suffered, for it was greatly to the prejudice and dishonour of the country of Flanders that this town held so against them: wherefore he said he would go and lay siege thereto, and not to depart thence till he had beaten it down and put to death all those that were within, knights and other. Then he sent his commandment through the country of Flanders that every man should be ready the ninth day of June to be with him before Oudenarde. There was none that durst disobey his commandment, so the men of all the good towns in Flanders and they of the Franc of Bruges made them ready and came and laid siege before Oudenarde, and lay abroad in the fields in meadows and in marshes and thereabout. And there was Philip d'Arteveld their captain, by whom they were all ordered, who held a great estate before Oudenarde. Then he reared a taillage in Flanders, every fire every week to pay four groats, the rich to bear out the feeble, whereby he gat together much money, for there was none excused, but all paid. For he had servants for the nonce through all the country, who made every man to pay, poor and rich, whether they would or not. It was said he had at the siege more than a hundred thousand men, and the Flemings had piled in the river of l'Escault great piles of great timber, so that no ship could come from Tournay to Oudenarde; and they had in their host all things plentiful, market with cloth, furs and other mercery; and every Saturday they had a market, and all the villages thereabout brought thither fruits, butter, milk, cheese, pullen and other things; and they had taverns as plenteous with wine as though they had been in Brussels, both Rhenish wine, wine of Poitou and of France, malvoisies and other wines of strange countries, and good cheap. Every man might go and come, pass and repass, without any peril, they of Hainault, of Brabant, of Almaine and of Liege, but none out of France.

CHAPTER CCCCIV

How the Gauntois assailed the town of Oudenarde divers times, and how they ran before Lille and in the country about on the realm of France.

SUMMARY.—The siege of Oudenarde was carried on all the summer, and the Gauntois used great engines and guns but could not take the town. A body of Gauntois overran all the country destroying gentlemen's houses, and burnt also some villages in France, upon which the duke of Burgundy wrote to the king and the duke of Berry to find some remedy. The earl of Flanders visited the duke of Burgundy at Bapaume and obtained a promise of aid.

CHAPTER CCCCV

Of the request that the duke of Burgoyne made to the French king, and why the king took on him to bear the flying hart.

THE duke of Burgoyne forgat not the covenant he made with his father-in-law the earl of Flanders, and so he departed from the town of Bapaume and with him sir Guy of Tremouille and sir John of Vienne, who was admiral of France, who did all his pain to comfort the earl, and they two were chief of council

with the duke; and so the duke and his company came to Senlis, whereas the king was, and his two uncles with him, the dukes of Berry and of Bourbon, and so there the duke of Burgoyne was received with great joy and he was demanded tidings of Flanders and of the siege of Oudenarde, and the duke answered them right sagely and shewed all the matter. And when he saw his time, he took apart the duke of Berry and shewed him how the Gauntois full of pride had done their devoir and pain to destroy all nobleness, and also he shewed how they had brent and pilled on the realm of France, the which was a thing prejudicial and to the confusion and shame of the realm of France, saying how it ought not so to be suffered. 'Fair brother,' quoth the duke of Berry, 'we will speak with the king in this matter: we two are chief of his council, so that if we inform the king thereof, there is none shall say against our intents. Howbeit, to move war between France and Flanders, the which hath been long in peace, it behoveth that we have some lawful title and that the other barons and lords of France be joined and agreed thereto, or else peradventure we might be blamed and bear all the fault, if it fortuned not well. For the king is young and every man knoweth that he will soon agree to that we counsel him: if the matter do well, then well shall come thereof, and if any evil come thereby, we shall then bear the charge and be more blamed than any other, and good cause why; for every man shall say: "Behold yonder the king's uncles, the duke of Berry and of Burgoyne, how evil they have counselled the king: they have brought the realm of France into war, whereas it needed not." Wherefore, dear brother, I say, let us call together the most part of the prelates and nobles of the realm of France, and then let us shew them all the matter in the presence of the king, to whom the matter personally toucheth[1] because of the heritage of Flanders, and so thereby we shall hear generally every man's will and opinion.' 'Ye say right well,' quoth the duke of Burgoyne, 'and as ye have devised, so shall it be done.'

And with those same words the king entered into the same chamber with an hawk on his hand, and so he spake merrily to his uncles and said: 'Ah, my fair uncles, what matter is that ye speak of in so great counsel? I would gladly know it, if I might.' 'Sir,' quoth the duke of Berry, 'ye may know it right well, for it pertaineth greatly to you. Sir, behold here your uncle the duke of Burgoyne, who complaineth greatly of them of Flanders; for the false villains of Flanders hath put out of his heritage the earl their natural lord and all noblemen, and as now they lie at siege before Oudenarde with more than a hundred thousand Flemings, wherein they have besieged a great number of gentlemen. And these Flemings have a captain called Philip d'Arteveld, pure English in his courage,[1] and he hath sworn never to depart thence till he have his will of the town and of them that be within it, without so be that your power of France raise him from the siege, the which he hath reserved in his oath. Therefore, sir, how say you? Will ye aid your cousin of Flanders and conquer again his heritage, the which these proud villains hath taken from him?' 'By my faith,' quoth the king, 'fair uncles, I have great will thereto, and for God's sake let us do it. I desire none other thing but to be armed, for as yet I never bare armour: it behoveth me, if I think to reign in puissance and honour, to learn the feats of arms.' These two dukes each of them regarded other and had great pleasure of the king's words. Then the duke of Berry spake again and said: 'Sir, ye have said passingly well, and thus to do, sir, ye are bound for divers reasons. Sir, the county of Flanders is of the demain of France, and ye have sworn, and we for you, to keep and maintain in their right all your liege men: and also, sir, the earl of Flanders is your cousin, wherefore ye ought to love him. And therefore, sir, sith ye be in this good mind, keep you so still, and answer thereafter to every person that speaketh to you thereof: and, sir, we shall assemble hastily the prelates and barons of your realm and shall shew them all the matter in your presence; and, sir, then if ye will speak as

[1] 'You personally laying it before them, since the matter toucheth you.'

[1] 'Pure English at heart'; that is, desiring an alliance with England: so also in the next chapter: 'This Philip d'Arteveld had ever his courage more English than French.'

heartily as ye do now to us, then every man will say, we have a king of high enterprise and of noble will and courage.' 'By my faith,' quoth the king, 'fair uncles, I would we should be ready to-morrow next to go to that journey; for from henceforth the greatest pleasure that I desire is to go into Flanders to abate the pride of the Flemings.' Of the which words the two dukes had great joy. Then came to them the duke of Bourbon, and they shewed him all the matter, as ye have heard before, and of the great desire that the king had to go into Flanders, whereof the duke of Bourbon had great joy.

Thus the matter hanged in this estate; and the king and his uncles wrote letters to the lords of the council of France, desiring them to come at a day assigned to Compiegne, to a parliament that should be there holden for certain business of the realm of France; and so every man obeyed, as it was reason, and the king was right glad of that tidings. His mind was so sore thereof, that no man could set him therefrom, and the king said ofttimes that there was too great delays made in the matter: for he said that he thought, if one should enterprise a great matter, it should not be long delayed, for in the delay the enemies take advice to their advantage: and also when the perils of war was laid to him, then would he answer and say: 'Yea, he that never enterpriseth, little or nothing achieveth.' Thus the young king ofttimes devised[1] with the knights and squires of his chamber.

CHAPTER CCCCVI

Now shall I shew you a dream that fortuned to the king in the same season, while he lay at Senlis, by occasion of which dream he ordained the device of the flying hart, as I was then informed.

It fortuned while the king lay at Senlis, on a night, as he lay in his bed asleep, he had a vision. It seemed to him properly that he was in the city of Arras, whereas he had never been before, and with him all the chivalry of the realm of France; and he thought that thither came to him the earl of Flanders and did set on his fist a fair falcon pelerin, saying to him thus: 'Sir, I give you this falcon for the best that ever I saw, the best flying and beater down of fowls.' Of which present the king thought he had great joy and said: 'Fair cousin, I thank you.' And therewith he thought he regarded the constable of France, sir Oliver Clisson, and said unto him: 'Sir Oliver, let us two go into the fields to prove this gentle falcon that my cousin of Flanders hath given me.' And then he thought the constable answered him and said: 'Sir, let us go when it pleaseth you': and so then he thought that they took their horses, they two alone, and went into the fields and found plenty of herons to fly at. Then the king said: 'Constable, let the falcon fly, and we shall see how she will chase her game.' Then the constable cast off the falcon, and she mounted so high into the air that they could scant see her, and the king thought she took her way straight into Flanders. Then the king said: 'Let us ride after my bird; I would not lose her': and so he thought they rode after, till they came to a great marish and to a thick wood. Then the king said: 'Let us light afoot, for we cannot pass this wood a-horseback': and so they alighted, and then he thought that varlets came to them and took their horses. And so the king and the constable entered in the wood with great pain, and travelled so long that they came to a fair great laund, and there the king thought he saw his falcon chasing herons and fighting with them and they with him: and it seemed to the king that his falcon chased so the herons that at last he lost the sight of her, wherewith he thought he was sore displeased, seeing that he could not follow his hawk; and thought he said to the constable: 'Ah, I fear me I shall lose my falcon, whereof I am sorry, and I have no lure nor nothing else, wherewith to call her again.' And at this point the king thought that there appeared suddenly before him a great hart with wings and inclined himself before him, whereof he had great joy and thought how he said to the constable: 'Sir, abide you here, and I will mount on this hart and so follow my falcon.' And so the king thought he mounted on this flying hart, and how the

[1] 'Se devisoit,' 'conversed': so often elsewhere in this translation.

hart according at the king's desire did bear him over all the great woods and trees, and there he saw how his falcon beat down great plenty of fowls, so that it was marvel to behold; and then it seemed to the king, when his falcon had long flown and beaten down many herons, then he thought he called to her, and incontinent the falcon came and sat her down on his fist: and then the hart flew again over the woods and brought the king to the same laund, whereas the constable tarried for him, who had great joy of his coming. And as soon as he was alighted, he thought the hart departed, and then never saw him after: and so there the king thought how he shewed to the constable how that the hart had borne him easily, he never rode so easily before, and also he thought he shewed him of the bounty of his falcon. And therewith it seemed to him that his varlets came to them and brought them their horses, and so they mounted and took the high way, and so came again to Arras. And therewith the king awoke and had great marvel of that vision, and he remembered everything thereof right well and shewed it to them of his chamber that were about him; and the figure of this hart pleased him so much, that all his imagination was set thereon. And this was one of the first incidents that when he went into Flanders to fight with the Flemings, he took to his device to bear the flying hart.

Philip d'Arteveld, for all his good adventure at the beginning of his battle against them of Bruges, and for all the good fortune that he had in the discomfiture of the earl and of them of Bruges, yet for all that he was no subtle man of war, nother in assaulting nor laying of siege; for he had not been brought up therein in his youth; he had been more used to fish with an angle rod in the river of l'Escault: the which well appeared while he lay at siege before Oudenarde, for he could not get the town. He thought by presumption that the sight of him should have made them of Oudenarde to have yielded them to him; but they were nothing so disposed, for they bare themselves like valiant men and made oftentimes scrimmishes at the barriers and slew and hurt divers of the Flemings, and drew again into their town without any damage. And of such issues Lambert of Lambres and Tristram his brother and the lord of Levreghien bare the greatest renown. The Flemings saw well how the dikes of the town were large and full of water, so that they could not approach to assail it but with much pain and danger. Then they determined among themselves to get faggots and straw and so to fill the dikes, to come to the walls to fight hand to hand; and as they ordained, so it was done. Howbeit, they within made no count of them, and said that, if there were no treason among themselves nor in the town, they would set nothing by the siege that they saw laid to them. And so therefore sir Daniel of Halewyn, who was captain there, to bring everything out of doubt kept himself day and night ever above them of the town, and he so ordained that there was none of them of the town should come on the walls of the town without company of some of the men of war: if they did, they lost their heads for their labours. Thus lay still this siege: the Flemings had great plenty of victuals coming to them by land and by water, for they were lords of all the country of Flanders; for always for winning of money the countries of Flanders, Holland, Zealand and Brabant, and also part of Hainault by stealth, brought ever victuals to their host. This Philip d'Arteveld had ever his courage more English than French, and would gladly that he had been allied with the king of England, whereby he thought that if the French king or duke of Burgoyne came on him with an army, that he should be aided by the Englishmen. He had already in his host a two hundred archers of England, the which were stolen out of the garrison of Calais, and so took wages there of him and were weekly paid.

CHAPTERS CCCCVII-CCCCX

SUMMARY.—Philip d'Arteveld wrote to the king of France asking him to mediate between the Flemings and their lord, but his letters were laughed at and his messenger kept in prison. Then he sent to ask for the alliance of England, but also demanded repayment of a debt made in the time of Jaques d'Arteveld.

The French king sent commissaries to

Tournay to treat with the Flemings, who wrote to the principal towns of Flanders asking for safe-conduct, to which Philip replied in date October 20th, refusing to treat unless the fortresses of Flanders were opened to him. This letter was conveyed to the king of France and his council, who were much offended thereby, and forthwith issued summons to all the realm to assemble at Arras.

CHAPTERS CCCCXI–CCCCXVIII

SUMMARY:—Philip d'Arteveld left Oudenarde and came to Bruges, to take order for closing the passages into Flanders. Peter du Bois was appointed to keep the passage of the river Lys at Commines and Peter de Wintere at Warneton, and all the other bridges were broken.

The French after much debate decided to attempt the passage at Commines, but the mason and the ravins made their advance difficult. At Commines they found the bridge broken and a large force on the other side. While the constable and marshals were in doubt what to do, certain knights crossed the river in boats below Commines, and before nightfall about four hundred men of arms had passed without being perceived by the Flemings. They then approached Commines, but the Flemings did not leave their positions to fight with them. The constable was greatly dismayed for the safety of his men on the other side, and renewed the attempts to pass by the bridge. The Frenchmen on the other side passed the night in the marshes with much discomfort, and in the morning the Flemings coming to fight with them were defeated and forsook the town. So the bridge was repaired and the Frenchmen passed over.

Philip d'Arteveld, informed of this, went to Ghent to assemble more men, expecting always to receive aid from England. He met a herald who announced to him that the alliance was consented to.

The French king crossed the river Lys and lodged with his army on the mount of Ypres. The town of Ypres submitted to him, and so did Cassel, Bergues and other towns of western Flanders. The king of France heard of the rebellion of the communes at Paris and in other towns.

The French king came to Ypres, and Philip d'Arteveld marched to Courtray with fifty thousand men. The French army suffered much from the bad weather, and it would have been better for the Flemings if they had not come to fight with them, but had remained and fortified themselves before Oudenarde.

CHAPTER CCCCXIX

Of the marvels that came to the Flemings in the night, and how they ordained their battle all in one company.

THE Wednesday at night that the battle was the next day, Philip d'Arteveld with all his puissance came and lodged in a fair ground right strong between a dike and a little grove of wood with a strong hedge, so that lightly no man could come well at them, and this was between the hill[1] and Rosebeque, whereas the king lay. The same night Philip d'Arteveld made a supper in his lodging to all his captains right plenteous, for they had provision enough following them, and after supper he said to them: 'Fair sirs, ye see well we be here in arms: I hope well to-morrow we shall have some business, for the king, who hath great desire to find us to fight, is lodged at Rosebeque. Now I require you all, keep faith and troth, and be not abashed of anything that ye see or hear, for this that we do is in the upholding of our right; and let us freely fight to maintain the jurisdictions of Flanders. Admonish your people to do well their devoir, and order them so well and wisely, that by our good order and array we may have the victory of the journey to-morrow. By the grace of God we shall find no lord that dare fight against us in the field, and it shall be more honour for us than though we had comfort of the Englishmen, for if they were in our company, they should have the renown and not we. Also say to your company that they save no person alive, and so thereby we shall live in rest; for here is with the king all the flower of France, there is none left behind: wherefore I command on pain of death that no man take any prisoner, without it be the

[1] Le Mont d'Or.

king himself; for I would he were saved, for he is but a child, he ought to be pardoned; he knoweth not yet what he doth, but as he is led; we shall bring him to Gaunt to learn to speak Flemish. But as for dukes, earls and other persons, slay them all: the commons in France will not be displeased therewith, for I am in surety they would that none of them should return again into France, and no more, I trust, they shall.' All such as were with Philip at this supper accorded to his opinion, and so answered with one voice and said: 'Sir, ye say well, and thus it shall be done.' Then they took their leave of him and returned to their lodgings to their companies, to shew them as ye have heard before. Thus passed the night in the host with Philip d'Arteveld; but about midnight, as I was informed, there fell in their host a marvellous thing, I never heard of none like it in any manner.

Thus when the Flemings were at rest in their lodgings, howbeit they knew well their enemies were on the hill not past a league from them, as I was informed, Philip d'Arteveld had brought a damosel with him out of Gaunt, and as Philip lay and slept on a couch beside a little fire of coals in a pavilion, this said damosel about the hour of midnight issued out of the pavilion to look out on the air and to see what time of the night it was by likelihood, for she could not sleep. She looked toward Rosebeque and she saw in the sky divers fumes and fire flying: it was of the fires that the Frenchmen made under hedges and bushes. This damosel hearkened; and, as she thought, she heard great bruit between their host and the French host: she thought she heard the French cries, crying, 'Montjoy, Saint Denis!' and other cries, and this she thought was on Mount d'Or between them and Rosebeque. Of this thing she was sore affrayed, and so entered into the pavilion and suddenly awaked Philip and said: 'Sir, rise up shortly and arm you, for I have heard a great noise on the Mount d'Or: I believe it be the Frenchmen that are coming to assail you.'

With those words he rose and cast on a gown and took his axe in his hand and issued out of the pavilion to see what it was; and as the damosel had shewed him, he heard the same himself, and it seemed to him that there was a great tournament on the said hill. Then incontinent he entered into his pavilion and caused his trumpet to be blown. As soon as the trumpet had blown, every man arose and armed them. They of the watch sent incontinent to Philip d'Arteveld to know for what cause he stirred up the host, seeing there was no cause why, shewing him how they had sent to their enemies' host and there was no stirring. 'Why,' quoth Philip, 'whereof rose that noise on the Mount d'Or?' 'Sir,' quoth they, 'we heard the same noise and sent thither to know what it was, and they that went hath made report that when they came there they heard nor saw nothing: and, sir, because we found nothing, we made no noise thereof for stirring up of your host: if we should have stirred them without a cause, we ought to have been blamed for our labour.' And when they of the watch had shewed Philip these words, he appeased himself and all the host: howbeit, he had marvel in his mind what it might be. Some said it was fiends of hell that played and tourneyed, thereas the battle should be the next day, for joy of the great prey that they were likely to have there.

Ever after this sudden affray Philip d'Arteveld and the Flemings were in doubt of betraying: and so at good leisure they armed them and made great fires and ate meat and drank, whereof they had sufficient. And an hour before day Philip said: 'Sirs, it were good we drew into the field and order our people, to the intent that, though the Frenchmen come on us at the breaking of the day, that we may be ready to receive them. They all accorded to his saying, and so issued out of their lodgings and came into a heath without the wood. And before them there was a great large dike newly made, and behind them full of bushes of genepar[1] and other small bushes: there they ordered their battle all in one company, and by the report of their constables they were to the number of fifty thousand chosen men, who did set but little by their lives; also there were a threescore archers, Englishmen, stolen away from Calais, thinking to have more profit by Philip d'Arteveld. So thus everything

[1] The French word is 'genestres,' not juniper but broom.

was ordered, their carriage, women and varlets; and Philip d'Arteveld had his page by him on a good courser, worth to a great lord five hundred florins. He had him not by him to the intent to fly away or to steal from his company, but it was the greater thereby to shew his estate,[1] and to mount on him, if need were, to follow the chase of the Frenchmen. He had of the town of Gaunt about a nine thousand men well armed, whom he kept ever about his own person; for he had more trust in them than in any other. And he and they with their banners were in the foremost front, and they of Alost and Grammont next them, and then they of Courtray, of Bruges, of Damme, of Sluys and of [the] Franc, who were armed the most part with malles and chapeaus of steel and hocquetons and gauntlets of steel and baleine, each of them bearing a stake tipped with iron. These towns had difference in arms and liveries, to know one company from another: some had coats of yellow and blue, some with black bands on red coats, some bordered with white on blue coats, some planted with green and blue, some lozenged with white and black, some quartered white and red, some all blue and one quarter red, some red cut upon white,[2] and their banners according to their crafts with great holmesses hanging at their girdles. So thus they tarried for the daylight, which was near approaching. Now I shall shew you the order of the Frenchmen.

CHAPTER CCCCXX

How the constable and admiral of France and the bastard of Langres went to see the Flemings, and how they fortified themselves.

THE French king and the lords about him knew right well how the Flemings approached near to them, and saw well there was no remedy but battle, for there was no motion made of treaty of peace. The Wednesday there was a cry made in the town of Ypres, that all manner of people as men of war should draw to the field to the king and to do as they ought to do. Every man obeyed the king's commandment, as reason was, and drew to the field, except such varlets as were commanded to keep their masters' horses: howbeit, in the vaward they had many horses for the adventurers and to discover the fields. Thus this Wednesday the Frenchmen kept the fields near unto Rosebeque, and at night the king made a supper to his three uncles and to the constable of France and to the lord of Coucy and to other great lords strangers of Brabant, of Hainault, of Holland, of Zealand, of Almaine, of Lorraine and of Savoy, who were come thither to serve the king, whereof he thankened them greatly. The same night the earl of Flanders kept the watch, and with him a six hundred spears and twelve hundred men of other persons of war.

And after supper, when these lords were departed, the constable abode still to speak with the king and his uncles. It was ordained by the king's council that the constable of France, sir Oliver of Clisson, should leave his office for the next day, because it was thought that they should have battle, and that the lord of Coucy should occupy the office for that time, and sir Oliver to be about the king's person: and so, when he would have taken leave of the king, the king said to him right sweetly and amiably: 'Sir constable, we would that ye render up your office into our hands for this night and to-morrow all day: we have ordained another to occupy the room, and we will that ye abide about our person.' Of these words the constable had great marvel, and answered and said: 'Right dear sir, I know well I cannot have so great honour as to aid to keep your person; but, sir, this should be right displeasant to all my company and to all them of the vaward. If they have not me in their company, peradventure they may lose more thereby than win. Sir, I say it not because I should think myself so valiant, that for lack of me they should not do well; but, sir, saving the correction of your

[1] 'But for state and for grandeur.'

[2] The heraldic terms are loosely rendered by the translator. It should be: 'Some had coats of yellow and of blue, some had a black band (bende) on a red coat, some chevrons of white on blue coats, some had green and blue in pales (plantez), some a fess lozenged with white and black, some had coats quartered of white and red, some all blue with one quarter red, some cut with red above and white below.' The better text has 'paletés' for 'plantés,' and after it this: 'some had coats lozenged of blue and red, some a fess chequered white and black.'

council, I say that all these fifteen days past I have done none other thing but pursued mine office to the honour of you and of your people; and, sir, I have shewed every man what they should do; and, sir, if they fight to-morrow and see not me among them, they will be abashed, whereby I shall receive blame, and some will say that I have devised many things and fly away from the first strokes. Sir, I require your grace, break not that hath been first ordained. I ensure you ye shall have profit thereby.' So the king and such as were about him wist not what to say; at last the king right sagely said: 'Constable, I know well ye have in all causes right well acquitted yourself and shall do: the king my father, that dead is, loved and trusted you above all other, and for the great trust and affiance that he had in you, therefore I would have you about me in this business.' 'Right dear sir,' quoth the constable, 'ye are so well accompanied and with so valiant and so noble men, and are so ordered by deliberation of wise counsel, that there is nothing can be amended: wherefore, sir, ye and your council ought to be content; and I therefore require you in God's behalf to suffer me alone in mine office, and I trust to-morrow ye shall have so good fortune in your journey, that your friends shall be glad and your enemies displeased.' To the which words the king gave none answer of a great space, but at last said: 'Constable, in the name of God and Saint Denis exercise your office at your pleasure; I will speak no more thereof, for ye see farther in this matter than I do, or such as moved first the matter: be to-morrow with me at my mass.' 'Sir,' quoth the constable, 'with right a good will': and so took leave of the king and returned to his lodging.

And on the Thursday in the morning every man apparelled themselves ready armed save their heads, for they knew well by all likelihood that they should have battle the same day. The French king heard mass betimes in the morning, and all the great lords, with great devotion praying to God to send them honour that day. The same morning there arose a great mist, so that one could not see an acre of breadth before him, whereof the lords were right sore displeased, but they could not amend it. And after mass the king and the constable and other great lords went to council, to determine what they should do; and there it was ordained that sir Oliver of Clisson, constable of France, sir John de Vienne, admiral of France, and sir William of Poitiers, bastard of Langres, these three should go and visit the demeanour of the Flemings as near as they might, and to come again and make report to the king and to his uncles of the truth of everything, and in the mean time the lord d'Albret and sir Hugh of Chatillon should order the battles. So thus these three departed from the king mounted on good horses, and rode straight whereas they thought to find their enemies.

The same morning in the great mist the Flemings rose and drew together in the same strong place that they had fortified, and so stood together all in one battle till it was eight of the clock, and could hear nothing of the Frenchmen; and then by great pride the captains said each to other: 'What do we here thus standing still on our feet and take cold? Why do we not go forth with great courage, sith we have so great will to fight with our enemies? We tarry here for nothing; the Frenchmen will never seek us here: let us go at the least to the Mount d'Or and take the advantage of the hill.' These words so multiplied that they all agreed to advance forth to take the hill that was between them and the Frenchmen; and so then to escape from the dike that was before them, they went about the little wood that was behind them and took the plain fields. And as they came about this wood, the foresaid three knights advised them by great leisure, and so rode in coasting their battle within a bow-shot of them: and when they were passed on the left side, then they rode again on their right side, so that they well advised their whole battle: the Flemings saw them right well, but they brake none array for all them.

Then Philip d'Arteveld said softly to his captains: 'Let us dress us and make us ready to the battle, for our enemies are near us. I see right well the three knights that have passed and repassed by us have well aviewed our battle.' Then they drew all into one battle, as they went to the hill. Then Philip said aloud: 'Sirs, when we come to the battle, let us think

on our enemies, how they were discomfited at the battle of Bruges by reason that we held ourselves close together. Let us beware that we open not: every man bear his weapon right before him and interlace your staves over your arms, one within another, whereby they shall not enter upon us:[1] and let us go a good pace by leisure, and nother turn on the left hand nor on the right, and shoot our guns all at once and shoot with our cross-bows, and thus we shall abash our enemies.'

When Philip d'Arteveld had thus ordered his men and set his battle in array and shewed them what they should do, then he made out a wing of part of his men, such as he best trusted,[2] and by him was his page with his courser, to whom he said: 'Go thy way with my horse behind yonder bush, and when thou seest the Frenchmen fly, then bring me my horse and cry my cry; then men will give thee room, to the intent that I may follow in the chase with the foremost.' The page did as he was commanded. Then he set beside him on a wing forty archers Englishmen, whom he had in wages.

Now behold if Philip ordered himself well or not. I think, and so did many such as were expert in battles, that he did not well nor wisely in one thing, and that was when he departed in the morning out of the strong place that he was in; for it is to be thought that the Frenchmen would never have sought them there to have fought with them, for they could not have done it without great damage: but like fools they thought to shew themselves valiant and little fearing their enemies, and so they were served thereafter.

CHAPTER CCCCXXI

The manner of the battle of Rosebeque, and how the Flemings were discomfited by the counsel of the three foresaid knights, who had aviewed all their behaving.

So these three foresaid knights returned to the king and to the battles, the which were ready in good array as they ought to be: for there were many noble and wise men and well expert in arms both in the vaward and in the rearguard and in the king's battle, and they knew right well what ought to be done, for there was the flower of all the good chivalry of the world. So thus every man gave these three knights way to come to the king: the lord Clisson spake first, inclining his body to the king, doing off his hat, and said: 'Sir, be merry: yonder people be all yours; our varlets shall beat them.' 'Constable,' quoth the king, 'God grant it: let us go forward then in the name of God and Saint Denis.' Then such knights as were appointed to attend on the king's body were set in good order; and there the king made many new knights, and so did every lord in his own battle, and divers banners were new raised up. Then it was ordained, that when they should join to fight, that the king's battle with the Oriflamme of France should be in the forefront, and the vaward should pass by aside on a wing on the one side of the king, and the rearward to pass by a little on the other side of the king, so that all three battles might at once close about the Flemings' battle, who came close together all in one battle. So the arearward were shewed of this appointment, the earl of Eu, the earl of Blois, the earl of Saint Pol, the earl of Harcourt, the lord of Chatillon and the lord Fere were chief of that ward, and before the earl of Blois there was made banneret the young lord of Havreth:[1] sir Thomas Diest and sir James Havreth, bastard, were made knights: there were made the same day by the report of the heralds four hundred threescore and seven knights.

And so then the three knights departed from the king and went into the vaward, whereas their rooms were. Then incontinent the Oriflamme was displayed, that sir Peter of Villiers did bear, and some say, as they have found written, that it was never before seen displayed against Christian men. But then in that voyage there was great question made whether it should be displayed or not; howbeit, divers reasons considered, finally it was determined to be displayed as then, because the Flemings

[1] 'Let each bear his staff straight before him, and interlace your arms, so that none may enter in among you.'

[2] 'He set himself on a wing formed of those of his men in whom he had most trust.'

[1] 'And there on that day before the earl of Blois the young lord of Havreth raised his banner.'

held the opinion contrary to pope Clement, and therefore the Frenchmen called them Urbanists; wherefore they said they were heretics and out of the true belief: that was the chief cause that it was borne and displayed in Flanders. This Oriflamme is a precious banner and was sent first from heaven for a great mystery, the which was ever a great comfort to them that saw it.[1] And the same day it shewed some of his virtue, for all the morning there was a great thick mist, that one could scant see another, but as soon as it was displayed and lift up on high, the mist brake away and the sky was as clear as any time in the year before. The lords of France were greatly rejoiced when they saw the sun shine so clear that they might see all about them: this greatly did recomfort them. It was great beauty then to regard the banners and streamers wave with the wind, and [all were silent nor none uttered a word, but] beheld well the great battle of the Flemings, who ever still approached fast joined together with their staves upright, that it seemed[2] a little grove of wood, there were so many of them.

CHAPTER CCCCXXII

How the Flemings were discomfited at the battle of Rosebeque.

I WAS as then informed of the lord of Sconnevorst, who shewed me how that he was there and saw it, and so did divers other, that when the Oriflamme was displayed and the mist gone away, there came a dove and made divers flights over the king's battle; and a little before they fought, she sat down on one of the king's banners, the which every man took for a good token. So thus approached the Flemings and began to shoot guns and arrows feathered with steel. Thus the battle began, the which was right sharp and fierce at the first encountering; for the Flemings set on proudly, thrusting with their spears and shoulders like wild boars, and they held themselves so close together that they could not be opened. There was with the shot of the guns at the first thrust slain of the French part the lord de Wavrin, banneret, Morelet of Halewyn and James d'Ere, and so therewith the king's battle was reculed; but the vaward and the arearward passed on forth and enclosed about the Flemings and held them strait, I shall shew you how. On these two wings the men of arms fiercely assaulted, with their strong spears well headed with heads of fine steel, wherewith they pierced the Flemings' coats of mail into the hard bones, so that the Flemings were glad to eschew the strokes. So thus these men of arms kept the Flemings so short, that they could not well help themselves, nor put down their arms to give any strokes; so there were many that lost their strength and breath and fell one upon another, and so died for lack of breath without striking of any stroke. And there was Philip d'Arteveld wounded and beaten down among his men of Gaunt, and when his page with his horse saw the discomfiture of his master, he departed and left his master, for he could not help him, and so rode to Courtray towards Gaunt.

Thus these battles assembled together. So the Flemings' battle was enclosed on both sides, so that they could pass no way: then the king's battle came forth again, the which was before a little drawn aback. The men of arms beat down the Flemings on every side: some had good axes of steel, wherewith they brake asunder bassenets, and some had malles of lead, wherewith they gave such strokes that they beat all down to the earth before them: and as the Flemings were beaten down, there were pages ready to cut their throats with great knives, and so slew them without pity, as though they had been but dogs. The strokes on the bassenets were so great that no man could hear other speak for noise: I heard reported that though all the armourers of Paris and Brussels had been working together, could not have made so great a noise. There were some that advanced so sore into the press, that they were slain and overcome for lack of breath, as sir Louis of Cousan, a gentle knight of Berry, and sir Floton of Revel and divers other, which was great damage: but so great a battle as the Flemings were could not be overcome without great loss; for

[1] 'Was formerly sent from heaven by a great mystery, and is a great comfort for the day to them that see it.'

[2] 'And they came on at a good pace all close together, their staves all held straight up on high (contremont), and the lances seemed like,' etc.

young knights and squires will lightly advance themselves to get honour, and the press was so great and the business so perilous, that when they were in the thick of the press, they could not relieve themselves, but were trodden under foot to death; and so by that means there were divers of the Frenchmen slain, but to no great number. The Flemings were slain by heaps, one upon another; and when they that were behind saw the discomfiture of their company, they were abashed, and cast down their pavises and armours and turned and fled away toward Courtray and other places, and had mind of nothing but to save themselves; and the Bretons and Frenchmen chased them through dikes, groves and bushes, and ever fought and slew them downright: there were many fled between Courtray and the battle, to go to Gaunt.[1] This battle was on the Mount d'Or between Courtray and Rosebeque in the year of our Lord God a thousand three hundred fourscore and two, the Thursday next before Advent, in November the twenty-seventh day, the French king Charles then being of fourteen year of age.

CHAPTER CCCCXXIII

How the body of Philip d'Arteveld was brought to the king and so hanged up, and how the town of Courtray was brent.

THUS, as ye have heard, the Flemings were discomfited on the Mount d'Or, their pride abated and Philip d'Arteveld slain; and of them of Gaunt and of their partners slain with him in the field to the number of nine thousand, according to the report of the heralds, and in the chase twenty-five thousand slain; and the battle endured not past half an hour, or it was discomfited. And after this discomfiture, the which[2] was right honourable for all Christendom and for all nobleness, for if these said villains had achieved their intents, there had never so great cruelty have been seen before in all the world, for the commonties in divers countries had rebelled, to have destroyed all nobleness. What think you that they of Paris would say when they knew of this discomfiture? I think they were nothing joyful thereof.

Thus when this battle was achieved, at last they left the chase and trumpets sowned the retreat: and so every man drew to his lodging, and the vaward lodged forward, thereas the Flemings had lien the night before, and there took their ease and were well refreshed, for new purveyance came to them from Ypres; and so that night they made great fires with such pavises and staves as the Flemings had brought to the field. And when the king was in his lodging, there was pight up a pavilion of crimson sendal, right noble and rich, and there the king's uncles unarmed him, and divers other lords of France came thither to see him, as reason required. Then the king said to them that were about him: 'Sirs, if Philip d'Arteveld be alive or dead, I would fain see him.' They answered how they would do their pain that he should see him. And then there was made a cry through the host, that whosoever could find Philip d'Arteveld should have a hundred franks for his labour. Then there were many that went among the dead bodies, who were nigh despoiled of all their clothes: at last there was such search made that he was found and known by a varlet that had served him long time before, and he knew him very well by divers tokens. So he was drawn and brought before the king's pavilion, and the king beheld him a long space and so did all the other lords, and he was turned and returned to see what hurts or wounds he had, but they could see no wound whereby he should die; but it was judged that he fell in a little dike and a great many of the Gauntois on him, whereby he was pressed to death. And so when they had well regarded him, then at last he was taken from thence and hanged upon a tree. This was the end of Philip d'Arteveld.

Sir Daniel of Halewyn, who was within Oudenarde with other knights and squires, the which had kept the garrison right honourably, the Wednesday before the battle, because he knew well that the king was in Flanders and should have battle with the Flemings, late in the night he

[1] 'Whither they retreated to go to Gaunt': but another reading is 'whither they retreated for safety' (à sauf garant).

[2] The words 'And after' and 'the which' spoil the structure of the sentence and are not found in the best text.

caused four faggots to be set afire and cast a-high out of the town, in tokening to them that lay at the siege how their siege should be raised. The Thursday tidings came to the lord of Herselle how that their company were discomfited and Philip d'Arteveld slain; and as soon as these tidings were known, they dislodged and took their way to Gaunt and left behind them the most part of their provision; but they within Oudenarde knew nothing thereof till the next morning; and when they knew thereof, they issued out and brought in great pillage that they found hidden thereabout.[1] The same Thursday at night tidings came to Bruges of the discomfiture of the battle, whereof they were greatly abashed and said: 'Lo, we may now see our own destruction. If the Bretons come hither and enter into our town, we shall all be pilled and slain, for they will have of us no mercy.' Then the burgesses and their wives took all their best jewels and riches and put it into ships to save it, to send it by water into Holland and into Zealand: in this case they were four days, so that they left no dish nor cup of silver in all Bruges, but all was put into ships for doubt of the Bretons. When Peter du Bois, who lay there sore wounded with the hurts that he took at the passage of Commines, understood the discomfiture of his company and how that Philip d'Arteveld was dead and slain, and how the people of Bruges were so abashed, then he was in no surety of himself, and so determined to depart and to go to Gaunt, for he thought that they of Gaunt would also be sore abashed, and so made a litter to be dressed for him, for he could not ride. Ye may know well, when these tidings came to Gaunt of the loss of their men and of the death of Philip d'Arteveld, they were so sore disconfited, that if the Frenchmen had come thither the day of the battle or the next day after or the Saturday after, or ever that Peter du Bois came thither, they would have suffered them to have entered into the town without any resistance, to have done what they had list. But the Frenchmen took no heed thereto: they thought right well to be lords thereof at their pleasure, seeing that Philip d'Arteveld was dead; they thought surely that the people of Gaunt would have yielded them to the king's mercy: howbeit, they did not so, for they alone made greater war than ever they did before, as ye shall hear after in this history.

On the Friday the king dislodged from Rosebeque because of the air of the dead bodies, and he was counselled to go to Courtray to refresh him there. The Hase and divers other knights and squires, such as knew the country, leapt on their horses and galloped straight to Courtray and entered into the town, for there was made no defence against them. The burgesses and their wives and all other men, women and children entered into cellars and into the churches to fly from the death, so that it was pity to see it. Such as entered first into Courtray had great profit by pillage, and so then after there entered the Frenchmen and Bretons, and every man took up their lodging as they came; and the king entered the first day of December. Then there was a new persecution made in the town on the Flemings, such as were hidden about; for as they were found out they were slain, for there was no man taken to mercy. The Frenchmen and they of that town hated each other mortally because of a battle that was once fought before Courtray, whereas sir Robert Artois and a great part of the flower of France were slain. It was shewed the king how that there was in Courtray in the church of our Lady a chapel, wherein were five hundred gilt spurs pertaining of old time to the lords and knights of France, such as had been slain at the said battle of Courtray, the which was in the year of our Lord God a thousand three hundred and two, and they of Courtray once a year made thereof a great triumph and solemnity. Wherefore the king said it should be dearly bought; and so it was after, for at his departing he set the town afire, to the intent that it should be known ever after how that the French king had been there. And anon after that the king [was] thus come to Courtray, there came thither a fifty spears from the garrison of Oudenarde with sir Daniel of Halewyn to see the king, who

[1] 'Great pillage of knives and baggage-carts and provisions, concealed (mucez) thus round about there.' These last words, in which there is probably some corruption, are not found in the best text, where we also read 'tents' for 'knives.'

made them right good cheer and so did all the lords; and when they had been there a day, then they returned to Oudenarde to their company.

CHAPTERS CCCCXXIV, CCCCXXV

SUMMARY.—The town of Bruges was spared from plunder, paying sixscore thousand franks. The country of Hainault, which was threatened by the Bretons because the earl had not taken part in the war against the Flemings, was saved by the earl of Blois and others.

Peter du Bois persuaded the Gauntois to shut their gates and defend themselves.

On hearing of the defeat of Rosebeque the English broke off their treaty with the Flemings.

The French king returned to Tournay, the season being too late to lay siege to Ghent, and many of the strange lords departed to their homes.

CHAPTER CCCCXXVI

How the French king came to Paris, and how he caused to be put down the chains and harness in the town, and how the Parisians were ransomed at his pleasure.

SUMMARY. — They of Ghent sent an embassy to the king at Tournay, offering to put themselves under his lordship, but not willing to accept again the earl of Flanders for their lord. After Christmas the king went to Arras, leaving captains in the town of Flanders and appointing the lord of Ghistelles to be Regard of Flanders.

THE text continues thus:—

The king tarried at Arras, and the city was in a great adventure to have been overrun and robbed with the Bretons, for there was great wages owing to them; also they had endured great travail in that voyage and they were not well content with the king, it was great pain to refrain them from doing evil. The constable and marshals of France appeased them, promising how they should be clearly paid of their wages, when they came to Paris. So thus the king departed and went to Peronne: the earl of Flanders took leave of the king and went to Lille. So long the king journeyed that he passed Peronne, Noyon and Compiegne, and so came to Senlis and there rested; and all his men of war were lodged in the villages between Senlis and Meaux in Brie and on the river of Marne and about Saint-Denis, so that all the country was full of men of war. And so then the king departed from Senlis and went toward Paris; and he sent before his officers to prepare for him his lodging at the castle of Louvre, and also his three uncles sent of their servants to prepare their lodgings, and in like wise so did other lords: and all this was done for a cautel and wile, for the king nor his lords were not determined to enter so suddenly into Paris, for they doubted them of Paris; but they did this to prove what countenance and order they of Paris would make at the king's entry; they thought they would make this assay before. The servants that went before were commanded to say, if any man demanded of them if the king were coming, that they would be there incontinent: by the which the Parisians advised among themselves to be armed and to shew the king at his entry what puissance they were of and what men of war they were able to make to serve the king, when it pleased him: but they had been better to have sitten still in their houses, for the shew that they made was converted to their great servitude, as ye shall hear after. They said they did it for good, but it was taken to evil. And whereas the king should have lodged at Louvre, he made his lodging to be prepared at Bourget: and then voice ran through Paris how the king was near at hand to enter into Paris. Then more than twenty thousand Parisians armed them and issued out into the fields and ordered themselves in a fair battle between Saint-Lazare and Paris toward Montmartre, and they had with them cross-bows, pavises and malles ready apparelled, as though they should have fought incontinent in battle.

The king was as then at Bourget, and all the lords, and thither to them was brought all the tidings of all the demeanour of them of Paris. Then the lords said: 'Ah, ye may see the pride of these ribalds: wherefore do they now shew their estate? If they would have served the king in the

same point as they be in now, when the king went into Flanders, then had they done well; but they had no mind so to do, they rather prayed to God that we should never return again.' The which words divers that were there helped well forward to the intent to grieve the Parisians, saying: 'If the king be well counselled, he shall not adventure himself to come among such people as cometh against him with an army arranged in battle. They should rather have come humbly with procession and have rung all the bells in Paris in thanking God of the victory that the king had in Flanders.' Thus the lords were abashed how they should maintain themselves.

Finally it was appointed that the constable of France, the lord d'Albret, the lord of Coucy, sir Guy of Tremouille and sir John of Vienne should go and speak with them and demand of them the cause why they be issued out of Paris in so great a number armed in order of battle against the king; the which thing was never seen before in France: and upon their answer the lords said the king should take advice:[1] they were wise enough to order as great a matter as that was and greater. So these said lords departed from the king without harness, and for the more surety of their business they took with them three or four heralds and sent them somewhat before to the Parisians, and said: 'Sirs, go ye on before to yonder people of Paris, and demand of them a safe-conduct for us to go and come, till we have spoken with them from the king.'

These heralds departed and rode a great pace and came to these people; and when the Parisians saw them coming, they thought full little they had come to have spoken with them, they thought they had but ridden to Paris as other did. The heralds had on their coat armours, and when they approached near to the Parisians, they said on high: 'Where be the masters? Where be the rulers? Which of you be captains? We be come to you sent from the lords.' Then some of them of Paris perceived well by these words that they had not done well: they cast down their heads and said: 'Here be no masters: we are all of one accord and at the king's commandment and the lords'. Therefore, sirs, say in God's name what ye will to us.' 'Sirs,' quoth the heralds, 'the lords that sent us hither,' and named them, 'they know not what ye think or intend: they require you that they may peaceably without peril come and speak with you, and return again to the king and shew him the answer that ye make to them: otherwise they dare not come to you.' 'By our faiths, sirs,' quoth they, 'they ought to say no such words to us but of their gentleness:[1] we think ye do but mock us.' 'Surely, sirs,' quoth the heralds, 'we speak it in good certainty.' 'Then,' quoth the Parisians, 'go your way and say to them that they may come at their pleasure to us without danger or peril; for they shall have no hurt for none of us, for we are all ready to fulfil their commandments.'

Then the heralds returned to the lords and shewed them as ye have heard. Then the four lords rode forth and their company, and came to the Parisians, whom they found in good array and order of battle, and there were more than twenty thousand malles. And as the lords passed by them and beheld them well, within themselves they praised much their manner; and also as they passed by, ever the Parisians inclined themselves to them. And when these lords were as in the midst among them, then they rested and stood still, and the constable spake a-high and said: 'Ye people of Paris, what hath moved you to issue out of the city in this order of battle? It seemeth ye will fight against the king our sovereign lord, whose subjects ye be or should be.' 'Sir,' quoth they, 'save your grace, we were never of will to do anything against the king; but, sir, we be issued out for none other cause but to shew the king what puissance the Parisians be of. The king is but young, he never as yet saw it; and without he see it he cannot know it, nor how he may be served, if need be.' 'Sirs,' quoth the constable, 'ye speak well: but we say unto you from the king that as at this time he will not see you in this manner, for this that ye have done sufficeth.[2] Therefore we counsel you to return again

[1] 'These lords were counselled to reply and speak.'

[1] 'Ye ought not to say that to us, except it were of their nobleness'; that is, unless the lords who sent you said it.

[2] 'That at this time he doth not desire to see it, and that which ye have done sufficeth him.'

peaceably to Paris, every man to his own lodging, and do off your harness, if ye intend that the king shall come hither.' 'Sir,' quoth they, 'we shall with right a good will fulfil your commandment': and so therewith they all returned into Paris, every man to his own house to unarm him. And the said four lords returned to the king and shewed unto him all the words that ye have heard before.

Then it was determined that the king, his uncles and lords, and certain men of arms with them, should enter into Paris, and the great band to bide without the city round about, to give the more fear to the Parisians. And the lord of Coucy and the marshal of Sancerre were ordained, that as soon as the king were entered into Paris, that they should take down the leaves of the gates of the four principals of the city, toward Saint-Denis and Saint-Maur, so that the gates might stand open day and night, for all manner of men of war to enter in and out at their pleasure, to the intent to master them of Paris, if need were; and also they to take down all the chains in every street, to ride in and out at their pleasure: and as it was ordained, so it was done.

And so the king entered into Paris and lodged at Louvre, and his uncles by him, and the other lords in divers lodgings. So thus the gates were taken out of the gonds[1] and laid down on the ground, and the chains of every street taken down and brought into the palace. Then the Parisians were in great doubt and feared that they should be overrun, so that none of them durst look out into the street, nor open door nor window: and thus they were a three days in great peril and fear to receive greater damage; as they did, for it cost many of them great finance and ransom; for they were called into the chamber of council one after another, such as the lords would have, and so there they were ransomed, some at six thousand franks, some at three and some at one; so that there was levied in Paris to the king's profit, to his uncles' and to his ministers', the sum of four hundred thousand franks: there was nothing demanded of the poor people, but of the great masters and such as might bear it: they were right happy that might escape with paying of ransom. And every man by himself was fain to bring their harness in sacks to the castle of Beauté, otherwise called the castle of Vincennes, and there it was closed in a great tower, and their malles also. Thus the Parisians were dealt withal, to give ensample to all other good towns of France, and there were raised up subsidies, gabelles, aids, fouages, douzimes, treizimes and all other such things, and also all the plain country about clean rifled.

[1] 'Hors des gontz.' The word 'gouges' in the translation is assumed to be a misprint for 'gondes.'

CHAPTER CCCCXXVII

SUMMARY.—Jean des Mares and many others were executed at Paris; and also in other towns, as Rouen, Rheims, Orleans, many were either put to death or ransomed.

Francis Ackerman and the Gauntois took and plundered Ardenbourg.

CHAPTER CCCCXXVIII

Of the alliance that was purchased between the Englishmen and the Flemings, and of the bulls that pope Urban sent into England to destroy the Clementines.

THE earl of Flanders, who lay at Lille, understood how the Gauntois advanced themselves to ride and to overrun the country and to destroy that they might. He was right sore displeased: he thought they had not had the wit nor puissance so to do, sith that Philip d'Arteveld was dead. Howbeit, his council said to him: 'Sir, ye know well and ye have always heard say how the Gauntois are right subtle people, the which they have well shewed and will shew; and also again they have been in England and are returned again: and specially Francis Ackerman, who was companion to Philip d'Arteveld in all his feats, as long as he liveth, ye shall have war with them. Also, sir, we know well he hath made great alliance with the king of England for the town of Gaunt and hath a certain pension out of England secretly by John Salemon, who is pure English and dwelleth under you in the town of Bruges, and hath done the space of this twenty-four year. And to verify that this is true, Rasse of Vorde, Louis de Vos and John Scotelare

of Gaunt, and the clerk that procureth to be bishop of Gaunt, all these are still behind in England to perform this alliance: and, sir, ye shall hear more truer tidings than we can tell you, or the mid of May be past.'

The earl of Flanders believed well all these sayings to be true, and so they were indeed. Then he began to imagine against this John Salemon and on the Englishmen dwelling in Bruges. Then he caused them to be summoned to be at a certain day assigned before the earl at Lille; and so the earl's servants came and summoned John Salemon and divers other rich Englishmen, or they were ware thereof, commanding them the fifteenth day after to be with the earl at his castle of Lille. When the Englishmen heard thereof, they were sore abashed and took counsel together, having great marvel why the earl should send for them. All things considered, they doubted greatly, for they knew well the earl was fierce and fell in his haste. Then they said among themselves: 'He that keepeth not his body, keepeth nothing: we doubt lest the earl be informed sore against us; for with Francis Ackerman, who hath a pension of the king of England, when he was in England there was with him two burgesses of this town of Bruges, and peradventure they have made some information against us to the earl, for as now they be on his part.' So on this purpose rested the Englishmen, that they durst not abide the earl's judgment nor to go to Lille at the day before limited: so they departed from Bruges and went to Sluys and did so much that they found a ship ready apparelled, and so they bought it with their money and so departed and sailed till they arrived at London. And when the earl of Flanders was informed of this matter and saw that the Englishmen appeared not at their day, he was sore displeased and sent incontinent to Bruges and caused to be seized all that ever could be found pertaining to the Englishmen, and all their heritages given and sold, and John Salemon clean banished out of Flanders for a hundred year and one day, and his companions; and such as were taken were put in prison, whereas some died and some recovered again all that ever they had lost.

There is a common proverb, the which is true, and that is how envy never dieth. I say it because Englishmen are right envious of the wealth of other, and always hath been. It was so that the king of England and his uncles and the nobles of England were right sore displeased of the wealth and honour that was fallen to the French king and to the nobles of France at the battle of Rosebeque. And the knights of England spake and said to each other: 'Ah, Saint Mary, how the Frenchmen are now mounted in pride by the overthrowing of a sort of rude villains. Would to God Philip d'Arteveld had had of our men a two thousand spears and six thousand archers: there had not then scaped one Frenchman, but other slain or taken: but an God will, this glory shall not long endure them. Now we have a fair advantage to enter into Flanders, for the country is now conquered for the French king, and we trust to conquer it again for the king of England. It sheweth well at this time that the earl of Flanders is greatly subject to the French king and that he will please him in all points, when our merchants dwelling in Bruges, and have dwelt there beyond this thirty year, be now banished and chased out of Flanders. The time hath been seen they durst not have done it; but now they dare do none otherwise for fear of the Frenchmen: we trust it shall not abide long in this point.' This was the language among the Englishmen through the realm of England; therefore it was to be supposed that this was done but by envy.

In this season he that wrote himself pope Urban the sixth came by the sea from Rome to Genes, whereas he was well received and reverently of the Genoways, and there he kept his residence. Ye know well how all England was obeisant to him, as well the Church as the people, because the French king was Clementine, and all France. This Urban, on whom the Englishmen and divers other countries believed, he being at Genes advised how he might annoy the French king, and so he thought to send into England for succour; I shall shew you by what manner. He sent his bulls to the archbishops and bishops of England, making mention how he assoiled from pain and from sin all such as would aid to destroy the Clementines; for he

knew well how Clement his adversary had done in like wise in the realm of France, and doth daily, and they called the Urbanists in their faith and belief to be but dogs. So this Urban saw well that the Clementines would condemn and destroy him if they might, and he saw well he could not more grieve the Frenchmen than by the Englishmen: but first he saw well he must find the means to gather together great riches; for he knew well the nobles of England, for all his absolutions, would not ride forth in war without money, for men of war live not by pardons, nor they set not much thereby but in the article of death. Then he determined beside these bulls to send into England to the prelates, that they should ordain a full dime on the churches, the noblemen and men of war thereof to be paid their wages without grieving of any part of the king's treasure or of the commonty of the realm: the which thing the pope thought the barons and knights of England gladly would hearken unto. Then he caused to be written and engrossed bulls, as well to the king and his uncles as to the prelates of England, of plain absolution from pain and sin; and beside that, he granted to the king and to his uncles a plain dime to be taken and levied throughout all England, so that sir Henry Spenser, bishop of Norwich, should be chief captain of all the men of war; because the goods came from the Church, therefore the pope would that one of the Church should be chief governour, and to the intent that the churches and commons of the realm should the better believe the matter. And beside that, because he knew the realm of Spain contrary to his opinion and somewhat allied with the French king, he advised[1] that with part of the same gold and silver that should be gathered in the realm of England, that the duke of Lancaster, who reputed himself king of Castile by the right of his wife, that he in like wise should make another army into Castile; and also if the duke of Lancaster take on him the said viage, then the pope said he would grant to the king of Portugal, who made new war with king John of Castile, for king Francis was dead, a plain dime throughout all Portugal. Thus pope Urban ordained all his business, and sent a thirty bulls into England, the which were received with great joy.

Then the prelates in their jurisdictions began to preach this voyage in manner of a croisey, whereby the people of England, who lightly believed, gave thereto great faith, and believed verily that they could not go to Paradise[1] if they died that year without they gave somewhat in pure alms. Toward this war at London and in the diocese there was gathered a tun-full of gold and silver, and according to the pope's bulls he that most gave most pardon obtained; and whosoever died in that season and gave his goods to these pardons, was clean assoiled from pain and from sin; and according to the tenour of the bulls happy was he that died in that season, for to have so noble absolution. Thus they gathered money all the winter and Lent season, what by the pardons and by the dimes, that as it was said it drew to the sum of twenty-five hundred thousand franks.

[1] 'Il s'avisa,' 'he planned.'

CHAPTER CCCCXXIX

How the bishop of Norwich and the Englishmen issued out of England to run and to make war against all those that held with pope Clement.

When the king of England, his uncles and council understood what money was gathered, they were right joyous and said how they had money enough to make war against two realms, that was to say, against France and Spain. To go into Spain in the name of the pope and of the prelates of England with the duke of Lancaster was ordained the bishop of London called Thomas, brother to the earl of Devonshire, to be chief captain, and with him two thousand spears and four thousand archers, and they to have half of the money thus gathered. But it was ordained that they should not so soon depart out of England as the bishop of Norwich, because that army should arrive at Calais and so to enter into France; and they wist not what should fall thereby, nor whether the French king would raise

[1] 'Thought that they could not issue from the year with honour nor ever enter paradise,' etc. The words 'in pure alms' belong properly to the next sentence.

any puissance to fight with them or not. Also there was another point contrary to the duke of Lancaster, yet he had great joy of that viage, for generally all the commonty of England more inclined to be with the bishop of Norwich than to go with the duke of Lancaster: for a long season the duke was not in the grace of the people; and also they thought the realm of France to be [a] nearer journey than into Spain; and also some said that the duke of Lancaster for covetousness of the silver and gold that was gathered of the Church and of the pardons, whereof he should have his part, that he did incline rather thereto for the profit than for any devotion. But they said how the bishop of Norwich represented the pope and was by him instituted, whereby the greatest part of England gave to him great faith, and the king also.

And so there was ordained at the wages of the Church to go with this bishop Henry Spenser, divers good knights and squires of England and of Gascoyne, as the lord Beaumont, sir Hugh Calverley, sir Thomas Trivet, sir William Helmon, sir John Ferrers, sir Hugh Spenser, cousin to the bishop, son to his brother, sir William Faringdon, sir Matthew Redman, captain of Berwick; all these were of England: and of Gascons there was the lord of Chateauneuf and sir John his brother, Raymond Marsan, Guillonet de Pans, Garriot Vigier, John de Cauchitan and divers other, and all counted they were a five hundred spears and fifteen hundred of other men, and a great number of priests, because the matter touched the Church and moved by the pope.

These men of war provided themselves for the matter, and passage was delivered them at Dover and at Sandwich, and this was about Easter; and so they passed over little and little, as they list: this voyage was in the manner of a croisey. Thus they passed the sea, or the bishop and other captains were fully ready; for the bishop and sir Hugh Calverley, sir Thomas Trivet and sir William Helmon were with the king and his council, and there they sware solemnly in the king's presence to bring truly to an end their voyage, nor to fight against no man nor country that held with pope Urban, but to fight and make war against them that were of the opinion of Clement. Thus they sware, and then the king by the advice of his council said to them: 'Sir bishop and all ye, when ye come to Calais, I will ye sojourn there in that frontier the space of a month, and in that term I shall refresh you with new men of war, of arms and archers, and I shall send you a good marshal, a valiant man, sir William Beauchamp; for I have sent for him, he is in the march of Scotland, whereas he keepeth frontier against the Scots, for the truce between the Scots and us falleth now at Saint John's tide: and after his return ye shall have him in your company without any fail. Therefore I would ye should tarry for him, for he shall be to you right necessary both for his wisdom and good counsel.' The bishop and his company promised the king so to do, and thus they departed from the king and took the sea at Dover and arrived at Calais the twenty-third day of April, the year of our Lord God a thousand three hundred fourscore and three.

The same season there was captain at Calais sir John Devereux, who received the bishop and his company with great joy; and so they landed little and little, and all their horses and baggage, and so lodged in Calais and thereabout in bastides that they made daily: and so there they tarried till the fourth day of May, abiding for their marshal sir William Beauchamp, who came not of all that time. When the bishop of Norwich, who was young and courageous and desirous to be in arms, for he never bare armour before but in Lombardy with his brother, thus as he was at Calais and saw how he was captain of so many men of arms, he said one day to his company: 'Sirs, why do we sojourn here so long and tarry for sir William Beauchamp, who cometh not? The king nor his uncles, I trow, think little of us: let us do some deeds of arms, sith we be ordained so to do: let us employ the money of the Church truly while that we live: let us conquer somewhat of our enemies.' 'That is well said, sir,' quoth all those that heard him speak: 'let us warn all our company that we will ride forth within this three days, and let us take advice which way we shall draw. We cannot issue out of the gates but we enter into the lands of our enemies, for it is French all about on every

part. We were as good to go towards Flanders as to Boulogne, for Flanders is a land of conquest, conquered by the puissance of the French king: we cannot bestow our time more honourably, all things considered, than to conquer it again; and also the earl of Flanders hath done of late a great despite to men of our country, for without any title of reason he hath banished and chased them out of Bruges and out of all Flanders: it passeth not two year sith that he would have been loath to have done so, but as now he is fain to obey to the pleasure of the French king.' 'Wherefore,' quoth the bishop, 'if I may be believed, the first journey that we shall make shall be into Flanders.' 'Sir,' quoth sir Thomas Trivet and sir William Helmon, 'ye shall be well believed: let us ride into that part within this three days, for it is of the land of our enemies.' To this counsel they all agreed, and gave warning each to other.

CHAPTER CCCCXXX

How the Englishmen took the town and minster of Gravelines, and how the earl of Flanders sent to speak with them.

At all this agreement was not sir Hugh Calverley, for he was gone to see a cousin of his, the captain of Guines, called sir John Drayton, and so he was there all day and returned again the next day. Then the bishop sent for him to the castle, for the knights had said to the bishop how they would have the advice of sir Hugh Calverley, or they did anything, because he had most seen and used the war. Then the bishop said to him as ye have heard before, and commanded him to say his advice. Then sir Hugh answered him and said: 'Sir, ye know well on what condition we be departed out of England: our enterprise toucheth nothing the war between the kings, but all only against the Clementines; for we be soldiers of pope Urban, who hath clean assoiled us from all sin and pain, if we do our power to destroy the Clementines. If we go into Flanders, though the country hath been conquered by the French king and the duke of Burgoyne, yet for all that we should do amiss; for as I understand, the earl of Flanders and all the Flemings be as good Urbanists as we be. Also, sir, we have not men enow to enter into Flanders; for they are all ready and used in the war, and they are a great number of people: they have done nothing else but lived in war this three or four year, and also it is a strong country to enter into: also the Flemings have done us no trespass. But, sir, if we shall ride, let us ride into France: there be our enemies in two manners. The king our lord's war is now open, and also the Frenchmen are good Clementines, contrary to our belief and against our pope. Also, sir, we should abide for our marshal sir William Beauchamp, who should hastily come to us with a good number of men, and the last word that our king said was that he would send him to us. But, sir, my counsel is, if we shall needs ride, let us draw towards Aire or Montreuil: there is none, I think, as yet, that will come against us, and always men will come to us out of Flanders, who hath lost all that they have: they will be glad to go with us in hope to win somewhat again: they bear evil will in their hearts to the Frenchmen, who hath slain in the wars their fathers, brethren, kinsmen and friends.'

Sir Hugh could scant speak these words but that the bishop took the matter hot and hasty and said: 'Ah, sir Hugh, ye have so well learned to ride in France, that ye cannot ride into none other place. We cannot better ride to our profit than to enter into the frontier of Flanders by the sea coast, as to the town of Bourbourg, of Dunkirk, of Newport, of Bergues, of Cassel, of Ypres and of Poperinghe: in these said countries, as I am informed by the burgesses of Gaunt, they had never war that grieved them. Let us go thither and refresh us, and abide there for our marshal, if he will come; howbeit, we see not yet but little appearance of his coming.' When sir Hugh Calverley saw that the bishop did take him up so shortly, and he considered well how he was their chief captain and that he was a great man and of great lineage, he held his peace; for he saw well also how that his opinion should not be sustained neither by sir Thomas Trivet nor by sir William Helmon. Then he departed and said: 'Sir, if ye ride forth, sir Hugh Calverley shall ride with you, nor ye shall not go that way but that he dare well go the same.' 'I believe well,' quoth the

bishop, 'ye have good will to ride forth: therefore make you ready, for we will ride to-morrow.'

On this purpose they were all agreed, and their riding forth was published throughout the town. And in the morning the trumpets sowned and every man departed into the fields and took the way to Gravelines; and they were in number about a three thousand men armed, and so they came to the port of Gravelines. The sea was as then but low, and so they passed forth and assailed the minster, the which they of the town had fortified. The town was closed but with pales, the which could not long endure, nor also the men of the town were but seamen; if there had been gentlemen, it would have held longer than it did: nor also the country was not ware thereof, for they feared nothing the Englishmen. Thus the Englishmen conquered the town of Gravelines and entered into it, and then drew to the minster, whereunto the people of the town were drawn and put therein all their goods, on trust of the strength of the place, and their wives and children, and made round about it great dikes, so that the Englishmen could not have it at their ease; for they were there two days or they won it, yet finally they won it and slew all them that kept it with defence, and with the residue they did what they list. Thus they were lords and masters of Gravelines and lodged together in the town and found there plenty of provision. Then all the country began to be afraid, and did put their goods into the fortresses and send their wives and children to Bergues, to Bourbourg and to Saint-Omer's.

The earl of Flanders, who lay at Lille, when he understood these tidings, how that the Englishmen made him war and had taken Gravelines, then he began to doubt of them of [the] Franc of Bruges, and called his council to him and said: 'I have great marvel of the Englishmen, that they run thus on my land: they demanded never nothing of me, and thus without any defiance to enter into my land.' Some of his council answered him and said: 'Sir, it is a thing well to marvel of; but it is to be supposed that they repute you, the earl of Flanders, to be French, because the French king hath so ridden in this country that all is yielded to him.' 'Why,' quoth the earl, 'what is best then to be done?' 'Sir,' quoth they, 'it were good that ye send sir John Villain and sir John Moulin, who be here present, and also they have a pension of the king of England, into England to speak with the king there from you, and to shew him sagely all this business, and to demand of him why he doth make you war. We think, when he heareth your messengers speak, he will not be content with them that thus warreth against your country, but call them back to their great blame.' 'Yea,' quoth the earl, 'but in the mean time, while they go into England, they that be now at Gravelines will go farther and do great damage to them of [the] Franc.' 'Sir,' quoth they, 'then let them first go to them at Gravelines and desire of them a safe-conduct to go to Calais and so into England, and to know of them what it is that they demand of you. We think these two knights are so well advised and will handle them so wisely, that they shall set the country in rest and peace.' 'I am content it be thus,' quoth the earl. Then these two knights were informed by the earl and his council what they should say to the bishop of Norwich, and to shew him what charge they have to go into England to shew the matter to the king there and to his uncles.

In the mean season that these knights prepared to go to Gravelines to speak with the bishop of Norwich, all the country arose about Bourbourg, Bergues, Cassel, Poperinghe, Furnes, Newport and other towns, and they came to Dunkirk and there abode in the town, saying how they would shortly issue out and defend their frontiers and fight with the Englishmen. And these men of Flanders had a captain called sir John Sporkin, governour of all the lands of the lady of Bar, the which land lieth in the marches about Ypres: and this sir John Sporkin knew nothing that the earl of Flanders would send into England, for the Hase of Flanders was newly come to him with thirty spears and shewed him how that the earl was at Lille about a marriage to be had between his sister and the lord de Wavrin. So these two knights did as much as they could to stir the country to rise, so that they were to the number of twelve thousand pikes with pavises and coats of steel, hocquetons, chapeaus, and bassenets, and in a manner they were all of the land of the

lady of Bar between Gravelines and Dunkirk, as I was informed. And a three leagues in the way there stood the town of Mardyck, a great village on the sea side unclosed, and thither came some of the Englishmen and scrimmished. And so thus came to Gravelines sir John Villain and sir John du Moulin for the earl of Flanders by a safe-conduct that he had attained from the bishop, or he came from Bourbourg. Then they came to the bishop of Norwich, who made to them by semblant right good cheer. He had with him at dinner the same day all the lords of the host; for he knew well the earl's knights should come to him the same time, and his mind was how he would that they should find them all together. Then these two knights began to speak and said: 'Sir, we be sent hither to you from the earl of Flanders our lord.' 'What lord?' quoth the bishop. They answered again and said: 'From the earl: there is none other lord of Flanders.' 'By the good Lord,' quoth the bishop, 'we take for the lord of Flanders the French king or else the duke of Burgoyne, our enemies, for by puissance but late they have conquered all the country.' 'Sir,' quoth the knights, 'saving your displeasure, the land was at Tournay clearly rendered again and put into the hands and governing of the earl of Flanders, who hath sent us to you, desiring you that we two, who have pension of the king of England, may have a safe-conduct to go into England to speak with the king, to know the cause why without any defiance he maketh war against the earl and his country of Flanders.' 'Sirs,' quoth the bishop, 'we shall take advice and answer you to-morrow.' So thus they went to their lodging and left the Englishmen in council; and so all that day they took counsel together, and concluded as ye shall hear.

CHAPTER CCCCXXXI

The answer that the bishop of Norwich made to the knights of Flanders; and of the assembly that they of Cassel and of the country about made against the Englishmen.

ALL things considered and regarded, they said they would grant no safe-conduct to them to go into England, for it was too far off; for or they could return again, the country would be sore stirred and greatly fortified, and also the earl should by that time send word thereof to the French king and to the duke of Burgoyne, whereby they might come with such number of people against them that they should not be able to resist them nor to fight with them. So on this determination they rested. Then it was demanded among them what answer they should make to the knights of Flanders the next day. Then sir Hugh Calverley was commanded to speak and to give his advice. Then he said thus to the bishop: 'Sir, ye are our chief captain: sir, ye may say to them how ye be in the land of the duchess of Bar, who is Clementine, and how for Urban ye make war and for nobody else; and offer them that if this land with the churches and abbeys will become good Urbanists, and to ride with you and to bring you through the country, ye will then cause all your company to pass through the country peaceably and to pay for all that they shall take: but as touching to give them safe-conduct to go into England, ye will not grant thereto in no wise; for ye may say that your war toucheth nothing the war of England nor of France, but that we be soldiers of pope Urban. Sir, as I think, this answer should suffice.' Every man agreed well to this, and especially the bishop, who had mind of nothing that was said but to fight and to war on the country.

Thus the matter abode all night, and in the morning after mass the two said knights of the earl's, desiring to have an answer, came to the bishop's lodging and abode there till he came out to go to mass. And so then they stepped forth before him, and there he made them good cheer by semblant, and devised with them a little of other matters, to delay the time till his knights were come about him: and when they were all assembled together, then the bishop said to them: 'Sirs, ye tarry for an answer and ye shall have it on the request that ye make for the earl of Flanders. I say unto you, ye may return again when ye list to the earl your master, or else to go to Calais on your jeopardy, or into England: but as for safe-conduct, ye get none of me, for I am not the king of England, nor I have

not so far authority so to do. I and all my company are but soldiers of pope Urban and of wages of him, and take his money to serve him truly: and now we be in the land of the duchess of Bar, who is a Clementine, and if the people be of that opinion, we will make them war; and if they will go with us and take our part, they shall have part of our pardons and absolutions: for Urban our pope, for whom we are in voyage, hath assoiled us clean from pain and from sin, and all those that will aid to destroy the Clementines.'

When the knights heard these words, sir John Villain said: 'Sir, in that as touching the pope, I think ye have not heard the contrary but that my lord the earl of Flanders hath been always good Urbanist; wherefore, sir, ye do evil to make war to him or to his country, nor I think the king of England, your lord, hath not charged you so to do, for he is so noble, that if he would have made him war, first he would have defied him.' With those words the bishop began to wax angry and said: 'Well, sirs, go to your earl, and say unto him that he getteth nothing else of us: and if ye will send into England to know the king's pleasure, do as ye list; but as for this way nor by Calais they shall not pass.' And when these knights saw they could not attain to their purpose none otherwise, they departed and returned to their lodging and dined, and after dinner departed and went the same night to Saint-Omer's.

The same day that the knights departed, there came tidings to the bishop that there was at Dunkirk and thereabout a twelve thousand men in harness, and the bastard of Flanders in their company as their chief captain, and divers other knights and squires with them; insomuch it was shewed him that on the Thursday before they had scrimmished with his company and slain a hundred of them. 'Lo,' quoth the bishop, 'ye may see whether the earl do meddle in this matter or not: it is he that doth all; he entreateth for peace with the sword in his hand. Let us ride forth to-morrow and go to Dunkirk and see what people they be that be there gathered.' Every man agreed thereto, and the same day there came to the bishop two knights, the one from Calais, the other from Guines, and with them a thirty spears and threescore archers. The knights were called sir Nicholas Clifton and sir John Drayton, captain of Guines. In the next morning they made them ready to ride forth and so drew into the field: they were more than six hundred spears and sixteen hundred archers, and so they rode toward Mardyck and Dunkirk. The bishop made to be borne before him the arms of the Church, the banner of Saint Peter, field gules, two keys silver, like soldiers of pope Urban, and in his pennon he bare his own arms, silver and azure quarterly, a fret gold on the azure, a bend of gules on the silver, and because he was the youngest of the Spensers, he bare a border of gules for a difference. There was also sir Hugh Spenser his nephew with his pennon; and with banner and pennon there was the lord Beaumont, sir Hugh Calverley, sir Thomas Trivet and sir William Helmon; and with pennon without banner there was sir William Drayton, sir John his brother, sir Matthew Redman, sir John Ferrers, sir William Faringdon, and sir John of Chateauneuf, Gascon. Thus these men of arms rode towards Mardyck and there refreshed them and drank, and so passed forth and took the way to Dunkirk.

And the Flemings that were there assembled were advertised that the Englishmen would come that way ready apparelled to fight with them; so they determined among themselves to draw into the field and to be ready in good array to fight, if need required, for they thought, to abide in the town and to be closed therein should be nothing to them profitable. And as they ordained, so it was done: every man armed himself in the town and issued out into the field: then they set themselves in good array on a little hill without the town; and they were in number a twelve thousand or more.

And so therewith there came the Englishmen approaching to Dunkirk, and they beheld the mountain on their right side toward Bourbourg toward the sea side, and there they saw the Flemings in a great battle well ordered: then they tarried, for it seemed to them that the Flemings would give them battle. Then the lords drew together to council, and there were divers opinions; and specially the bishop of Norwich would that they should incontinent go

and fight with them, and other, as the lord Beaumont and sir Hugh Calverley, said to the contrary, laying divers reasons and saying: 'Sir, ye know well the Flemings that be yonder have done us no forfeit; and to say the truth, we have sent to the earl of Flanders no defiance, and yet we be here in his country. This is no courteous war that we make; we do nothing but catch it an we may, without any reasonable war. And also all this country that we be in be as Urbanists as well as we be, and holdeth the same opinion that we do. Behold now therefore and see what just cause we have to run thus on them.' Then the bishop said: 'How know we that they be Urbanists or not?' 'In the name of God,' quoth sir Hugh Calverley, 'methink it were good that we send to them an herald, to know what thing they demand, thus to be ranged in battle against us; and let it be demanded of what pope they hold of, and if they answer and say how they be good Urbanists, then require them, by the virtue of the pope's bull that we have, that they will go with us to Saint-Omer's, Aire or Arras, or thither-as we will bring them; and when they be thus required, then thereby we shall know their intention and thereupon we may take advice and counsel.' This purpose was holden, and an herald called Montfort, pertaining to the duke of Bretayne, was commanded by all the lords to go to the Flemings and to shew them as ye have heard before. The herald obeyed their commandment, as it was reason, and so went to speak with them.

CHAPS. CCCCXXXII-CCCCXLIII

SUMMARY.—The herald being slain by the Flemings, a battle began, in which the Flemings were defeated, and the English took Dunkirk, Bourbourg, Cassel and other towns, and laid siege to Ypres, aided by the Gauntois. At length the French king assembled a host and forced them to raise the siege and abandon all their conquests.

In the mean time Francis Ackerman took Oudenarde by a surprise, as in the same season the castle of Mercœur in Auvergne was taken by Amerigot Marcel. Negotiations were long carried on for a peace between France and England, but it could not be concluded. Finally a truce was made to last till Michaelmas day of the year 1384, *and to include Spain and Scotland on the French side and Ghent on the English.*

The earl of Flanders died, and was buried with great pomp at Lille.

CHAPTERS CCCCXLIV-CCCCLI

SUMMARY.—Before the truce was published in England and Scotland, hostilities took place between those countries, so that when the truce was published the Scots at first refused to accept it and made raids into England against the will of the king of Scots. At length the truce was accepted.

The lord of Escornay took Oudenarde by surprise from the Gauntois, notwithstanding the truce.

The Gauntois requested the king of England to appoint one of his blood to be governour of Ghent. He appointed sir John Bourchier.

The duke of Anjou died near Naples.

The truce between England and France was prolonged till the May following, and the French made preparations to invade England from Scotland in the ensuing summer.

A double marriage was arranged by the duchess of Brabant between the son and daughter of the duke of Burgundy and the son and daughter of the duke Aubert of Hainault, notwithstanding that the duke of Lancaster had intended a marriage between William of Hainault and his daughter Philippa. This double marriage was celebrated at Cambray after Easter in the year 1385.

Louis of Blois was betrothed to the lady Mary, daughter of the duke of Berry.

Meanwhile the truce expired and the French prepared, some to enter Limousin and others to pass the sea into Scotland.

Thus endeth the firſt volume of ſir Johan Froiſſart, of the cronycles of Englãde, Fraunce, Spayne, Portyngale, Scotlande, Bretayne, Flaũders, and other places adioynyng: tranſlated out of frenche into our maternall englyſſhe tonge, by Johan Bourchier, knight, lorde Berners, at the cõmaundement of our mooſt highe redouted ſoueraygne lorde kyng Henry the viii. kynge of Englande and of Fraunce, and hygh defender of the chriſten faithe, etc. Imprinted at London, in Fletеſtrete, by Richarde Pynſon, printer to the kynges noble grace, and ended the xxviii. day of January, the yere of our lorde MDXXIII.

Cum priuilegio a rege indulto.

THE SECOND VOLUME

¶ Here begynneth the thirde and fourthe boke of syr Johan Froissart of the cronycles of Englande, fraunce, Spaygne, Portyngale, Scotlande, Bretayne, flaunders, and other places adioynyng, translated out of frenche into englysshe by Johan Bourchier, knyght, lorde Berners, deputie generall of the Kynges towne of Calais and marchesse of the same: at the commaundement of our most highe redouted soverayne lorde kynge Henrye the eyght, kynge of England and of fraunce and highe defender of the Chrysten faithe, etc.

Note.—The division of volumes made by the translator does not really correspond to any division of the French text. His second volume begins before the end of the second book of the Chronicles.

THE PREFACE OF SIR JOHN BOURCHIER, KNIGHT, LORD BERNERS

Sith history (as I have in my preface upon the first volume of this chronicle declared) is the witness of times, the light of truth, the life of remembrance, the mistress of the life, the messenger of old season, whereof innumerable commodities growen, I ne think the labours mispent that I, at the high commandment of our most redoubted sovereign lord Henry the eight, king of England and of France, high defender of the Christian faith, etc., have employed about the translation of now the four volumes of sir John Froissart out of French into our English tongue. Certainly not the bounty of the same chronicles, in whom are contained the wars of these parties, which wars (descrived in French by sir John Froissart right ordinately),[1] as many that have great understanding in divers tongues in whom wars are written plainly say, for knightly feats, manhood and humanity pass right much the wars of far countries, nor the great pleasure that my noble countrymen of England take in reading the worthy and knightly deeds of their valiant ancestors, encourageth me half so much as the princely exhort, which of all earthly kings the very worship and honour, our foresaid gracious sovereign, gave me. He who, for the manifold royal virtues in his highness found, not of two or three small realms, but is worthy to reign and be king over the universal world, delighteth in nothing more than to have, as I said, the most famous deeds of his predecessors and subjects set out with all diligence, so that it might appear to every man's sight over what and how worthy people his ancestors have done, and now his majesty with all kingly prudence reigneth; and herein his highness taketh singular pleasure to behold how his worthy subjects, seeing in history the very famous deeds, as it were images, represent their valiant ancestors, contend by vigorous virtue and manhood to follow, yea to pass them, if they may. Truly the images, as they used in old time to erect in worship and remembrance of them that were descended of noble blood, ne bear half the witness that the noble deeds set out in history done: which well appeareth by the words of the prudent king Agesilaus, who dying commanded that neither image nor picture to his resemblance should be made; for if I have, said he, any noble thing famously done, it shall bear witness enough of me; if I have nought done, certainly all the images little availen: as who saith, such things might be made in mind of them that were but dastards and never did worthy deed in all their life. Wherefore for the love and honour that I bear to our most puissant sovereign, and to do pleasure to his subjects both nobles and commons, I have endeavoured me to translate out of French, as said is, into English the four volumes of sir John Froissart, and reduced them into twain; wherein if I have erred, I pray them that shall default find to consider the greatness of the history and my good will, that ask nothing else of them for my great labour, but of their courtesy to amend where need shall be; and yet for their so doing I shall pray to God finally to send them the bliss of heaven. —AMEN.

¶ Thus endeth the preface of sir Johan Bourchier, knight, lord Berners, deputie of Calais, translatour of this present cronycle: and hereafter foloweth the table, with the chapters as they stande in the boke by order, etc.

[1] A correction for 'ornately.'

CHAPTERS I-XX

SUMMARY.—When the truce ended, war was renewed everywhere, in Flanders, in Spain and Portugal, in Limousin and Poitou, and also between England and Scotland, whither sir John de Vienne had gone with a large number of French knights, who were uncourteously received and found themselves very ill at ease.

A marriage was made by procuration between Louis of Valois and the queen of Hungary, but she was afterwards forced to marry the marquis of Brandenburg, who became thereby king of Hungary.

The duchess of Brabant brought about a marriage between the French king and her niece Isabel, daughter of the duke of Bavaria.

Francis Ackerman took the town of Damme, and the French king laid siege to it and finally took it again.

The French and Scots entered Northumberland, but were compelled to retreat before the English host, which invaded Scotland. The Frenchmen, being convinced that they were not strong enough to fight with the English army, entered Cumberland by the mountains and attacked Carlisle, while the English advanced and took Edinburgh. At length both returned—the English to England and the French to Scotland, where they found the country destroyed.

There was much evil will between the Frenchmen and the Scots, and sir John de Vienne was obliged to stay in Scotland till large damages had been paid to the Scots for that which his men had done in the country.

Some citizens of Ghent treated privately with the duke of Burgundy, who was lord of Flanders, and got the crafts on their side. Sir John Bourchier was allowed to depart, and a treaty was made confirming franchises and stipulating for pardon of all parties on both sides. This peace was dated 18th December 1385. *Peter du Bois thought it prudent to leave Ghent with the English men, but Francis Ackerman remained.*[1]

CHAPTER XXI

How sir John Froissart, author of this chronicle, departed out of France and went to the earl of Foix, and the manner of his voyage.

IT is long now sith I made any mention of the businesses of far countries, for the businesses nearer home hath been so fresh that I left all other matters to write thereof. Howbeit, all this season valiant men desiring to advance themselves in the realm of Castile and Portugal, in Gascoyne, in Rouergue, in Quercy, in Limousin and in Bigorre, every day they imagined by what subtlety they could get one of another, by deeds of arms or by stealing of towns, castles and fortresses. And therefore I, John Froissart, who have taken on me to chronicle this present history at the request of the high renowned prince sir Guy of Chatillon, earl of Blois, lord of Avesnes, Beaumont, Schoonhove, and of la Goude, my sovereign master and good lord, considering in myself how there was no great deeds of arms likely toward in the parts of Picardy or Flanders, seeing the peace was made between the duke and them of Gaunt, and it greatly annoyed me to be idle, for I knew well that after my death this noble and high history should have his course,[2] wherein divers noble men should have great pleasure and delight, and as yet, I thank God, I have understanding and remembrance of all things past, and my wit quick and sharp enough to conceive all things shewed unto me touching my principal matter, and

[1] Here ends the second book of the Chronicles, which, however, does not coincide with the second volume of the edition followed by the translator. The second volume of that edition ends with vol. ii. chap. 61 (59) of the translation.

[2] 'Sera en grand cours.'

my body as yet able to endure and to suffer pain; all things considered, I thought I would not let to pursue my said first purpose: and to the intent to know the truth of deeds done in far countries, I found occasion to go to the high and mighty prince Gaston earl of Foix and of Bearn: for I knew well that if I might have that grace to come into his house and to be there at leisure, I could not be so well informed to my purpose in none other place of the world; for thither resorted all manner of knights and strange squires, for the great nobleness of the said earl. And as I imagined, so I did, and shewed to my redoubted lord the earl of Blois mine intent, and he gave me letters of recommendations to the earl of Foix. And so long I rode without peril or damage, that I came to his house called Orthez in the country of Bearn on Saint Katherine's day the year of grace one thousand three hundred fourscore and eight. And the said earl, as soon as he saw me, he made me good cheer and smiling said how he knew me, and yet he never saw me before, but he had often heard speaking of me; and so he retained me in his house to my great ease with the help of the letters of credence that I brought unto him, so that I might tarry there at my pleasure; and there I was informed of the business of the realms of Castile, Portugal, Navarre and Aragon, yea, and of the realm of England and country of Bourbonnois and Gascoyne: and the earl himself, if I did demand anything of him, he did shew me all that he knew, saying to me how the history that I had begun should hereafter be more praised than any other; and the reason, he said, why, was this, how that fifty year past there had been done more marvellous deeds of arms in the world than in three hundred year before that. Thus was I in the court of the earl of Foix well cherished and at my pleasure: it was the thing that I most desired to know news as touching my matter, and I had at my will lords, knights and squires ever to inform me, and also the gentle earl himself.

I shall now declare in fair language all that I was informed of, to increase thereby my matter and to give ensample to them that list to advance themselves. Herebefore I have recounted great deeds of arms, taking and assaulting towns and castles, and battles and hard encounterings, and yet hereafter ye shall hear of many more, [of] the which by the grace of God I shall make just narration.

SUMMARY.—The earl of Cambridge had returned, as related before, from Portugal, and reported the events there to the duke of Lancaster, who was displeased both by them and by the way things went in England. Soon after this the king of Portugal died and the king of Castile laid claim to the realm. The commons of Portugal, however, chose for their king John, grand master of Avis, bastard brother of the late king, and the king of Castile accordingly made war upon them and besieged Lisbon. The king of Portugal sent into England for help, and the king of Castile into France, and especially to Bearn and Foix.

CHAPTER XXII

How the prince of Wales and the princess came to Tarbes, and of the request that the countess[1] of Armagnac made to the prince and princess; and how the country of Gascoyne was newly again in war.

BETWEEN the county of Foix and the country of Bearn lieth the county of Bigorre, which county pertained to France and marched on the country of Toulousain on the one part and on the county of Comminges and of Bearn on the other part, and in the county of Bigorre lieth the strong castle of Lourdes, which was English ever sith that the county of Bigorre was yielded to the king of England and to the prince for the redemption of king John of France by the treaty and peace made at Bretigny before Chartres and after confirmed at Calais, as it hath been shewed before in the other history.

When the prince of Wales was come out of England and that the king his father had given him in heritage all the land and duchy of Acquitaine, wherein there were two archbishops and twenty-two other bishops, and that he was come to Bordeaux on the river of Gironde and had taken the possessions of all these lands and lien there a year, then he and the princess were desired by the earl John of Armagnac that

[1] So in the French.

they would come into the country of Bigorre into the city of Tarbes to see that country, which as then he had not seen before; and the earl of Armagnac thought that, if the prince and princess were in Bigorre, that the earl of Foix would come and see them, and whereas he did owe him for his ransom two hundred and fifty thousand franks, he thought he would desire the prince and princess to require the earl of Foix to forgive him the same sum or part thereof. So much did the earl of Armagnac, that at his instance the prince and princess came to the city of Tarbes. This town is fair and standeth in a plain country among the fair vines, and it is a town, city and castle, closed with gates and walls and separated each from other. From the mountains of Bearn and Cataloyne cometh the fair river of Lisse,[1] which runneth through Tarbes and is as clear as a fountain, and a five leagues thence is the town of Morlaas pertaining to the earl of Foix at the entry of the county of Bearn; and under the mountain a six leagues from Tarbes is the town of Pau, which also pertaineth to the said earl.

The same time that the prince and princess was at Tarbes, the earl of Foix was at Pau. He was there building of a fair castle joining to the town without on the river of Gave. As soon as he knew the coming of the prince and princess being at Tarbes, he ordained to go and see them in great estate with more than six hundred horses and threescore knights in his company: and of his coming to Tarbes was the prince and princess right joyous and made him good cheer. And there was the earl of Armagnac and the lord d'Albret, and they desired the prince to require the earl of Foix to forgive the earl of Armagnac all or else part of the sum of florins that he ought to have: and the prince, who was wise and sage, considering all things, thought that he might not do so, and said: 'Sir earl of Armagnac, ye were taken by arms in the journey of battle and ye did put my cousin the earl of Foix in adventure against you; and though fortune were favourable to him and against you, his valour ought not then to be made less.[2] By like deeds my lord my father nor I would not be content that we should be desired to leave that we have won by good adventure at the battle of Poitiers, whereof we thank God.' When the earl of Armagnac heard that, he was abashed, for he failed of his intent: howbeit, yet he left not off so, but then he required the princess, who with a good heart desired the earl of Foix to give her a gift. 'Madam,' quoth the earl, 'I am but a mean man, therefore I can give no great gifts: but, madam, if the thing that ye desire pass not the value of threescore thousand franks, I will give it you with a glad cheer.' Yet the princess assayed again if she could cause him to grant her full desire; but the earl was sage and subtle and thought verily that her desire was to have him to forgive clearly the earl of Armagnac all his debt, and then he said again: 'Madam, for a poor knight as I am, who buildeth towns and castles, the gift that I have granted you ought to suffice.' The princess could bring him no farther, and when she saw that, she said: 'Gentle earl of Foix, the request that I desire of you is to forgive clearly the earl of Armagnac.' 'Madam,' quoth the earl, 'to your request I ought well to condescend: I have said to you that if your desire pass not the value of threescore thousand franks, that I would grant it you; but, madam, the earl of Armagnac oweth me two hundred and fifty thousand franks, and at your request I forgive him thereof threescore thousand franks.' Thus the matter stood in that case, and the earl of Armagnac at the request of the princess won the forgiving of threescore thousand franks. And anon after the earl of Foix returned to his own country.

I, sir John Froissart, make narration of this business, because when I was in the county of Foix and of Bearn I passed by the county of Bigorre, and I demanded and enquired of the news of that country, such as I knew not before; and it was shewed me how the prince of Wales and of Acquitaine, while he was at Tarbes, he had great will to go see the castle of Lourdes, which was a three leagues off, near to the entry of the mountain; and when he was there and had well advised the town, the castle and the country, he praised it greatly, as well for the strength of the castle as because it stood on the

[1] This is the Adour.

[2] 'Il n'en doit pas pis valoir,' 'his worth should not be accounted less' because fortune was on his side.

frontier of divers countries; for the garrison there might run well into the realm of Aragon, into Cataloyne and to Barcelone. Then the prince called to him a knight of his household, in whom he had great trust and loved him entirely and he had served him truly, and was called sir Pier Ernault of the country of Bearn, an expert man of arms and cousin to the earl of Foix. Then the prince said to him: 'Sir Ernault, I institute and make you chatelain and captain of Lourdes and governour of the country of Bigorre. Look that ye keep this castle, see well that ye make a good account thereof to the king my father and to me.' 'Sir,' quoth the knight, 'I thank you, and I shall observe your commandment.' There he did homage to the prince, and the prince put him in possession.

It is to be known that when the war began to renew between England and France, as it hath been shewed before, the earl Guy of Saint-Pol and sir Hugh of Chatillon, master of the cross-bows in France in that time, besieged the town of Abbeville and won it, with all the country of Ponthieu. The same time two great barons of Bigorre, the one called sir Monaut Barbazan, and the lord d'Anchin,[1] turned French and took the town, city and castle of Tarbes, which was but easily kept for the king of England; but still the castle of Lourdes was in the hands of sir Pier Ernault of Bearn, who would in no wise yield up the castle, but made ever great war against the realm of France and sent for great company of adventurers into Bearn and Gascoyne to help and to aid him to make war, so that he had together many good men of arms. And he had with him six captains and every man fifty spears under him: the first was his brother John of Bearn, a right expert squire, and Pier d'Anchin of Bigorre, brother-german to the lord d'Anchin, he would never turn French, Ernaulton of Sainte-Colomme, Ernaulton of [Rostem], the Mongat of Sainte-Bazeille and the bourg of Cardeillac. These captains made divers journeys into Bigorre, into Toulousain, into Carcassonne and into Albigeois, for ever as soon as they were out of Lourdes, they were in the land of their enemies: and sometime they would adventure thirty leagues off from their hold, and in their going they would take nothing, but in their return there was nothing could scape them; sometime they brought home so great plenty of beasts and prisoners, that they wist not how to keep them. Thus they ransomed all the country except the earl of Foix's lands, for in his lands they durst not take a chicken, without they paid truly therefor; for if they had displeased the earl, they could not long have endured. These companions of Lourdes ran over all the country at their pleasure, and I rode not far from them.[1] Thus the city of Tarbes was in great doubt, so that they were fain to make covenant with them: and between Tarbes and Lourdes there was a great village and a good abbey called Guiors,[2] who in like wise were fain to agree with them. Also on the other part on the river of Lisse there was a great town called Bagneres: they of that town had a hard season, for they were so harried by the garrison of Malvoisin, standing on a hill and the river of Lisse running underneath into a walled town called Tournay, into the which town they of Lourdes and of Malvoisin had ever their recourse, to the which town they did no hurt, because they had their resort thither, and they of the town had ever a good market of their pillage and so dissimuled ever with them, which they were fain to do or else they could not have lived, for they had no aid nor succour of any person. The captain of Malvoisin was a Gascon and his name was Raymonnet de Lespès, an expert man of arms. He and his company and they of Lourdes ransomed as well the merchants of Aragon and Cataloyne as of France, without they agreed with them.

In the season that I enterprised to go see the earl of Foix and to see the diversities of the countries whereas I had never been before, when I departed from Carcassonne I left the way to Toulouse and went to Montroyal and so to Fanjeaux, then to Bellepuis and then to the first town of the earl of Foix,[3] and then to Mazeres and so

[1] d'Antin.

[1] The French text is corrupt. The real meaning is, 'Not far from thence lies the city of Tarbes, which,' etc.

[2] Saint-Pé-de-Gueyres.

[3] The French text has 'puis a Belle: puis à la première ville,' etc., which is a corruption of 'puis a Bellepuis, qui est la première ville,' 'then to Bellepuis, the first town of the county (conté *not* conte) of Foix.'

to the castle of Saverdun, and then I came to the good city of Pamiers, pertaining to the earl of Foix; and there I tarried abiding for some company going into the country of Bearn, where the earl was. And when I had tarried there a three days in great pleasure, for the city was delectable, standing among the fair vines and environed with a fair river, large and clear, called Liege;[1] and on a day it so fortuned that thither came a knight of the earl of Foix from Avignon-ward, called sir Espang de Lyon, a valiant and an expert man of arms about the age of fifty years. And so I gat me into his company, and he was greatly desirous to hear of the matters of France; and so we were a six days in our journey or we came to Orthez, and this knight every day after he had said his prayers, most part all the day after he took his pastime[2] with me in demanding of tidings, and also when I demanded anything of him, he would answer me to my purpose.

And when we departed from Pamiers, we passed by the mount of Cosse, which was an evil passage, and so we came to the town and castle of Artigat, which was French, but we passed by it and so came to dinner to a castle of the earl of Foix half a league thence called Carlat, standing high on a mountain: and after dinner the knight said to me: 'Sir, let us ride together fair and easily, we have but two leagues to ride to our lodging'; and so I was content to do. Then the knight said: 'We have this day passed by the castle of Artigat, which doth much damage in this country. Peter d'Anchin keepeth it and hath taken and stolen out of the realm of France more than threescore thousand franks.'[3] Then I demanded how that might be. 'I shall shew you,' quoth the knight. 'On our Lady day in August there is ever a great fair, and all the country resorteth thither, for there is much merchandise. That day Pier d'Anchin and his companions of Lourdes had taken their advice and were determined to get this town and castle; and so they sent two simple varlets (by seeming) to the said town in the month of May, to get themselves some service in the town; and so they did and were retained with two masters, and they did right diligent service to their masters and so went in and out on their masters' business without any suspiciousness of them. And so on our Lady day in August there were many merchants strangers of Foix, of Bearn and of France; and as ye know well, when merchants do meet, that saw not together long before, they will make good cheer together: and so in the same houses whereas these two varlets were in service, were many merchants drinking and making good cheer, and their hosts with them. And by appointment about midnight Pier d'Anchin and his company came to Artigat and ambushed themselves in a wood, which [we] passed through; and so they sent six varlets to the town with two ladders, and they passed the dikes and came to the walls and reared up their ladders, and the other two varlets that were in service in the town did aid them, while their masters sat making good cheer. So these said varlets did put themselves in adventure, and one of the said two varlets brought the other six to the gate within, where there was two men keeping the keys. Then this varlet said to the other six: "Sirs, keep yourselves here privy and close and stir not till ye hear me whistle. I trust to make the porters to open the gates of their ward; they have the keys of the great gate, and therefore as soon as they have opened their ward, I will whistle. Then step forth and slay the porters: I know well enough the keys of the gate, for I have ofttimes helped to keep the gate with my master." And as they devised, so they did; and so the varlet went to the gate and saw and heard how the porters were drinking within their ward. Then he called them by their names and said: "Sirs, open your door: I have brought you of the best wine that ever you drank, which my master hath sent you, to the intent you should keep your watch the better." And they, who knew right well the varlet, believed that he had said truth and opened the door; and then he whistled and the other six stepped forth and entered in at the door, and there they slew the porters so privily that none knew thereof. Then they took the keys and went and

[1] That is, Ariége.

[2] Or rather, 'conversed.'

[3] 'For he stole it and did damage to the realm of France of sixty thousand franks'; or (following a better text) 'he took it by scaling very subtly and gained there more than sixty thousand franks.'

opened the gate and let down the bridge easily, that none knew thereof: then they blew a blast in a horn, so that they that were ambushed mounted on their horses and came on the spurs and entered on the bridge and came into the town, and so took all the men of the town sitting drinking, or else in their beds. Thus was Artigat taken by Pier d'Anchin of Bigorre and by his companions of Lourdes.'

Then I demanded of the knight how they gat the castle. 'I shall shew you,' quoth he. 'The same time that Artigat was thus taken, the captain of the castle by his evil adventure was in the town and supped with certain merchants of Carcassonne, and was there taken among other. And in the next morning Pier d'Anchin brought him before the castle, whereas his wife and children were, and made them believe that he would strike off his head, without his wife would deliver up the castle; and if she would so do, he promised to deliver her husband quit, and to suffer him and all his to depart with bag and baggage without any hurt. And the lady, who saw herself in a hard case and saw she was not able to make war herself, and for saving of her husband's life, she yielded up the castle. And so her husband and she and all theirs departed and went to Pamiers. Thus had Pier d'Anchin the town and castle of Artigat; and the same time that they entered, he and his company won above thirty thousand franks, what in merchandise and prisoners of France; but all such as were of the county of Foix or of Bearn were clean delivered without any damage. And this Pier d'Anchin kept Artigat after the space of five year, and he and his company ofttimes would run to the gates of Carcassonne, which was a six leagues thence, and did great damage to the country, as well by ransoming of the towns as by pillage over all the country.

'In the mean season that Pier d'Anchin was in the garrison of Artigat, on a night certain of his company went out and came to a castle called Pailhès, a good league thence, whereof a French knight called Raymond de Pailhès was owner. They had been there often before and failed of their purpose, but as then their hap was such, that they scaled the castle and took it, and the knight and the lady in their beds, and let the lady and her children go free, but they kept still the knight in his own castle the space of four months, and at last he paid a thousand franks for his ransom. And finally, when they had sore overridden the country, they sold these two castles, Artigat and Pailhès to them of the country for eight thousand franks, and then they went to Lourdes their principal garrison. So thus in this adventure knights did put themselves daily.

'Also the same time there was an expert man of arms in the castle of Lourdes, a Gascon born, he was called the Mongat of Sainte-Bazeille. On a time he and thirty with him departed from Lourdes and rode at all adventures into Toulousain, and had thought to have got the castle of Penne in Albigeois, but he missed of his intent; and when he saw that he failed of his purpose, he came to the gate and made a great scrimmish. And the same proper hour the seneschal of Toulouse rode forth, and with him sir Hugh de Froideville and a sixty spears, and came by adventure to Penne, while the said scrimmish was in doing. Then incontinent they set foot to the earth and came to the barriers; and so then the Mongat was overmatched, but there he fought valiantly hand to hand and wounded the other knight in two or three places. Howbeit, finally he was taken by force and his men other taken or slain, there were but a few that scaped. So this Mongat was led to Toulouse, and then the commons of the town would have slain him between the hands of the seneschal, he had much pain to save his life, and so brought him into the castle, for he was right evil beloved in Toulouse. Yet after it happed so well for him, that the duke of Berry came thither, and this knight had such friends that he was delivered, and the seneschal had a thousand franks for his ransom; and when he was delivered he returned to Lourdes and began again to make new enterprises. And so on a time he departed from Lourdes and five with him[1] without any armour, and he did on the habit of a monk and like other three monks with him;[2] and they had all shaven crowns, so that every man that saw them weened surely that they had been monks, the habit and gesture became them

1 'Lui cinquiesme,' 'with four others.'
2 'And took three monks with him.'

so well.[1] And in this manner he came to Montpellier, and took up his lodging at the sign of the Eagle[2] and said how he was an abbot of high Gascoyne and was going to Paris on certain business pertaining to his house; and so he gat familiar acquaintance with a rich man of the town called Berenger [Ote], who had also to do at Paris for certain business. Then this abbot said how he would pay for his costs if he list to go in his company, whereof the good man was right joyous in that he should have his charges borne; and so he and one varlet with him went forth with this monk. And when they had ridden a three leagues, this counterfeit monk sir Mongat took him prisoner and led him secret ways to his garrison of Lourdes, and after did ransom him at five thousand franks.' Then I said: 'Ah Saint Mary! was this Mongat such an expert man of arms?' 'Yea truly, sir,' quoth he, 'and in war he died, in a place whereas we shall pass within this three days in a country called the Laire in Bigorre by a town called La Cieutat.' 'Well sir,' quoth I, 'and I shall remember you thereof when we come there.'

And so we rode till we came to Montesquieu, a good town closed pertaining to the earl of Foix, which the Armagnacs and the d'Albrets took by stealth on a season, but they kept it not but three days. And in the morning we departed from Montesquieu and rode to the town of Palaminich, a good town closed on the river of Garonne, pertaining to the earl of Foix: and when we were almost there, we had thought to have passed the bridge of Garonne, to have entered into the town, but we could not; for the day before it had so sore rained from the mountains of Cataloyne and Aragon, whereby another river was so increased, which was called Salat, and ran so fast, that it raised up the river of Garonne in such wise, that it break one of the arches of the bridge, which was of timber. Wherefore we returned again to Montesquieu and tarried there all the day. Then the next day the knight had counsel to pass the river by boats by the town of Casseres: so we rode thither, and did so much that we passed the river of Garonne with great pain and peril; for the boat that we were in was not very great, it could not take at one time but two horses and their keepers and they that ruled the boat. And so when we were over, we rode to Casseres and abode there all that day: and in the mean time that our supper was a dressing, this knight said to me: 'Sir John, let us go and see the town': and so we passed along through the town and came to the gate toward Palaminich and went out thereat and came to the dikes. Then the knight shewed me a pane of the wall and said: 'Sir, see you yonder part of the wall which is newer than all the remnant?' 'Yea, sir,' quoth I. 'Well,' quoth he, 'I shall shew you why it is so: it is a ten year past sith it fortuned. Ye have heard or this of the war that was between the earl of Armagnac and the earl of Foix; howbeit, now they are at peace: but the Armagnacs and d'Albrets won but little by that war, for on a Saint Nicholas even the year of our Lord a thousand three hundred threescore and two the earl of Foix took in battle the earl of Armagnac and the lord d'Albret his nephew and all the noblemen that were with them, and so led them as prisoners to Orthez, whereby the earl of Foix hath received ten times a hundred thousand franks. And it fortuned after that the father of the earl of Armagnac now living, called sir John of Armagnac, made a journey and took this town of Casseres, and they had with them a two hundred men of arms and so thought to keep the town by strength. These tidings when they came to the knowledge of the earl of Foix, being as then at Penne, he like a sage and valiant knight called to him two bastard brethren of his called sir Arnold Guillaume and sir Pier de Bearn, and said to them: "Sirs, I will ye ride incontinent to Casseres: I shall send you men on every side and within three days I shall be with you myself; and let none come out of the town, but that ye fight with them, for ye shall be strong enough. And when ye come there, cause the men of the country to bring thither great plenty of wood, bushes and faggots, and choke the gates therewith, and then without that make strong barriers: for I will that they that be within be so enclosed that they issue not out of the gates; I shall cause them to take another way."

[1] 'For very well had they the habit and countenance of monks.'

[2] 'A l'ostel de l'Ange,' 'at the Angel inn.'

'These two knights did his commandment and so went to Palaminich, and all men of war of Bearn followed them, and so they came before this town of Casseres. They that were within set little by them, but they were not ware how they were enclosed within the town, so that they could not issue out at any gate; and the third day the earl of Foix came thither with five hundred men of arms, and as soon as he came, he caused barriers to be made round about the town and also barriers round about his host, because they should not be troubled in the night time. So in this case they lay long without any assault, insomuch that victual began to fail them within, for though they had wine great plenty, they had nothing to eat, nor they could not fly away by the river, for it was as then too deep. Then they thought it were better to yield themselves as prisoners than to die so shamefully for famine, and so fell in treaty. The earl of Foix agreed to their treaty, so that they should not issue out at no gate, but to make a hole in the wall and go out thereat, to come one by one without armour, and so to yield them as prisoners. It behoved them to take this way, and so made a hole in the wall and issued out one by one, and there was the earl ready and all his people in order of battle to receive them as prisoners; and ever as they came out, the earl sent them to divers castles as prisoners, and his cousin sir John of Armagnac, sir Bernard d'Albret, and sir Monaut of Barbazan, sir Raymond de Benac, sir Benedict de la Cornille and a twenty of the best personages he led with him to Orthez, and or they departed he had of them two hundred thousand franks; and thus was this hole in the wall made.'

And then we went to our supper, and the next day we rode along by the river of Garonne and passed by Palaminich, and then we entered into the land of the earl of Comminges and Armagnac, and on the other side was the river of Garonne and the land of the earl of Foix. And as we rode, this knight shewed me a strong town called Materas the Toussac[1] pertaining to the earl of Comminges, and on the other side of the river on the mountain he shewed me two castles pertaining to the earl of Foix, the one called Montmirail and the other Montclare; and as we rode between these towns and castles along by the river of Garonne in a fair meadow, this knight said to me: 'Sir John, I have seen here many fair scrimmishes and encounterings between the Foixois and Armagnacs, for as then there was no town nor castle but that was well furnished with men of war, and so they warred each upon other. The Armagnacs against yonder two castles made a bastide and kept it with men of war and did much hurt in the earl of Foix's land; but I shall shew you how it fortuned. The earl of Foix on a night sent his brother Peter de Bearn with two hundred spears, and with them a four hundred villains of the country charged with faggots, much wood and bushes, and brought it to the bastide and then set fire thereon, and so brent the bastide and all them that were within without mercy, and sith it was never made again.'

So in such devices we rode all that day along by the river of Garonne, and what on the one side and on the other we saw many fair castles and fortresses. All that were on our left hand pertained to the earl of Foix, and the other side pertained to the earl of Armagnac. And so thus we passed by Montpezac, a fair castle and a strong, standing on an high rock, and underneath was the town and the highway, and without the town a little there was a place called la Garde and a tower[1] between the rock and the river, which tower had a gate and a portcullis of iron. Six men might well keep this passage against all the world, for there could no man pass but two on a front, what for the tower on the one side and the river on the other side. Then I said to the knight: 'Sir, here is a strong passage and a mighty country.'[2] 'It is true,' quoth the knight, 'and though the entry be strong, yet the earl of Foix did conquer it once, and he and all his passed the same way with the help of the archers of England that he had as then in his company and the great desire that they had to pass into the country. Come ride near me, sir,' quoth he, 'and I shall shew you how it was.' And so I rode just by

[1] Martres-le-Toussac.

[1] 'A pass called the pas à la Garde with a tower on the road between,' etc.

[2] 'Une forte contrée de pays,' which is a corruption of 'une forte entrée de pays,' 'a strong entry to the country.'

him, and then he said: 'Sir, on a time the earl of Armagnac and the lord d'Albret with a five hundred men of war came into the country of Foix and to the marches of Pamiers, and this was in the beginning of August, when men did gather in their corns and the grapes were ripe, at which time there was great abundance in the country. Then sir John of Armagnac and his company lodged before the town Saverdun, a little league from the city of Pamiers, and he sent to them of Pamiers that without they would buy their corns and wines and pay for them, they said else they would bren and destroy all together. Then they of Pamiers were in great fear, for the earl their lord was far off from them, for he was as then in Bearn, and so they were fain to buy their own corns and paid for them five thousand franks, but they desired fifteen days of respite, which was granted them. Then the earl of Foix was informed of all this business, and he hasted him as much as he might and assembled together his men and came suddenly into the city of Pamiers[1] with twelve hundred spears, and so had fought with sir John of Armagnac, if he had tarried; but he departed and went into the county of Comminges. So he had no money of them of Pamiers, for they had no leisure to tarry therefor; but then the earl of Foix claimed the same sum, for he said he was come and saved their money and corn and had put away all their enemies, and so he had it to pay his men of war therewith; and there he tarried till they had inned all their corn and vintage.'

And so we passed then forby a castle called Bretice and also by another castle called Bacelles, all pertaining to the earl of Comminges. And as we rode along by the river, I saw a fair castle and a great town, and I demanded of the knight what the castle was called, and he said it was named Montespan, pertaining to a cousin of the earl of Foix called sir Roger d'Espagne, a great baron in the country and in Toulousain, and as then was seneschal of Carcassonnais. Then I demanded of this knight if he were akin to sir Charles of Spain, who was constable of France; and he answered and said: 'No, he is not of that blood: for sir Louis of Spain and this sir Charles that ye speak of came both out of the realm of Spain, and were lineally extraught of Spain and of France by their mother's side, and were cousin-germans to king Alphonso of Spain; and I served in my youth sir Louis of Spain in the wars of Bretayne, for he was always on the party of sir Charles of Blois against the earl Montfort.' And so we left speaking of that matter and rode to Saint-Goussens, a good town of the earl of Foix. And the next day we dined at Montroyal, a good strong town of the French king's, and sir Roger d'Espagne kept it. And after dinner we rode the way towards Lourdes, and so rode through a great laund enduring a fifteen leagues, called the launds Lande-de-Bouc, wherein were many dangerous passages for thieves and evil-doers: and in this laund stood the castle of Lamesen, pertaining to the earl of Foix, a good league from the town of Tournay [below Malvoisin], the which castle the knight shewed me and said: 'Sir, behold yonder is Malvoisin. But, sir, have ye heard herebefore how the duke of Anjou, when he was in this country and went to Lourdes, what he did in this country and how he laid siege to Lourdes and won it, and also the castle of Trigalet on the river side that ye see yonder before us, [which] pertaineth to the lord de la Barthe?' Then I remembered myself and said: 'Sir, I trow I never heard thereof as yet: therefore I pray you shew me the matter. But, sir, I pray you shew me where is the river of Garonne become, for I can see it no more.' 'Ye say truth,' quoth the knight: 'it departeth here in the entering of these mountains, and it groweth and cometh out of a fountain a three leagues hence, the way to Cataloyne, by a castle called Saint-Beat, the frontier of the realm of France toward Aragon; and there is as now a squire called Ernaulton, otherwise called bourg d'Espagne, he is lord thereof and chatelain of all the country, and he is cousin-german to sir Roger d'Espagne. If we see him, I shall shew you him; he is a goodly person and a good man of arms and he hath done more damage to them of Lourdes than any other knight or squire of all the country, and the

[1] The full text says: 'Then he marched hastily towards the city of Pamiers and passed by the pas de la Garde by this portcullis of iron and conquered it, and came suddenly into the city of Pamiers,' etc. To omit all mention of the pas de la Garde here is to lose the point of the story, but the translator's French text is responsible for it.

earl of Foix loveth him right well, for he is his companion in arms. I will leave to speak of him, for I think at this feast of Christmas ye shall see him in the earl of Foix's house; but now I shall shew you of the duke of Anjou, how he came into this country and what he did.' Then we rode forth fair and easily and he began to say as followeth.

CHAPTER XXIII

Of the wars that the duke of Anjou made against the Englishmen, and how he recovered the castle of Malvoisin in Bigorre, which was afterward given to the earl of Foix.

CHAPTER XXIV

How the garrison and castle[1] of Lourdes was cast down and discomfited by the great diligence that the earl of Foix made.

'THUS,' quoth the knight, 'the duke of Anjou gat the castle of Malvoisin, whereof he [had] great joy and made it to be kept by a knight of Bigorre called sir Ciquart of la Perriere; and after he gave it to the earl of Foix, who keepeth it yet and will do as long as he liveth, and he hath made captain there a knight of Bigorre, one of his own lineage, called sir Raymond de Lane. And when the duke of Anjou had the possession of Malvoisin and had delivered his country from the Englishmen and from the pillers of the country, then he went and laid siege before the castle of Lourdes. Then the earl of Foix doubted greatly the duke of Anjou, because he came so near him, and wist not what he intended. Then the earl of Foix assembled together knights and squires and sent them about to divers garrisons, and set his brother sir Arnold Guillaume in the town of Morlaas with two hundred spears [and his other brother sir Peter of Bearn with two hundred spears] in the town of Pau, and sir Peter of Gabaston into the city of Lescar with other two hundred spears, and sir Monaut de Navailles went into the town of Arthez with a hundred spears, and Arnold Barberiel into the town of Montgerbiel with a hundred spears, sir Fouquart d'Orcery into the town of Sauveterre with a hundred spears, and I, Espang of Lyon, was sent to the Mount Marsan with two hundred spears. There was no castle in all Bearn but that was well provided with men of war, and the earl himself lay still at his castle of Orthez by his florins.' 'Why, sir,' quoth I, 'hath he so great plenty of florins?' 'Sir,' quoth he, 'at this hour I think he hath well to the number of thirty times a hundred thousand: there is no lord living as now that is so large and liberal in giving of gifts as he is.' Then I demanded of him to what manner of people he was so liberal: he answered and said: 'To strangers, to knights and squires coming through his country, and to heralds and minstrels, and to every man that speaketh with him; there is none departeth from him without some reward, for if any refuse his gift, he is not content.' 'Ah Saint Mary, sir,' quoth I, 'to what intent keepeth he so much money, and where doth he get it? Is his revenues so great, to gather together such treasure? Sir, I would gladly know this, if it pleased you.' 'Well, sir,' quoth the knight, 'ye shall know it. But ye have demanded of me two things: first ye have demanded of me to what intent he keepeth such treasure: I shall shew you. The earl of Foix alway doubteth of the war that he had with the earl of Armagnac, and also for the business of his neighbours, the French king and the king of England, whom he would not willingly displease. For he hath always dissimuled between them during all the war season unto this present time; for he never armed himself for any of their parties, he hath always been ever in good case with both parties. I say to you, and so ye shall say yourself, when ye have once knowledge of him and heard him speak, and once know the order and state of his house, ye shall see that he is at this day the most sage prince in the world; and there is none so great a lord, nother the French king nor the king of England, that will willingly have his evil will. As for his other neighbours, as the king of Aragon or the king of Navarre, he esteemeth them but little, for he will find more men of arms, by reason of such friends as he hath got with his gifts, and money[1] that he hath in treasure, than both those kings can do. For I have heard

[1] Or rather, 'of the castle.'

[1] 'So many friends hath he got with his gifts and so many may he have for his money.'

him say that when the king of Cyprus was in his country of Bearn and moved him to have gone to the voyage of the Holy Sepulchre, he had thought the same time to have made such a journey, that if the French king or the king of England had taken that enterprise, how there should have been no lord[1] should have brought such a company as he would have done; and as yet he is of the same mind:[2] and in part that is one of the causes that he gathereth such treasure. The prince of Wales, the season that he reigned in the country of Acquitaine, being at Bordeaux on the river of Gironde, thought to have made him war. The prince menaced him for the country of Bearn and would have had him to have held his country of him: and the earl said he would not, and said how his country of Bearn was so free a land, that it ought to do homage to no man of the world. And the prince, who at that time was great and sore feared, said how he would compel him perforce; for the earl of Armagnac and the lord d'Albret, who loved not the earl of Foix because of such victories as he had won on them before, they tittled the prince ever in his ear and enticed him to have made war against the earl of Foix. But the voyage that the prince made into Spain brake his purpose: also sir John Chandos, who was chief of counsel with the prince, was against it that the prince should make any war to the earl. The earl of Foix loved right well sir John Chandos and he him; but the earl doubted the prince, because he was fierce and courageous, and therefore he gathered together as much treasure as he could get, to the intent therewith to defend him, if need were: and so he set great tailles and taxes in all his country and in every town, which as yet endureth and shall do as long as he liveth: he had of every fire every year two franks, and the rich to bear out the poor: thereby he gathered, and yet doth, great riches, and the people payeth it with a marvellous good will, for by reason thereof there is nother English nor French nor robbers nor reivers that doth them any hurt to the value of one penny; and so his country is in safe-guard, and justice truly kept, for in doing of justice he is right cruel, he is the most rightful lord that is now living.'

And so with these words we came to the town of Tournay, whereas we should rest all night. So then the knight ceased of his talking, and I remembered well where we left against the next day; and we were lodged at the sign of the Star and took our ease. And at supper time the captain of Malvoisin, called sir Raymond of Lane, came to see us and supped with us, and brought with him four flagons of the best wine that I drank of in all my journey. Those two knights talked long together, and when it was late the knight departed and returned to the castle of Malvoisin. And the next morning we mounted on our horses and departed from Tournay and passed by a guide the river of Lesse,[1] and rode toward the city of Tarbes and entered into Bigorre; and we left the way to Lourdes, to Bagneres and to the castle of Montgaillard on the left hand, and we rode toward a village called La Cieutat and did coast it and came to a wood in the land of the lord of Barbazan; and we came near to a castle called Mascaras at the entry of the country of Laire.[2] Then the knight said to me: 'Sir John, behold here the place of Laire.' And I beheld it well and advised the country, which seemed to me right strange: I thought myself but as lost there, if I had not been in the company with that knight. Then I remembered the words that this knight had shewed me two or three days before of that country of Laire and of the Mongat of Lourdes. Then I said to him: 'Sir, ye shewed me the last day that when we should be in the country of Laire that ye would shew me the manner of the Mongat of Lourdes and how he died.' 'It is true, sir,' quoth the knight; 'come on and ride by me and I shall shew you.' Then I rode near him to hear his words, and then he said: 'Sir, in the season that Peter d'Anchin held the castle and garrison of Artigat, as I have

[1] 'That after the king of France and the king of England, if they had gone on that enterprise, there would have been no lord,' etc.

[2] That is 'he has not given up the design' of a crusade.

[1] 'We passed by fording (à gué) the river of Lesse,' that is, the Arros.

[2] The French text here gives 'pays au Laire' for 'pas au Laire,' but in the passage below, where the French has 'pas au Laire' or 'pas du Laire,' the translator renders 'pas' by 'place' or 'country.'

thereof you before this time, they of the garrison of Lourdes sometime rode forth to adventure far from their garrison. However, they had not always the advantage, for ye may behold here the castle of Barbazan and the castle of Mauvoisin, wherein there was always many men of war there, and in other garrisons, as Bagneres, Tournay, Montgaillard, Salles, Benac, Geaux, and Tarbes, all French towns and garrisons: and when these garrisons knew that they of Lourdes rode other towards Toulouse or Carcassonne, then they would lay bushments for them, and sometime take from them of Lourdes their prey and pillage and sometime they scaped without any encounter. And on a time it fortuned that Ernaulton of Sainte-Colomme and the Mongat of Saint-Cornille and to the number of fourscore spears of good men of war departed from Lourdes about the mountains between these two rivers Lisse and Lesse, and so rode near to Toulouse; and at their returning they found in the meadows a great number of beasts, oxen and kine, hogs, muttons and lambs, and also they took divers of the good men of the country prisoners, and so drove all their prey before them. Then it was shewed to the captain of Tarbes, a squire of Gascoyne called Ernaulton Bisette, an expert man of arms, how they of the garrison of Lourdes were abroad and were coming homeward with a great prey. Then he sent to the lord of Benac and to Anguerrot, eldest son to sir Raymond,[1] and also to the lord of Barbazan, certifying them how he would ride out against them of Lourdes. The knights and squires of the country of Bigorre agreed to ride forth and assembled together at Tournay, and with them there was the bourg of Spain, who came from his garrison of Saint-Beat; so they were to the number of two hundred spears, and they had their spies abroad in the country to know what they of Lourdes did. On the other side they of Lourdes had abroad their spies, to know if any men of war were abroad to let them of their enterprise; and so much did these that either party knew what other did. When they of Lourdes knew how they of the French garrisons were abroad and tarried for them at Tournay, then they were in doubt and took counsel what they might best do to save their prey. Then they determined to depart their company in two, the one company to drive before them their prey with all their varlets, and to go covertly by the Lande-de-Bonc, and so to pass the way by the bridge of Tournay and to pass the river of Lesse between Tournay and Malvoisin, and the other company to ride in battle by the mountains and to make shew to go again into the country of Laire[1] by Mauvoisin, and so to fall in between Barbazan and Montgaillard; and said that if they met together about Montgaillard, then they should be in safe-guard, "for then we shall be soon at Lourdes." Thus as they ordained, so they did; and the bastard of Cardeillac, Guillonet of Harnes and Perrot Boursier, John Callemin of Bassele, the Red Squire, and forty spears with all their varlets, with all their prey, took the way by the Lande-de-Bonc and so to pass the river at the bridge between Tournay and Malvoisin, thinking to meet all together between Ciestat and Montgaillard: and so they departed, and the other company, as Ernaulton of Rostem, Ernaulton of Sainte-Colomme and the Mongat of Saint-Cornille with fourscore men of arms, there was not ten varlets among them; so they made themselves ready and rode close together ever looking for their enemies, for they knew well they were abroad to watch for them. In like manner as they of Lourdes had taken their advice and counsel how to return, in like wise the Frenchmen took counsel how they might encounter their enemies; and sir Monaut of Barbazan and Ernaulton Bisette said to their company: "Sirs, we know well how they of Lourdes are abroad in the fields and driveth before them great prey and many prisoners. It should be a great displeasure to us if they should scape; therefore let us put ourselves into two bushments, we are company enough so to do." Then it was ordained that Ernaulton and the bourg of Spain, sir Raymond of Benac and Anguerrot of Lane with a hundred spears should keep the passage at Tournay; for they knew well that they of Lourdes with their prey must needs pass the river of Lesse: and it was ordained that the lord of Barbazan and Ernaulton Bisette with a hundred spears

[1] That is, sir Raymond de Lane.

[1] Pas-de-Laire.

should ride at adventures. So thus they departed, and the lord of Benac and the bourg of Spain put themselves in a bushment between Malvoisin and Tournay, and the other company rode and took the same way that we be now in, which is called the Laire. And here they met with them of Lourdes; and when each of them saw other, they alighted and made them ready to fight, and so came each against other crying their cries, "Saint George, Lourdes!" and the other "Our Lady of Bigorre!" And so there each came to other with hand strokes, foining with their spears each at other a great space, and as I heard reported of them that were there, at the first brunt there was none overthrown: and so when each of them had a great space foined each at other, they cast down their spears and took their axes, and gave therewith each to other great and horrible strokes, every man with his match, and in that manner they fought together more than two hours. And when any of them had fought so long that they lacked breath, then they would fair and easily depart, and go sit down by a dike side that was full of water and put off their bassenets and refresh themselves; and when they were well refreshed, they put on their bassenets and returned again to fight. I believe there was not such a business, nor a battle so well fought sith the battle that was in Bretayne of thirty against as many, as this was here at Mascaras in Bigorre. Thus they fought hand to hand, and Ernaulton of Sainte-Colomme was at the point to have been discomfited by a squire of the country called Guillonet of Salenges. This Ernaulton of Sainte-Colomme had a varlet, who stood by and saw the battle and fought not, for there was none that said anything to him; and when he saw his master almost at utterance, he was sorry, and so came to his master and took his axe out of his hands and said: "Ernaulton, go your way and rest you, ye can no longer fight": and then he with the axe went to the squire and gave him such a stroke on the head, that he was astonied and had near hand fallen to the earth. When Guillonet felt himself stricken, he was sore displeased and came against the varlet to have stricken him, but the varlet stept under the stroke and embraced the squire, who was sore travailed with so long fighting, and so the varlet overthrew him wrestling under him. Then the varlet said: "I shall slay thee, without thou wilt yield thyself to my master." "Who is thy master?" quoth the squire. "Ernaulton of Sainte-Colomme," quoth the varlet, "with whom thou hast fought all this season." The squire saw that he had not the vantage, but that he was under the varlet, who had a dagger ready to strike him; so he yielded him to render his body prisoner at Lourdes within fifteen days after, rescues or no rescues. This service did this varlet to his master; and, sir John, I assure you there were many feats of arms done and many overthrown and taken prisoners, some to yield themselves in a certain space at Tarbes and some to come to Lourdes. They fought this day hand to hand, Ernaulton Bisette with the Mongat of Saint-Bazeille: they did many a feat of arms between them, and they fought so long, till they were so weary that they could aid themselves no longer; and there was slain on the place two captains, the Mongat of Lourdes and on the other part Ernaulton Bisette. Then ceased the battle by agreement of both parties, for they were so weary that they could scant hold their axes in their hands: some unarmed them to refresh themselves and left their armour in the place. They of Lourdes bare away with them the Mongat slain, and the Frenchmen bare Ernaulton Bisette to Tarbes; and to the intent that this battle should be had in remembrance, whereas the two squires fought there was set a cross of stone. Behold yonder is the cross.' And with those words we came to the cross, and there we said for their souls a *Pater noster* and an *Ave Maria*.

'By my faith, sir,' quoth I, 'I am glad I have heard this, for this was a sharp business of so little people. But, sir, what became of them that went with the prey?' 'I shall shew you,' quoth he. 'They came to the part of Tournay beside Malvoisin, to have passed there, as they had ordained; and there they found the bushment of the bourg of Spain, who brake out of their bushment, and they of Lourdes could not recule back; they had no remedy but to adventure theirselves. And I tell you truth, there was as sore a fight and as long endured or longer than that at Mascaras; and there

Ernaulton of Spain did marvellous in arms. He had an axe in his hand; whosoever he strake therewith went to the earth, for he was big and well made and not overcharged with much flesh. He took there with his own hands the two captains, the bourg of Cardeillac and Perrot Palatin of Bearn, and there was slain a squire of Navarre called Ferrando of Miranda, who was an expert man of arms: some that were at the business said that the bourg of Spain slew him, and some said he was overcome for heat in his harness. Finally the prey was rescued and all taken or slain that went therewith; there were but three saved themselves, and they were varlets, who departed and went over the river of Lesse. Thus became of this adventure: they of Lourdes never lost before so much as they did then: they were courteously ransomed, and divers delivered by exchange one for another, for divers of them that fought here at the place of Laire[1] were taken by them of Lourdes: therefore every part were courteous one to another in ransoming of their companions.' 'Ah Saint Mary! sir,' quoth I, 'is the bourg of Spain so big a man as ye speak of?' 'Yea, sir, truly,' quoth he, 'for in all Gascoyne there is none like him in strength of body: therefore the earl of Foix hath him ever in his company. It passed not a three year that he did in a sport a great deed, as I shall shew you. So it was, on a Christmas day the earl of Foix held a great feast and a plentiful of knights and squires, as it is his usage: and it was a cold day, and the earl dined in the hall, and with him great company of lords; and after dinner he departed out of the hall and went up into a gallery of twenty-four stairs of height, in which gallery there was a great chimney, wherein they made fire when the earl was there; and at that time there was but a small fire, for the earl loved no great fire; howbeit, he had wood enough there about and in Bearn is wood enough. The same day it was a great frost and very cold; and when the earl was in the gallery and saw the fire so little, he said to the knights and squires about him: "Sirs, this is but a small fire and the day so cold." Then Ernaulton of Spain went down the stairs, and beneath in the court he saw a great many of asses, laden with wood to serve the house. Then he went and took one of the greatest asses with all the wood, and laid him on his back, and went up all the stairs into the gallery and did cast down the ass with all the wood into the chimney and the ass's feet upwards: whereof the earl of Foix had great joy, and so had all they that were there, and had marvel of his strength, how he alone came up all the stairs with the ass and the wood in his neck.'

I took great pleasure in this tale and in other that this knight sir Espang de Lyon shewed me, whereby I thought my journey much the shorter: and in shewing of these matters we passed the pass of Laire and the castle of Mascaras, whereas the battle was, and so we rode near to the castle of Barbazan, which is strong and fair and is within a league of Tarbes, which we saw before us, and a fair way coasting the river of Lisse coming from the mountains. Then we rode fair and easily at our leisure to refresh our horses, and there he shewed me the river,[1] the castle and the town of Montgaillard and the way that lay to Lourdes. Then it came to my remembrance to demand the knight how the duke of Anjou, when he was in the country and that the castle of Malvoisin was yielded to him, came before Lourdes and what he did there; and with right a good will he shewed me and said: 'When the duke of Anjou departed from Malvoisin with all his host, he passed over the river of Lesse at the bridge of Tournay and went and lodged at Bagneres, whereas is a good river going to Tarbes; for this river of Tournay cometh not thither, but falleth into the river of Garonne beside Mont-au-Lion;[2] and so the duke went and laid siege to Lourdes, sir Peter Ernaulton of Bearn and John his brother, Peter d'Anchin, Ernaulton of Rostem, Ernaulton of Sainte-Colomme, and the Mongat, who as then was living, and Ferando of Miranda, with Barbe-Noire, the bourg of Cardeillac and the bourg Camus and certain other companions being within Lourdes. When they were well informed of the duke's coming thither, they fortified

[1] Pas-de-Laire.

[1] 'Par delà la rivière, "on the other side of the river."'

[2] This river of Tournay is that which Froissart calls the Lesse (*i.e.* the Arros), but he is mistaken in supposing that it falls into the Garonne. He confuses it, no doubt, with the Baise, which rises not far from Tournay and falls into the Garonne near Mouluc (Mont-au-Lion). (Letteabove, xxv. 13.)

them and their garrison against him and held the town of Lourdes for all the assaults that the duke made, which fifteen days continually endured and there were many feats of arms done. The duke ordained many instruments of war for the assault, so that finally the town was won; but they lost neither man, woman nor good, for they were all withdrawn into the castle, for they knew well at length the town would not hold, for it was closed but with dikes and pales. When the town of Lourdes was won, the Frenchmen had great joy and so lodged in the town round about the castle, which was not pregnable without it were with long siege. There the duke tarried more than six weeks and lost more than he won; for they without could do no hurt to them within, for the castle standeth on a round rock, made in such manner that no man could approach it by scaling nor otherwise, but by one entry; and there at the barriers were many scrimmishes and many feats of arms done, and divers knights and squires of France were hurt, such as would press too near. When the duke saw how he could not have his intent to get the castle of Lourdes, then he fell in treaty with the captain within and offered him much money to give up the garrison. The knight, who was of great valiantness, excused himself and said how the garrison was not his, but it pertained to the heritage of the king of England, and said how he could not sell it nor give it nor put it away, without he should be a traitor, which in no wise he would be, but true to his natural lord during his life; and moreover said that when the castle was delivered him, it was on a condition, which he swore solemnly by his faith in the prince of Wales' hand, that he should keep the castle of Lourdes against all men during his life, except it were against the king of England. The duke could never have other answer of him, for gift nor promise that he could make. And when the duke of Anjou and his council saw how they could have nothing else, and saw that they lost their pain, they dislodged, and at their departing they clean brent the town. Then the duke of Anjou drew back in coasting Bearn and rode toward the Mount Marsan, and had knowledge how the earl of Foix had fortified all his garrisons with men of war; whereof he was nothing discontent, but he was displeased in that the knights and squires of Bearn held Lourdes against him. The earl of Foix, as I have shewed you herebefore, doubted greatly the duke of Anjou, though the duke did him no hurt; but the earl of Armagnac and the lord d'Albret would have had the duke to have made him war, but the duke had no will thereto. But while he lodged between Mount Marsan and the Boce d'Albret, he sent to the earl of Orthez sir Peter of Bueil, whom the earl received honourably, and lodged him in the castle of Orthez and made him as good cheer as he could and gave him mulets and coursers, and to his men great gifts, and he sent by him to the duke of Anjou four coursers and two alans of Spain, fair and good, and there were secret treaties between the earl and this sir Peter of Bueil, of which treaties no man knew the intent thereof of a good space after; but after, by such evident tokens as appeared, we supposed somewhat, and the matter I shall shew you, and by that time we shall come to Tarbes.

'Anon after that the duke of Anjou had made his voyage and that he was at Toulouse, then the earl of Foix sent by his letters [and by] certain messengers to Lourdes to his cousin sir Peter Ernaulton of Bearn, desiring him to come and speak with him at Orthez. And when the knight had read the earl's letters, and saw his notable message, he had divers imaginations and wist not whether he might go or abide. All things considered, he said he would go, because in no wise he would displease the earl. And when he departed from Lourdes, he said to John of Bearn his brother in the presence of all the companions of the garrison: "Brother John, the earl of Foix hath sent for me, I cannot tell you why; but sith it is his pleasure to speak with me, I will go to him. I fear me greatly that I shall be required to give up this fortress of Lourdes; for the duke of Anjou, when he was in the country, he coasted Bearn and entered not therein, and the earl of Foix hath long intended to have the castle of Malvoisin, to the intent to be lord of the Lande-de-Bouc and of the frontiers of Comminges and of Bigorre. I know not what treaty there is made between him and the duke of Anjou, but one thing I say plainly,—as long as I live, I

shall never yield up the garrison but to mine own natural lord the king of England. Wherefore, brother John, in case that I stablish you in mine absence to be captain here, that ye shall swear to me by the faith of your gentleness that ye shall keep this castle in like manner and form as I do, and that for life or death ye fail not." And John of Bearn sware to fulfil his desire. Then sir Peter Ernaulton went to Orthez and alighted at the sign of the Moon; and when he thought it was time, he went to the castle of Orthez to the earl, who with great joy received him and made him sit at his board, and shewed him as great semblant of love as he could; and after dinner he said: "Cousin Peter, I have to speak with you of divers things, wherefore I will that ye depart not without my leave." The knight answered and said: "Sir, I shall not depart till it be your pleasure." Then the third day after, the earl of Foix said unto him in the presence of the viscount of Gousserant his brother and before the lord d'Anchin of Bigorre and divers other knights and squires, the earl said aloud that every man might hear him: "Peter, I sent for you and ye be come. I will ye know, the duke of Anjou would me much evil because of the garrison of Lourdes, which ye keep, for the which cause my land was near hand overrun, an good friends had not been; and it is his opinion and divers other of his company, that he hateth me, because, as they say, how I maintain[1] and sustain you, because ye be of Bearn: and it is not meet for me to have the evil will of so great a prince as the duke of Anjou is. Wherefore I command you, as ye will eschew my displeasure and by the faith and lineage that ye owe to me, that ye yield up the garrison of Lourdes into my hands." When the knight heard these words, he was sore abashed and studied a little, remembering what answer he might make, for he saw well the earl spake in good faith:[2] howbeit, all things considered, he said: "Sir, true it is I owe to you faith and homage, for I am a poor knight of your blood and of your country: but as for the castle of Lourdes, I will not deliver it to you. Ye have sent for me to do with me as ye list.[1] I hold it of the king of England; he set me there, and to none other living will I deliver it." When the earl of Foix heard that answer, his blood chafed for ire, and said drawing out his dagger: "Ah, traitor, sayest thou nay? By my head, thou hast not said that for nought": and so therewith strake the knight, that he wounded him in five places, and there was no knight nor baron that durst step between them. Then the knight said: 'Ah, sir, ye do me no gentleness, to send for me and slay me." And yet for all the strokes that he had with the dagger, the earl commanded to cast him in prison down into a deep dike, and so he was and there died, for his wounds were but evil looked unto.' 'Ah, Saint Mary,' quoth I to the knight, 'was not this a great cruelty?' 'Whatsoever it was,' quoth the knight, 'thus it was. Let one advise him well or he displease him, for an he be angry, there is no pardon: he held once his cousin-german the viscount of Castelbon, who is his heritor, eight months in the tower of Orthez in prison, and after ransomed him at forty thousand franks.' 'Why, sir,' quoth I, 'hath the earl of Foix no children?' 'No truly, sir,' quoth he, 'by any wife; but he hath two young knights that be his bastards, whom ye shall see, and he loveth them as well as himself: they be called sir Yvain and sir Gracien?' Then I demanded if ever he were married. 'Yea truly,' quoth he, 'and is yet; but his wife is not with him.' 'Why, sir, where is she?' 'Sir,' quoth he, 'she is in Navarre, for the king there is her cousin; she was daughter to king Louis of Navarre.' Yet then I demanded if ever the earl had any children. 'Yes, sir,' quoth he, 'he had a fair son, who had the father's heart and all the country loved him, for by him all the country of Bearn was in rest and peace, whereas it hath been sith in debate and strife; for he had married the sister of the earl of Armagnac.' 'Sir,' quoth I, 'what became of that son, an it may be known?' 'Sir,' quoth he, 'I shall shew you, but not as now, for the matter is over long and we are near the town, as ye see.' Therewith

[1] By the true text, 'And it is his saying and the opinion of divers other of his company who hate me, that I maintain,' etc., but the translator's text had 'qu'ilz me haient.'

[2] 'Seriously.'

[1] 'Ye have sent for me; therefore ye can do with me as ye list.' The full text has, 'Ye have sent for me, I have obeyed; therefore,' etc.

I left the knight in peace, and so we came to Tarbes and took our lodging at the Star and there tarried all that day; for it was a town of great easement both for man and horse with good hay and oats and a fair river.

The next day after mass we mounted a-horseback and departed from Tarbes and came to a town called Guiors,[1] which valiantly always held against them of Lourdes: and so we passed by the town without and then entered into the country of Bearn. Then the knight stood still and said: 'Sir, behold here is Bearn': and we stood in a cross way. The knight advised him which way to take, other to Morlaas or to Pau: at last we took the way to Morlaas, riding over the launds of Bearn, which were right plain. Then I demanded of him if the town of Pau were near us, and he said, 'Yes'; and so he shewed me the steeple: howbeit, the distance was farther off than it seemed, for it was an evil way to ride because of the mires, to them that knew not the country; and not far thence was the castle of Lourdes.[2] And I demanded who was as then captain there. He said that as then the seneschal of Bigorre was captain there, admitted by the king of England, brother to sir Peter of Bearn, as ye have heard before. 'That is true, sir,' quoth I, 'but did he never after go to see the earl of Foix?' He answered and said: 'Sith the death of his brother he never came there, but other of his company hath been often with the earl, as Peter d'Anchin, Ernaulton of Rostem, Ernaulton of Sainte-Colomme, and other.' 'Sir,' quoth I, 'hath the earl of Foix made any amends for the death of that knight, or sorry for his death?' 'Yes truly, sir,' quoth he, 'he was right sorry for his death; but as for amends, I know of none, without it be by secret penance, masses or prayers. He hath with him the same knight's son, called John of Bearn, a gracious squire, and the earl loveth him right well.' 'Ah, sir,' quoth I, 'the duke of Anjou, who that would so fain have the castle of Lourdes, ought to be well content with the earl of Foix, when he slew such a knight his own cousin, for to accomplish his desire.' 'By my faith, sir,' quoth he, 'so he was: for anon after that the duke came to the French-king, the king sent[1] into this country sir Roger of Spain and a president of the parliament chamber of Paris, and letters sealed making mention how the king did give to the earl of Foix the county of Bigorre during his life, to hold the same of the crown of France. The earl thanked greatly the king for the great love that he shewed him and for that great gift without any request making, but for all that the said sir Roger of Spain could do, say or shew, the earl in no wise would take the gift; but he took the castle of Malvoisin, because it was a free land, for that castle and the purtenance holdeth of no man but of God, and also anciently it pertaineth to his inheritance. The French king by the means of the duke of Anjou did give it him, and the earl sware and promised to take it on a condition that he should never set man there that should do any evil to the realm of France: and so he did, for such as were there feared as much the Englishmen as any other French garrisons in Gascoyne, but the Bearnois durst not run into the country of Foix.'[2]

[1] Saint-Pé-de-Gueyres.

[2] He said, 'Yes, I will shew you the steeple of it, but it is further off than it seems, for it is an evil way to ride because of the mires for one that knows not the road well, and it would be folly to attempt it. And below lies the town and castle of Lourdes.' Froissart nowhere says that his companion did actually shew him the steeple, and in fact it is probable that they did not come in sight of it.

CHAPTER XXV

How the peace was made between the duke of Berry and the earl of Foix, and of the beginning of the war that was between the earl of Foix and the earl of Armagnac.

ALL these matters that sir Espang de Lyon shewed me right well contented me; and every night as soon as we were at our lodgings,[3] I wrote ever all that I heard in the day, the better thereby to have them in remembrance, for writing is the best remem-

[1] Or by a better text, 'Anon after the event (l'advenue) the king of France sent,' etc.

[2] 'But the Bearnois (*or according to another reading*, the English) would not dare to displease (courroucier) the count of Foix.' There has been a confusion of 'courroucier' with 'courir,' and of 'conte' with 'conté.'

[3] The French says, 'As soon as we descended at our lodging, whether it were in the evening or in the morning.'

brance that may be. And so we rode the next morning to Morlaas; but ere we came there, I said: 'Sir, I have forgot to demand of you when ye shewed me the adventures of Foix [and of Armagnac how the earl of Foix] did dissimule with the duke of Berry, who had to wives the daughter and sister of the earl of Armagnac, and whether that the duke of Berry made him any war and how he did.' 'How he did,' quoth the knight, 'I shall shew you. In time past the duke of Berry would him as much evil as he could imagine; but as now, by means which ye shall hear of when ye come to Orthez, they be accorded.' 'Why, sir,' quoth I, 'was there any cause why the duke should be displeased with him?' 'As help me God,' quoth the knight, 'none; but I shall shew you the cause. When Charles the French king, father to king Charles that now is, was deceased, the realm of France was divided into two parts, as in the governing thereof; for the duke of Anjou who intended to go into Italy, as he did, he gave up the rule, and then his two brethren the duke of Berry and the duke of Burgoyne had the rule. The duke of Berry had the governing of Languedoc and the duke of Burgoyne ruled Languedoil and Picardy. When they of Languedoc understood that the duke of Berry had the governing over them, they were sore abashed, and specially they of Toulouse, for they knew well that the duke was a sore taker of gold and silver and a sore oppressor of the people. Also there was in Carcassonne and in Rouergue Bretons and Toulousains,[1] which the duke of Anjou had left in the country, and they robbed and pilled, and the bruit ran that the duke of Berry maintained them to the intent to overmaster the good towns: but in this season that I speak of the duke of Berry was not in the country there; he was with the king in Flanders. They of Toulouse, who be great and puissant, perceived how the French king was young and was greatly busied in Flanders for the aid of his uncle the duke of Burgoyne, and they saw well how they were daily robbed and pilled by the Bretons and other, so that they wist not what to do. Then they sent and treated with the earl of Foix, desiring him for a certain sum of money that they offered him every month to be paid, that he would take on him the governing of Toulouse and of the country of Toulousain, and also he was desired of other towns in like wise. They desired him because they knew him for a just man and a rightwise in justice, redoubted of his enemies and fortunate in all his business; and also they of Toulouse loved him, for he had been ever to them a good neighbour. Thus he took on him the charge and the governing, and sware to maintain and keep the country in their right against all men that would do any wrong thereto, reserving all only the French king's person. Then he set men of war to watch the ways and passages, whereas these robbers and pillers used to pass, and on a day he took, slew and drowned of them at Rabasten in Toulousain more than four hundred, whereby he gat great grace and honour of them of Toulouse and of Carcassonne, of Beziers and Montpellier and of other good towns there about, so that the renown ran in France how they of Languedoc were turned and had taken to their lord the earl of Foix; and the duke of Berry, who was sovereign there, took thereat great displeasure and had the earl of Foix in great hate, because he meddled so far in the business of France, and whereby he maintained them of Toulouse still in their rebellion against him. Then he sent men of war into the country, but they were fiercely driven back again by the earl's men, so that, whether they would or no, they were fain to draw back, or else they had lost more than they should have won. With this the duke of Berry was sore displeased with the earl of Foix, and he said how the earl of Foix was the most presumptuous and proudest knight of all the world. The duke as then could suffer no good to be spoken of him; howbeit, he made him no war, for the earl of Foix had always his towns and castles so well provided for, that none durst enter into his land. But when the duke of Berry came into Languedoc, then he left his rule, for he would then no longer exercise against the duke, but the displeasure rested still after a certain space: but now shall I shew you by what means the peace was nourished between them.

'It was a ten year past that the lady

[1] By a better text, 'There were Bretons in Toulousain, in Carcassonnais and in Rouergue.'

Eleanor of Comminges, as now countess of Boulogne, and near cousin to the earl of Foix and right inheritor to the county of Comminges, though that the earl of Armagnac had it in possession, she came to Orthez to the earl of Foix and brought with her a young daughter of three year of age. The earl her cousin made her good cheer and he demanded her of her business and whither she was going. "Sir," quoth she, "I am going into Aragon to mine uncle and aunt the earl of Urgel, and there I purpose to abide; for I have great displeasure to abide with my husband sir John of Boulogne, for I thought he would have recovered mine inheritance of Comminges from the earl of Armagnac, who keepeth it from me and he hath my sister in prison, and he will do nothing in the matter: he is so soft a knight, that he will do nothing but take his ease and eat and drink and to spend that he hath foolishly; and I think, when he is earl, he will take his pleasure more, therefore I will no longer abide with him and I have brought with me my daughter, whom I will deliver into your hands, praying you to keep and to nourish her up, for I trust by reason of her lineage ye will not fail thus to do, for I have hope in you that ye will keep her. I had much pain to get her away out of the country and out of the hands of my husband her father, but because I take them of Armagnac, mine adversaries and yours, who would gladly steal my daughter away,[1] because she is inheritor of Comminges, therefore I have brought her unto you. Wherefore, sir, I require you, fail me not at this business, and I am sure her father my husband, when he knoweth that I have left her with you, he will be right joyful, for he hath said oftentimes to me that this his daughter should put him to great doubt." And when the earl had well heard the words of the lady Eleanor his cousin, he was right joyful, and imagined in himself how that child after should do him some pleasure, as by the means of her mother to have a firm peace with his enemies, or else to marry her in so high a place that his enemies should doubt him thereby. Then he answered the lady and said: "Madam and cousin, all that ye desire I shall do it with right a good will, for I am bound thereto by lineage; and as for your daughter my cousin, I shall keep her as well as though she were mine own proper child." "Sir," quoth she, "I thank you." Thus the young daughter of Boulogne abode with the earl of Foix at Orthez and she never departed thence sith, and the lady her mother went to Aragon. She hath been sith once or twice to see her daughter, but she never desired to have her again, for the earl kept her as well as if she were his own child. And to the purpose as to the mean of the peace that I shewed you, the earl imagined to get by her the love again of the duke of Berry; and as now at this present time the duke of Berry hath great desire to be married, and I think by that I heard at Avignon by the pope, who is cousin-german to the lady's father, he shewed me how the duke of Berry desireth to have her in marriage.' 'Ah, Saint Mary, sir,' quoth I, 'how your words be to me right agreeable; for it hath done me great pleasure all that ever ye have shewed me, which shall not be lost, for it shall be put in remembrance and chronicled, if God will send me the grace to return to the town of Valenciennes, whereas I was born. But, sir, I am sore displeased of one thing.' 'What is that?' quoth he. 'I shall shew you by my faith: that so high and valiant a prince as the earl of Foix is, should be without lawful issue.' 'Sir,' quoth the knight, 'if he had one, as once he had, he should be the most joyous prince of the world, and so would be all the country.' 'Why, sir,' then quoth I, 'is his land then without an heir?' 'Nay, sir,' quoth he, 'the viscount of Castelbon, his cousin-german, is his heir.' 'Is he a valiant man in arms?' quoth I. 'Nay by my faith, sir,' quoth he, 'and therefore the earl loveth him not and thinketh to make his two bastard sons, who be right valiant, his heirs, and thinketh to marry them in an high lineage, for he hath gold and silver enough, whereby he thinketh to get them wives such as shall aid and comfort them.' 'Sir,' quoth I, 'it may well be: howbeit, the thing is not reasonable that bastards should be made heritors of lands.' 'Wherefore not, sir,' quoth he, 'if there lack good heirs? See you not how the Spaniards

[1] 'Because I perceive that they of Armagnac, my adversaries and yours, are greatly desirous to steal away my daughter.'

have crowned Henry a bastard to be king, and also they of Portugal crowned a bastard to their king. It hath been seen in the world in divers realms that bastards by force hath reigned. Was not William Conqueror bastard son to a duke of Normandy, who conquered all England and was king there, so that all the kings sith are descended from him?' 'Sir,' quoth I, 'all this might well be: there is nothing but that may fall: but they of Armagnac are right strong, and so thereby this country shall be ever in war and strife. But, sir, I pray you shew me the just cause why the war first moved between them of Foix and Armagnac.' 'I will shew you,' quoth the knight: 'I ensure you it is a marvellous war, for as they say, each of them have cause.

'Sir, anciently, about a hundred year past, there was a lord in Bearn called Gaston, a right valiant man in arms and is buried in the Friars right solemnly at Orthez, and there ye may see what person he was of stature and of body, for in his life-time his picture was made in latten, the which is yet there. This Gaston lord of Bearn had two daughters; the eldest was married to the earl of Armagnac that was then, and the youngest to the earl of Foix, who as then was nephew to the king of Aragon, and as yet the earl of Foix beareth his arms, for he descended out of Aragon; his arms are palé gold and gules.[1] And so it fortuned, that this lord of Bearn had a great war against the king of Spain that was then, who came through all Biscay with a great number of men of war to enter into Bearn. The lord Gaston of Bearn, when he was informed of his coming, he assembled people on all sides, where he might get men of war, and wrote letters to his two sons-in-law, the earl of Armagnac and the earl of Foix, that they should come to serve and aid him to defend his heritage. These letters seen, the earl of Foix, as soon as he might, assembled his people and prayed all his friends so much, that he had a five hundred knights and squires armed and two thousand varlets with spears, darts and pavises all a-foot, and so he came into the country of Bearn to serve his father, who had of him great joy; and so all they passed the bridge at Orthez over the river and lodged between Sauveterre and the Hospital:[2] and the king of Spain, who had twenty thousand men, was lodged not far thence. And there the lord Gaston of Bearn and the earl of Foix tarried for the earl of Armagnac and thought ever that he would come, and so tarried for him three days, and on the fourth day the earl of Armagnac sent his letters by an herald to the lord Gaston of Bearn and sent him word how he might not come, nor how he had nothing to do to bear arms for the country of Bearn. When the lord Gaston heard those tidings of excusations and saw how he should have none aid nor comfort of the earl of Armagnac, he was sore abashed and demanded counsel of the earl of Foix and of the other barons of Bearn, how they should maintain themselves. "Sir," quoth the earl of Foix, "sith we be here assembled, let us go and fight with our enemies." This counsel was taken: then they ordained their people; they were a twelve hundred men of arms and six thousand men a-foot. The earl of Foix took the first battle, and so came on the king of Spain and set on his lodgings; and there was a great battle and a fierce, and slain more than ten thousand Spaniards, and there the earl of Foix took prisoners the king of Spain's son and his brother and sent them to his father-in-law the lord Gaston of Bearn, who was in the arear-guard: and there the Spaniards were so discomfited, that the earl of Foix chased them to the port Saint-Andrew[3] in Biscay, and the king of Spain took the abbey and did on the vesture of a monk, or else he had been taken. Then the earl of Foix returned to the lord Gaston of Bearn, who made him good cheer, as it was reason, for he had saved his honour and kept his country of Bearn, the which else was likely to have been lost.

'Because of this battle and discomfiture that the earl of Foix made on the Spaniards and for the taking of the king's son and brother, the lord of Bearn had peace with the Spaniards at his own will. And when the lord Gaston was returned to Orthez, there before all the barons of Foix and Bearn that were there present, he said to his son of Foix: "Fair son, ye are my true and faithful son; ye have saved mine honour

[1] That is, gold and gules in pales.

[2] Hôpital-d'Orion. [3] Santander.

and my country. The earl of Armagnac, who hath married mine eldest daughter, hath excused himself from this business and would not come to defend mine heritage, wherein he should have part. Wherefore I say, that such part as he should have by reason of my daughter, he hath forfeit and lost it, and here clearly I inherit you, my son of Foix, after my decease of all the whole land, and to your heirs for ever; and I desire, will and command all my subjects to seal, accord and agree to the same." And all answered how they were well content so to do. Thus by this means, as I have shewed you, anciently the earls of Foix were lords of the country of Bearn and bear the cry, arms and name and had the profit thereof: howbeit, for all this they of Armagnac had not their claim quit. This is the cause of the war between Foix and Armagnac.'

'By my faith, sir,' then quoth I, 'ye have well declared the matter. I never heard it before, and now that I know it I shall put it in perpetual memory, if God give me grace to return into my country. But, sir, if I durst, I would fain demand of you one thing: by what incident the earl of Foix' son died.' Then the knight studied a little and said: 'Sir, the manner of his death is right piteous: I will not speak thereof. When ye come to Orthez, ye shall find them that will shew you, if ye demand it.' And then I held my peace, and we rode till we came to Morlaas.

CHAPTER XXVI

Of the great virtuousness and largess that was in the earl of Foix, and the manner of the piteous death of Gaston the earl's son.

THE next day we departed and rode to dinner to Montgarbel,[1] and so to Ertiel,[2] and there we drank and by sun-setting we came to Orthez. The knight alighted at his own lodging and I alighted at the Moon, where dwelt a squire of the earl's, Ernaulton du Puy, who well received me, because I was of France. Sir Espang of Lyon went to the castle to the earl and found him in his gallery, for he had but dined a little before; for the earl's usage was always that it was high noon or he arose out of his bed, and supped ever at midnight. The knight shewed him how I was come thither, and incontinent I was sent for to my lodging, for he was the lord of all the world that most desired to speak with strangers, to hear tidings. When the earl saw me, he made me good cheer and retained me as of his house, where I was more than twelve weeks, and my horse, well entreated. The acquaintance of him and of me was because I had brought with me a book, which I made at the contemplation of[1] Wenceslas of Boeme, duke of Luxembourg and of Brabant, which book was called the Meliador, containing all the songs, ballads, rondeaux and virelays, which the gentle duke had made in his time, which by imagination I had gathered together;[2] which book the earl of Foix was glad to see, and every night after supper I read thereon to him, and while I read, there was none durst speak any word, because he would I should be well understanded, wherein he took great solace, and when it came to any matters of question, then he would speak to me, not in Gascon but in good and fair French. And of his estate and house I shall somewhat record, for I tarried there so long that I might well perceive and know much.

This earl Gaston of Foix, with whom I was, at that time he was of a fifty year of age and nine; and I say I have in my time seen many knights, kings, princes and other, but I never saw none like him of personage, nor of so fair form nor so well made. His visage fair, sanguine and smiling, his eyen gray and amorous, whereas he list to set his regard. In every thing he was so perfect that he cannot be praised too much: he loved that ought to be beloved, and hated that ought to be hated. He was a wise knight of high enterprise and of good counsel: he never had miscreant with him: he said many orisons every day, a nocturn of the psalter, matins of our Lady, of the Holy Ghost and of the cross, and dirige.[3] Every day he gave five

[1] Bougarber. [2] Arthez.

[1] *i.e.* 'Out of regard for.'

[2] 'Which I had had the design (imagination) of gathering together.'

[3] 'Vigiles.' Probably 'dirige' is a misprint.

florins in small money at his gate to poor folks for the love of God. He was large and courteous in gifts: he could right well take where it pertained to him and to deliver again whereas he ought. He loved hounds of all beasts; winter and summer he loved hunting. He never loved folly outrage nor folly largess; every month he would know what he spended: he took in his country, to receive his revenues and to serve him, notable persons, that is to say twelve receivers, and ever from two months to two months two of them should serve for his receipt; for at the two months' end he would change and put other two into that office, and one that he trusted best should be his controller, and to him all other should account, and the controller should account to him by rolls and books written, and the accounts to remain still with the earl. He had certain coffers in his chamber, out of the which ofttimes he would take money to give to lords, knights and squires, such as came to him, for none should depart from him without some gift; and yet daily multiplied his treasure to resist the adventures and fortunes that he doubted. He was of good and easy acquaintance with every man and amorously would speak to them. He was short in counsel and answers. He had four secretaries, and at his rising they must ever be ready at his hand without any calling, and when any letter were delivered him and that he had read it, then he would call them to write again, or else for some other thing.

In this estate the earl of Foix lived; and at midnight when he came out of his chamber into the hall to supper, he had ever before him twelve torches brenning, borne by twelve varlets standing before his table all supper. They gave a great light, and the hall ever full of knights and squires, and many other tables dressed to sup who would. There was none should speak to him at his table, but if he were called. His meat was lightly wild fowl,[1] the legs and wings all only, and in the day he did but little eat and drink. He had great pleasure in harmony of instruments: he could do it right well himself: he would have songs sung before him. He would gladly see conceits and fantasies[1] at his table, and when he had seen it, then he would send it to the other tables.

Briefly all this I considered and advised; and or I came to his court, I had been in many courts of kings, dukes, princes, earls and great ladies, but I was never in none that so well liked me, nor there was none more rejoiced [in] deeds of arms than the earl did: there was seen in his hall, chamber and court, knights and squires of honour going up and down and talking of arms and of amours: all honour there was found, all manner of tidings of every realm and country there might be heard, for out of every country there was resort for the valiantness of this earl. There I was informed of the most part of the deeds of arms that was done in Spain, in Portugal, in Aragon, in Navarre, in England and in Scotland and in the frontiers and limitations of Languedoc; for I saw come thither to the earl while I was there knights and squires of all nations, and so I was informed by them and by the earl himself of all things that I demanded.

There I enquired how Gaston the earl's son died, for sir Espang de Lyon would not shew me anything thereof; and so much I enquired that an ancient squire and a notable man shewed the matter to me and began thus: 'True it is,' quoth he, 'that the earl of Foix and my lady of Foix his wife agreeth not well together, nor have not done of a long season, and the discord between them first moved by the king of Navarre, who was brother to the lady. For the king of Navarre pledged himself for the lord d'Albret, whom the earl of Foix had in prison, for the sum of fifty thousand franks; and the earl of Foix, who knew that the king of Navarre was crafty and malicious, in the beginning would not trust him, wherewith the countess of Foix had great displeasure and indignation against the earl her husband, and said to him: "Sir, ye repute but small honour in the king of Navarre my brother, when ye will not trust him for fifty thousand franks. Though ye have no more of the Armagnacs nor of the d'Albrets than ye have, it ought to suffice. And also, sir, ye know well ye should assign out my dower, which

[1] 'Volaille.' The word 'lightly' is a translation of 'par coustume.'

[1] That is, 'strange kinds of dishes' (estranges entremets).

mounteth to fifty thousand franks, which ye should put into the hands of my brother the king of Navarre; wherefore, sir, ye cannot be evil paid." "Dame," quoth he, "ye say truth; but if I thought that the king of Navarre would stop the payment for that cause, the lord d'Albret should never have gone out of Orthez, and so I should have been paid[1] to the last penny; and sith ye desire it, I will do it, not for the love of you but for the love of my son." So by these words and by the king of Navarre's obligation, who became debtor to the earl of Foix, the lord d'Albret was delivered quit, and became French and was married in France to the sister of the duke of Bourbon, and paid at his ease to the king of Navarre the sum of fifty thousand franks for his ransom, for the which sum the king was bound to the earl of Foix, but he would not send it to the earl. Then the earl of Foix said to his wife: "Dame, ye must go into Navarre to the king your brother and shew him how I am not well content with him, that he will not send me that he hath received of mine." The lady answered how she was ready to go at his commandment; and so she departed and rode to Pampelone to the king her brother, who received her with much joy. The lady did her message from point to point. Then the king answered: "Fair sister, the sum of money is yours; the earl should give it for your dower: it shall never go out of the realm of Navarre, sith I have it in possession." "Ah, sir," quoth the lady, "by this ye shall set great hate between the earl my husband and you, and if ye hold your purpose, I dare not return again into the county of Foix, for my husband will slay me, he will say I have deceived him." "I cannot tell," quoth the king, "what ye will do, other tarry or depart; but as for the money, I will not depart from it: it pertaineth to me to keep it for you, but it shall never go out of Navarre." The countess could have none other answer of the king her brother, and so she tarried still in Navarre and durst not return again. The earl of Foix, when he saw the dealing of the king of Navarre, he began to hate his wife and was evil content with her: howbeit, she was in no fault, but that she returned not again when she had done her message; but she durst not, for she knew well the earl her husband was cruel where he took displeasure: thus the matter standeth.

'The earl's son called Gaston grew and waxed goodly and was married to the daughter of the earl of Armagnac, a fair lady sister to the earl that now is, the lord Bertrand of Armagnac, and by the conjunction of that marriage there should have been peace between Foix and Armagnac: the child was a fifteen or sixteen year of age and resembled right well to his father. On a time he desired to go into Navarre to see his mother and his uncle the king of Navarre, which was in an evil hour for him and for all this country. When he was come into Navarre, he had there good cheer and tarried with his mother a certain space and then took his leave; but for all that he could do, he could not get his mother out of Navarre, to have gone with him into Foix, for she demanded if the earl had commanded him so to do or no, and he answered that when he departed, the earl spake nothing thereof; therefore the lady durst not go thither, but so tarried still. Then the child went to Pampelone to take his leave of the king his uncle: the king made him great cheer and tarried him there a ten days and gave to him great gifts and to his men: also the last gift that the king gave him was his death; I shall shew you how.

'When this gentleman should depart, the king drew him apart into his chamber and gave him a little purse full of powder, which powder was such that if any creature living did eat thereof, he should incontinent die without remedy. Then the king said: "Gaston, fair nephew, ye shall do as I shall shew to you. Ye see how the earl of Foix your father wrongfully hath your mother my sister in great hate, whereof I am sore displeased and so ought ye to be. Howbeit, to perform all the matter and that your father should love again your mother, to that intent ye shall take a little of this powder and put it on some meat, that your father may eat it, but beware that no man see you. And as soon as he hath eaten it, he shall intend to nothing but to have again his wife and so to love her ever after, which ye ought greatly to desire: and of this that I shew you let no

[1] 'Should never go out of Orthez, and so I should be paid.'

man know, but keep it secret, or else ye lose all the deed." The child, who thought all that the king said to him had been true, said: "Sir, it shall be done as ye have devised": and so departed from Pampelone and returned to Orthez. The earl his father made him good cheer and demanded tidings of the king of Navarre and what gifts he had given him, and the child shewed him how he had given him divers, and shewed him all except the purse with the powder. Ofttimes this young Gaston and Yvain his bastard brother lay together, for they loved together like brethren and were like arrayed and apparelled, for they were near of a greatness and of one age. And it happened on a time, as their clothes lay together on their beds, Yvain saw a purse at Gaston's coat and said: "What thing is this that ye bear ever about you?" whereof Gaston had no joy and said: "Yvain, give me my coat, ye have nothing to do therewith": and all that day after Gaston was pensive. And it fortuned a three days after, as God would that the earl should be saved, Gaston and his brother Yvain fell out together playing at tennis, and Gaston gave him a blow; and the child went into his father's chamber and wept, and the earl as then had heard mass. And when the earl saw him weep, he said: "Son Yvain, what ailest thou?" "Sir," quoth he, "Gaston hath beaten me, but he were more worthy to be beaten than I." "Why so?" quoth the earl, and incontinent suspected something. "By my faith, sir," quoth he, "sith he returned out of Navarre, he beareth privily at his breast a purse full of powder, I wot not what it is nor what he will do therewith, but he hath said to me once or twice that my lady his mother should shortly be again in your grace and better beloved than ever she was." "Peace," quoth the earl, "and speak no more, and shew this to no man living." "Sir," quoth he, "no more I shall."

'Then the earl entered into imagination, and so came to the hour of his dinner and washed and sat down at his table in the hall. Gaston his son was used to set down all his service and to give the says;[1] and when he had set down the first course, the earl cast his eyen on him and saw the strings of the purse hanging at his bosom. Then his blood changed, and said: "Gaston, come hither, I will speak with thee in thine ear." The child came to him and the earl took him by the bosom and found out the purse and with his knife cut it from his bosom. The child was abashed and stood still and spake no word and looked as pale as ashes for fear and began to tremble. The earl of Foix opened the purse and took of the powder and laid it on a trencher of bread and called to him a dog and gave it him to eat; and as soon as the dog had eaten the first morsel, he turned his eyen in his head and died incontinent. And when the earl saw that, he was sore displeased, and also he had good cause, and so rose from the table and took his knife and would have stricken his son: then the knights and squires ran between them and said: "Sir, for God's sake have mercy and be not so hasty: be well informed first of the matter, or ye do any evil to your child." And the first word that the earl said was: "Ah, Gaston, traitor, for to increase thine heritage that should come to thee I have had war and hatred of the French king, of the king of England, of the king of Spain, of the king of Navarre and of the king of Aragon, and as yet I have borne all their malices, and now thou wouldest murder me. It moveth of an evil nature, but first thou shalt die with this stroke." And so stept forth with his knife and would have slain him, but then all the knights and squires kneeled down before him weeping and said: "Ah, sir, have mercy for God's sake, slay not Gaston your son; remember ye have no more children. Sir, cause him to be kept and take good information of the matter: peradventure he knew not what he bare and peradventure is nothing guilty of the deed." "Well," quoth the earl, "incontinent put him in prison, and let him be so kept that I may have a reckoning of him."

'Then the child was put into the tower, and the earl took a great many of them that served his son, and some of them departed; and as yet the bishop of Lescar is at Pau out of the country,[1] for he was had in suspect and so were divers other. The earl caused to be put to death a fifteen right

[1] 'Faisoit essay de toutes ses viandes,' 'made assay of all his meats.'

[1] 'And the bishop of Lescar near Pau is still out of the country.'

horribly, and the cause that the earl laid to them was, he said it could be none otherwise but that they knew of the child's secrets; wherefore they ought to have shewed it to him and to have said: "Sir, Gaston your son beareth a purse at his bosom." Because they did not thus, they died horribly, whereof it was great pity, for some of them were as fresh and as jolly squires as were any in all the country, for ever the earl was served with good men.

'This thing touched the earl near to the heart, and that he well shewed. For on a day he assembled at Orthez all the nobles and prelates of Foix and of Bearn and all the notable persons of his country; and when they were all assembled, he shewed them wherefore he sent for them, as how he had found his son in this default, for the which he said his intent was to put him to death, as he had well deserved. Then all the people answered to that case with one voice and said: "Sir, saving your grace, we will not that Gaston should die: he is your heir and ye have no more." And when the earl heard the people how they desired for his son, he somewhat refrained his ire. Then he thought to chastise him in prison a month or two and then to send him on some voyage for two or three year, till he might somewhat forget his evil will and that the child might be of greater age and of more knowledge. Then he gave leave to all the people to depart; but they of Foix would not depart from Orthez till the earl should assure them that Gaston should not die, they loved the child so well. Then the earl promised them, but he said he would keep him in prison a certain space to chastise him: and so upon this promise every man departed, and Gaston abode still in prison. These tidings spread abroad into divers places, and at that time pope Gregory the eleventh was at Avignon. Then he sent the cardinal of Amiens in legation into Bearn, to have come to the earl of Foix for that business, and by that time he came to Beziers, he heard such tidings that he needed not to go any further for that matter, for there he heard how Gaston son to the earl of Foix was dead. Sith I have shewed you so much, now shall I shew you how he died.

'The earl of Foix caused his son to be kept in a dark chamber in the tower of Orthez a ten days. Little did he eat or drink, yet he had enough brought him every day; but when he saw it, he would go therefrom and set little thereby, and some said that all the meat that had been brought him stood whole and entire the day of his death, wherefore it was great marvel that he lived so long. For divers reasons the earl caused him to be kept in the chamber alone without any company, other to counsel or comfort him, and all that season the child lay in his clothes, as he came in, and he argued in himself and was full of melancholy and cursed the time that ever he was born and engendered, to come to such an end. The same day that he died, they that served him of meat and drink, when they came to him they said: "Gaston, here is meat for you." He made no care thereof, and said: "Set it down there." He that served him regarded and saw in the prison all the meat stand whole, as it had been brought him before, and so departed and closed the chamber door and went to the earl and said: "Sir, for God's sake have mercy on your son Gaston, for he is near famished in prison. There he lieth: I think he never did eat anything sith he came into prison, for I have seen there this day all that ever I brought him before lying together in a corner. Of those words the earl was sore displeased, and without any word speaking went out of his chamber and came to the prison where his son was; and in an evil hour he had the same time a little knife in his hand to pare withal his nails. He opened the prison door and came to his son and had the little knife in his hand not an inch out of his hand, and in great displeasure he thrust his hand to his son's throat, and the point of the knife a little entered into his throat into a certain vein, and said: "Ah, traitor, why dost thou not eat thy meat?" and therewith the earl departed without any more doing or saying and went into his own chamber. The child was abashed and afraid of the coming of his father and also was feeble of fasting, and the point of the knife a little entered into a vein of his throat, and so fell down suddenly and died. The earl was scant in his chamber, but the keeper of the child came to him and said: "Sir, Gaston your son is dead." "Dead!" quoth the earl, "Yea truly, sir," quoth he. The earl would

not believe it, but sent thither a squire that was by him, and he went and came again and said: "Sir, surely he is dead." Then the earl was sore displeased and made great complaint for his son and said: "Ah, Gaston, what a poor adventure is this for thee and for me. In an evil hour thou wentest to Navarre to see thy mother. I shall never have the joy that I had before." Then the earl caused his barber to shave him, and clothed himself in black, and all his house, and with much sore weeping the child was borne to the Friars in Orthez and there buried. Thus as I have shewed you the earl of Foix slew Gaston his son, but the king of Navarre gave the occasion of his death.'

CHAPTER XXVII

How sir Peter of Bearn had a strange disease, and of the countess of Biscay his wife.

WHEN I had heard this tale of the death of Gaston son to the earl of Foix, I had great pity thereof for the love of the earl his father, whom I found a lord of high recommendation, noble, liberal and courteous, and also for love of the country, that should be in great strife for lack of an heir. Then I thanked the squire and departed from him; but after I saw him divers times in the earl's house and talked oftentimes with him. And on a time I demanded of him of Sir Peter of Bearn, bastard brother to the earl of Foix, because he seemed to me a knight of great valour, whether he were rich, and married or no. The squire answered and said: 'Truly he is married, but his wife and children be not in his company.' 'And why, sir?' quoth I. 'I shall shew you,' quoth the squire.

'This sir Peter of Bearn hath an usage, that in the night time while he sleepeth, he will rise and arm himself and draw out his sword and fight all about the house and cannot tell with whom, and then goeth to bed again: and when he is waking, his servants do shew him how he did, and he would say he knew nothing thereof and how they lied. Sometime his servants would leave none armour nor sword in his chamber, and when he would thus rise and find none armour, he would make such a noise and rumour as though all the devils of hell had been in his chamber.' Then I demanded if he had great lands by his wife. 'Yes truly, sir,' quoth he, 'but the lady by whom cometh the land joyeth of the profits thereof; this sir Peter of Bearn hath but the fourth part.' 'Sir,' quoth I, 'where is his wife?' 'Sir,' quoth he, 'she is in Castile with the king her cousin. Her father was earl of Biscay and was cousin-german to king don Peter, who slew him, and also he would have had the lady to have put her in prison, and he took the possession of all the land, and as long as he lived the lady had nothing there. And it was said to this lady, who was countess of Biscay after the decease of her father: "Madam, save yourself, for king don Peter, if he may get you, will cause you to die or else put you in prison, he is so sore displeased with you, because he saith ye should report and bear witness that he caused the queen his wife to die in her bed, who was sister to the duke of Bourbon and sister to the French queen, and your words, he saith, are believed rather than another, because ye were privy of her chamber." And for this cause the lady Florence countess of Biscay departed out of her country with a small company, as the common usage is to fly from death as near as men can; so she went into the country of Basques and passed through it, and so came hither to Orthez to the earl and shewed him all her adventure. The earl, who had ever pity of ladies and damosels, retained her, and so she abode with the lady of Corasse, a great lady in his country. As then this sir Peter of Bearn his brother was but a young knight and had not then this usage to rise a nights, as he doth now. The earl loved him well, and married him to this lady and recovered her lands, and so this sir Peter had by this lady a son and a daughter, but they be with their mother in Castile, who be as yet but young, therefore the lady would not leave them with their father.' 'Ah, Saint Mary,' quoth I, 'how did sir Peter of Bearn take this fantasy first, that he dare not sleep alone in his chamber, and that, when he is asleep, riseth thus and maketh all that business? They are things to be marvelled at.' 'By my faith,' quoth the squire, 'he hath been often demanded thereof, but he saith he cannot tell whereof it cometh.

The first time that ever he did so was the night after that he had been on a day a hunting in the woods of Biscay, and chased a marvellous great bear, and the bear had slain four of his hounds and hurt divers, so that none durst come near him. Then this sir Peter took a sword of Bordeaux and came in great ire for because of his hounds, and assailed the bear and fought long with him, and was in great peril and took great pain or he could overcome him. Finally he slew the bear and then returned to his lodging, to the castle of Lenguidendon in Biscay, and made the bear to be brought with him. Every man had marvel of the greatness of the beast and of the hardness of the knight, how he durst assail the bear. And when the countess of Biscay his wife saw the bear, she fell in a swoon and had great dolour, and so she was borne into her chamber, and so all that day, the night after and the next day she was sore discomforted and would not shew what she ailed. On the third day she said to her husband: "Sir, I shall not be whole till I have been a pilgrimage at Saint James. Sir, I pray you give me leave to go thither and to have with me my son and Adrienne my daughter." Her husband agreed thereto: she took all her gold, jewels and treasure with her, for she thought never to return again, whereof her husband took no heed. So the lady did her pilgrimage and made an errand to go and see the king of Castile, her cousin, and the queen. They made her good cheer, and there she is yet and will not return again nor send her children. And so thus the next night that this sir Peter had thus chased the bear and slain him, while he slept in his bed, this fantasy took him; and it was said that the countess his wife knew well, as soon as she saw the bear, that it was the same that her father did once chase, and in his chasing he heard a voice, and saw nothing, that said to him: "Thou chasest me, and I would thee no hurt: therefore thou shalt die an evil death." Of this the lady had remembrance, when she saw the bear, by that she had heard her father say before, and she remembered well how king don Peter strake off her father's head without any cause, and in like wise she feared her husband:[1] and yet she saith and maintaineth that he shall die of an evil death, and that he doth nothing as yet to that he shall do hereafter. Now, sir, I have shewed you of sir Peter of Bearn, as ye have demanded of me; and this is a true tale, for thus it is and thus it befel. How think you,' quoth he, 'thereby?'

And I, who mused on the great marvel, said: 'Sir, I believe it well, that it is as ye have said. Sir, we find in old writing that anciently such as were called gods and goddesses[1] at their pleasure would change and transform men into beasts and into fowls, and in like wise women. And it might be so, that this bear was before some knight chasing in the forest of Biscay, and peradventure displeased in that time some god or goddess, whereby he was transformed unto a bear, to do there his penance, as anciently Acteon was changed unto an hart.' 'Acteon!' quoth the squire, 'I pray you shew me that story; I would fain hear it.' 'Sir,' quoth I, 'according to the ancient writings we find how Acteon was a jolly and an expert knight, and loved the sport of hunting above all games. And on a day he chased in the woods, and an hart arose before him marvellous great and fair. He hunted him all the day and lost all his company, servants and hounds, and he was right desirous to follow his prey and followed the fewe of the hart till he came into a little meadow, closed round about with woods and high trees; and in the meadow there was a fair fountain, in the which Diana goddess of chastity was baining herself, and her damosels about her. The knight came suddenly on them, or he was ware, and he was so far forward that he could not go back; and the damosels were abashed to see a stranger and ran to their lady and shewed her,[2] who was ashamed, because she was naked. And when she saw the knight, she said: "Acteon, they that sent thee hither loved thee but little: I will not that when thou art gone hence in other places, that thou shouldest report that thou hast seen me naked and my damosels; and for the outrage that thou

[1] 'And therefore she swooned in presence of her husband.'

[1] 'Les dieux et les déesses': the qualification 'such as were called' is due to the translator.

[2] 'The damosels were ashamed and confused (estranges) at his coming and forthwith covered (couvrirent erramment) their lady.'

hast done thou must have penance. Therefore I will that thou be transformed in the likeness of the same hart that thou hast chased all this day." And incontinent Acteon was turned unto a hart, who naturally loveth the water.[1] In like wise it might be of the bear of Biscay, and how that the lady knew peradventure more than she would speak of at that time. Therefore she ought the better to be excused.' The squire answered and said: 'Sir, it may well be.' Then we left our talking for that time.

CHAPTER XXVIII

Of the great solemnity that the earl of Foix made at the feast of Saint Nicholas, and the tale that the bascot of Mauleon shewed to sir John Froissart.

AMONG other solemnities that the earl of Foix kept on the high feasts of the year, he kept the feast of Saint Nicholas in great solemnity, he and all his land, as great as at the feast of Easter. And this was shewed me by a squire of his house the third day that I came hither, and I saw it myself right well apparent, for I was there on the same day. First all the clergy of the town of Orthez and all the people, men, women and children, with procession came to the castle to fetch the earl, who all afoot departed from his castle and went with the clergy a procession to the church of Saint Nicholas, and there the clergy sang a psalm of the psalter: *Benedictus dominus deus meus, qui docet manus meas ad proelium et digitos meos ad bellum, etc.* And when this psalm was sung, then they began to sing as they did on Christmas day or Easter day in the pope's chapel or the French king's, for he had with him many singers: the bishop of Pamiers sang the mass, and there I heard as good playing at organs as ever I heard in any place. To speak briefly and according to reason, the earl of Foix then was right perfect in all things, and as sage and as perceiving as any high prince in his days: there was none could compare with him in wit, honour nor in largess. At the feasts of Christmas, which he kept ever right solemn, came to his house many knights and squires of Gascoyne, and to every man he made good cheer. There I saw the bourg of Spain, who laid the wood and the ass on the fire together, of whom sir Espang de Lyon shewed of his force, and I was glad to see him, and the earl of Foix made him good semblant. There I saw also knights of Aragon and of England of the duke of Lancaster's house, who as then lay at Bordeaux. The earl made them good cheer and gave them great gifts. I acquainted myself with those knights, and by them I was informed of many things that fell in Castile, in Navarre and in Portugal, of the which I shall speak of when time requireth hereafter.

And on a day I saw a squire of Gascoyne called the bascot of Mauleon, a man of a fifty year of age, an expert man of arms and a hardy by seeming. He alighted at my lodging in Orthez at the sign of the Moon, at Ernaulton du Puy's. He brought with him his somers and carriages, as though he had been a great baron, and was served, both he and his servants, in silver vessel. And when I heard his name and saw the earl of Foix and every man do him so much honour, then I demanded of sir Espang de Lyon and said: 'Sir, is not this the squire that departed from the castle of Trigalet when the duke of Anjou lay at siege before Malvoisin?' 'Yes truly,' quoth he, 'it is the same, and he is a good man of arms and a good captain.' And so then I fell in acquaintance with him, for he was lodged thereas I was, and a cousin of his called Ernaulton, captain of Carlat in Auvergne, with whom I was well acquainted, helped me to be acquainted with him, and in like wise so did the bourg of Campagne. And at a time, as we were taking and devising of arms, sitting by the fire abiding for midnight, that the earl should go to supper, then this squire's cousin began to reckon up his life[1] and of the deeds of arms that he had been at, saying how he had endured as much loss as profit. Then he demanded of me and said: 'Sir John, have ye in your history anything of this matters that I speak of?' And I answered and said: 'I could not tell till I hear them: shew forth your matter, and I will gladly hear you,

[1] 'Ayme les eaues'; but this is apparently a corruption of 'ayme les chiens,' the idea being that the hart enjoys the sport of being hunted.

[1] 'His cousin put him in the way of speaking and telling of his life.'

for peradventure I have heard somewhat but not all.' 'That is true,' quoth the squire.

Then he began to say thus: 'The first time that I bare armour was under the captal of Buch at the battle of Poitiers, and as it was my hap, I had that day three prisoners, a knight and two squires, of whom I had one with another four hundred thousand franks. The next year after, I was in Pruce with the earl of Foix and the captal his cousin, under whom I was; and at our return at Meaux in Brie we found the duchess of Normandy that was then, and the duchess of Orleans and a great number of ladies and damosels, who were closed in and besieged by them of the Jaquerie; and if God had not helped them they had been enforced and defoiled, for they were of great puissance and in number more than ten thousand, and the ladies were alone. And so we in the aid of those ladies did set on them, and there were slain of the Jaquerie more than six thousand, and they rebelled never sith.

'At that time it was truce between France and England, but the king of Navarre made war in his own quarrel against the French king and regent. The earl of Foix returned into his own country; but my master the captal, and I and other abode still with the king of Navarre for his wages; and then we and other that aided us made great war in France and specially in Picardy, and took many towns and castles in the bishoprics of Beauvais and Amiens, and as then we were lords of the fields and rivers and conquered great finance. And when the truce failed between England and France, then the king of Navarre ceased his war and took a peace between the regent and him. Then the king of England with a great puissance passed the sea and came and laid siege to the town of Rheims. Then the king of England sent for my master, who was at Clermont in Beauvoisin, and there made war for the king against all the country: then we came to the king of England and to his children. And then,' quoth the squire to me, 'Sir John, I think ye know already all that matter, and how the king of England wedded his wife,[1] and how he came before Chartres, and how the peace was made there between these two kings.' 'That is true, sir,' quoth I, 'in writing I have it and the continue of all the treaties.' Then the bascot of Mauleon spake again and said: 'When this peace was thus made between these two kings, it was ordained that all men of war and companions should avoid and leave their fortresses and castles that they held. Then all manner of men of war and poor companions drew together, and the captains took counsel what they should do: and then they said: "Though these two kings have taken peace together, yet we must live." Then they went into Burgoyne, and there were captains of all nations, English, Gascons, Spaniards, Navarrois, Almains, Scots and of all manner of nations, and there I was as a captain; and there we found in Burgoyne and about the river of Loire of our company a twelve thousand of one and other, and in the same company there were a three or four thousand of good and chosen men of war, and as subtle in all deeds of arms as might be and apt to advise a battle and to take their advantage, and as hardy to scale and assail town or castle; and that was well seen at the battle of Brignais, whereas we overthrew the constable of France and the earl of Forez and two thousand spears, knights and squires. This battle did great profit to the companions, for before they were but poor, and then they were all rich by reason of good prisoners, towns and castles, that they won in the bishopric of Lyon and on the river of Rhone. And when they had the Pont-Saint-Esprit, they departed their war and made war to the pope and to the cardinals, who could not be quit of them, nor had not been, till they found another remedy. The pope sent into Lombardy for the marquis of Montferrat, a right valiant knight, who had war with the lord of Milan. When he was come to Avignon, the pope and the cardinals spake to him in such wise, that he entreated with the captains, English, Gascons and Almains, for threescore thousand franks, that the pope and cardinals should pay to certain of these captains and to their companies, as sir John Hacoude, a valiant English knight, sir Robert Briquet, Creswey, Naudan de Bageran, the bourg Camus, and divers other, and so then went into Lombardy and gave up the Pont-Saint-

[1] 'Espousa sa femme'; but this is nonsense: the true reading seems to be 'passa.'

Esprit, and of all their routs they took but the sixth part:[1] but we tarried behind, sir Seguin of Badefol, sir John Jouel, sir James Planchin, sir John Aymery, the bourg of Perigord, Espiote, Louis Robaut, Limousin, Jacques Tiquerel, I, and divers other. And we kept still and lay at Saint-Clement, at Arbresle, at Tarare, at Brignais, at the Pont-Saint-Denis, at the Hospital of Rochefort, for we had more than forty[2] fortresses and houses in the countries of Forez, Velay, base Burgoyne[3] and on the river of Loire, and we ransomed all the country; they could not be quit of us nother for paying well nor otherwise. And in a night we took the fortress of Charité,[4] and there we abode a year and a half, and all was ours from Charité to Puy in Auvergne. Sir Seguin of Badefol had left his garrison of Anse and held Brioude in Auvergne, whereby he had great profit, what there and in the country, to the value of a hundred thousand franks, and on the river of Loire to Orleans and the river of Allier was all ours. And the archpriest, who was captain of Nevers and was good French, could not remedy the country, but in that he knew many of the companions, and so by his desire sometime the less hurt was done. And the archpriest did the same time much good in Nivernois, for he caused the city of Nevers to be closed, else it had been overrun and robbed divers times; for we had in those marches towns and castles more than twenty-six. There was neither knight nor squire nor rich man, without he were agreed with us, that durst look out of his house, and this war we made in the title of the king of Navarre.'

CHAPTER XXIX

SUMMARY.—The bascot de Mauléon told how after the battle of Cocherel the companions under sir John Aymery were defeated at Sancerre, and how he was at the battle of Auray and then in Spain under sir Hugh Calverley, first on one side and then on the other. Afterwards he held the castle of Trigalet and lost it to the duke of Anjou. Then he resolved to get, if he could, the town and castle of Terry in Albigeois. The tale continues thus:—

'Without the town there is a fair fountain, and of usage every morning the women of the town would come thither with pots and other vessels on their heads, to fetch of the clear water there. Then I took fifty companions of the garrison of Culier, and we rode all a day through woods and bushes, and the next night about midnight I set a bushment near to Terry, and I and a six other all only did on us women's array and with pots in our hands, and so we came to a meadow right near to the town and hid ourselves behind great cocks of hay that were there standing, for it was about the feast of Saint John, when they make hay. And when the hour came that the gate was opened to let the women go out for water, we seven took our pots and filled them at the fountain and went toward the town, our faces wrapped in kerchers so that we could not be known. The women that we met going for water said to us: "Ah, Saint Mary, gossips, ye were up betimes." We answered in their language with a faint[1] voice, "That is true"; and so passed by them and came to the gate, and we found nobody there but a sowter dressing forth of his baggage. Then one of us blew a horn to draw thither our company out of the bushment. The sowter took no heed, but when he heard the horn blow, he demanded of them: "What is this? Who was that blew the horn?" One answered and said: "It was a priest went into the fields." "Ah, that is true," quoth the sowter, "it was sir Francis our priest: gladly he goeth a mornings to seek for an hare." Then our company came and we entered into the town, where we found no man to draw his sword to make any defence. Thus I took the town and castle of Terry, whereby I have had great profit yearly, more than the castle of Trigalet with the appurtenance is worth. But as now I wot not what to do, for I am in a treaty with the earl of Armagnac and with the Dolphin of Auvergne, who hath ex-

[1] 'Bien les six pars,' 'fully six parts out of seven,' a manner of expression which the translator always misunderstands.
[2] 'Sixty.'
[3] 'Basse-Bourgoingne.'
[4] La Charité-sur-Loire.

[1] 'Fainte,' *i.e.* feigned.

press authority by the French king to buy all towns and fortresses of the companions, such as they hold in their hands, wheresoever they be, other in Auvergne, Rouergue, Limousin, Quercy, Perigord, Albigeois, Agen, and of all such as hath or doth make any war in the king of England's title. And many are departed and have rendered their fortresses; I cannot tell if I will render mine or not.' With that word said the bourg of Campagne: 'Cousin, it is true, for of Carlat, which I hold in Auvergne, I am come hither to hear some tidings, for sir Louis of Sancerre, marshal of France, will be here shortly: he is as now at Tarbes, as I have heard of such as come thence.' With these words they called for wine and drank. Then the bascot said to me: 'Sir John, are ye well informed of my life? Yet I have had other adventures, which I have not shewed, nor will not speak of all.' 'Sir,' quoth I, 'I have well heard you.'[1]

CHAPTER XXX

How a squire called Limousin turned French, and how he caused Louis Robaut. his companion in arms, to be taken.

CHAPTER XXXI

Of the state or ordinance of the earl of Foix: and how the town of Santarem rebelled for the great travail, damage and outrage that was done thereto.

Of the estate and order of the earl of Foix cannot be too much spoken nor praised; for the season that I was at Orthez I found him such and much more than I can speak of: but while I was there, I saw and heard many things that turned me to great pleasure. I saw on a Christmas day sitting at his board four bishops of his country, two Clementines and two Urbanists, the bishop of Pamiers and the bishop of Lescar, Clementines, they sat highest, then the bishop of Aire and the bishop of Roy, on the frontiers of Bourdelois and Bayonne, Urbanists: then sat the earl of Foix, and then the viscount of Roquebertin of Gascoyne and the viscount of Bruniquel, the viscount of Gousserant and a knight of England of the duke of Lancaster's, who as then lay at Lisbon; the duke had sent him thither, the knight was called sir William Willoughby. And at another table sat five abbots and two knights of Aragon called sir Raymond de Montflorentin and sir Martin de Roanès. And at another table sat knights and squires of Gascoyne and of Bigorre, first the lord d'Anchin, then sir Gaillart de la Motte, sir Raymond of Castelnau, the lord of Caumont, Gascon, the lord of Caupene, the lord de la Lane, the lord of Montferrand, sir William de Benac, sir Peter of Curton, the lord of Valencin, and sir Auger named the Bascle;[1] and at other tables knights of Bearn a great number; and the chief stewards of the hall were sir Espang of Lyon, sir Chiquart de Bois-Verdun, sir Monaut de Navailles and sir Peter of Baulx of Bearn, and the earl's two bastard brethren served at the table, sir Ernaulton Guillaume and sir Peter of Bearn, and the earl's two sons sir Yvain of l'Echelle was sewer and sir Gracien bare his cup. And there were many minstrels as well of his own as of strangers, and each of them did their devoir in their faculties. The same day the earl of Foix gave to heralds and minstrels the sum of five hundred franks, and gave to the duke of Touraine's minstrels gowns of cloth of gold furred with ermines, valued at two hundred franks. This dinner endured four hours. Thus I am glad to speak of the earl of Foix, for I was there in his house a twelve weeks, and well entreated in all things; and while I was there, I might learn and hear tidings of all countries, and also the gentle knight sir Espang of Lyon, in whose company I entered into the country, he caused me to be acquainted with knights and squires such as could declare to me anything that I could demand; for I was informed of the business of Portugal and of Castile and what manner of war they had made, and of the battles and rencounters between those two kings and their assisters, of which businesses I shall make just report.

SUMMARY.—The author relates again how ambassadors went from Portugal to England, and how siege was laid to Lisbon

[1] 'By my faith, sir, yes.' The translator has taken 'oui' for 'heard.'

[1] Or by a better text, 'sir Auger his brother, and the Moine de Basele.'

by king John of Castile, helped by many of the knights of Bearn, who went into Spain contrary to the counsel of the earl of Foix. The town of Santarem rebelled against the king of Castile because of the Bretons who were lodged there.

CHAPTER XXXII

How the king of Castile left the siege of Lisbon, and how they of Santarem excused themselves.

CHAPTER XXXIII

Of the marvellous battle that was at Juberoth[1] between the king of Castile and king John of Portugal.

WHILE the king of Castile was at Santarem, there came to him the Gascons of Bearn with a fair company. Sir Raynold Limousin rode to receive them and welcomed them right sweetly, as he that could right well do it, and brought them to the king, who had great joy of their coming and commanded sir Raynold Limousin to see them well lodged at their ease: and he did so that they were contented. Thus these businesses rested, and the king lay still at Santarem, and his people thereabout. The king of Castile had as then abroad lodged in the fields and thereabout a four thousand men of arms and thirty thousand of other: and on a day he called the barons of France to council, to know their minds how he should maintain forth his war; for he had layen at great cost before Lisbon and had done nothing, and surely if the Gascons had not come and encouraged the king, he had departed from Santarem and gone other to Burgos or into Galice, for his people were sore annoyed to lie so long in the fields. When the knights of France and of Bearn were come before the king, he said: 'Fair sirs, ye be all good men of war: wherefore I would have your counsel how I may maintain my war against the Lisbonois and Portugalois, that have kept me here in the field a year and yet I have done nothing to them. I had thought to have got them out of Lisbon, to have fought with them, but they would in no wise issue out; wherefore my people give me counsel to give every man leave to depart to their own houses: wherefore I pray you give me your advice.'

The knights of France and of Bearn, who were but newly come and desired arms and as then had nothing done, thinking to deserve their wages that they had received, answered and said: 'Sir, ye be a puissant man of lands, and little costeth you the pain and travail of your people, and specially sith they be in their own country: we would not say so much if they were in a strange country clean without provision, but as now we say they ought not to give you any such counsel, for they be here in as great ease as we see, as though they were at home. Sir, we say to you not in manner of a determinate counsel, for ye are wise enough, but we think by your high prudence the best were to choose as yet to keep the field. Ye may well keep it till the feast of Saint Michael and peradventure by that time your enemies will assemble together and draw out into the field, when ye take least heed thereto, and so then without fail they shall be fought withal. Sir, we have great desire to win somewhat, for this journey hath cost us much and great pain and travail both to ourselves and to our horses, or we came into this country. Therefore, sir, it shall not be the opinion of our company thus to depart again.' 'By my faith,' quoth the king, 'ye speak well and truly. In this war and other I shall use from henceforth after your counsel; for the king my father and I also have found always in your countries great truth and faithfulness, and God have mercy of sir Bertram of Guesclin's soul, for he was a true knight, by whom in his time we had many recoverances and good journeys.'

The words and counsels that the king had of them of France and of Bearn were anon known among the lords and knights of Spain; wherewith they were sore displeased for two causes: one because it seemed to them that their king had more trust and confidence in strangers than in them, who were his liege men and had crowned him king; the second was in that they of France counselled the king to keep still his war, and they feeling themselves so weary of the war: and so spake among themselves in divers manners not openly

[1] Aljubarrota.

but privily. They would say the king could make no war but by the Frenchmen, and in likewise no more could his father: so they had great envy at the Frenchmen, which well appeared; for when the French varlets went out a-foraging, if the Spanish forengers were stronger, then they would take their forage from them and beat them and maim them, so that complaints came thereof to the king, and he blamed therefor his marshal sir Raynold Limousin and said: 'Why have ye not provided for this matter?' The marshal excused him and said, as God might help him, he knew nothing thereof, and that he would provide a remedy from thenceforth. Incontinent he stablished men of arms to keep the fields, that the French forengers rode at their surety, and also he made a cry and a commandment that every man that had any victual or provision to sell, that they should bring it to the field before Santarem, and that they should have a price reasonable for everything. So then the strangers had largely their part, for the king ordained that they should be served before all other, whereof the Spaniards had great despite.

So it was, the same week that the king of Castile departed from the siege of Lisbon three great ships of men of war and English archers arrived at Lisbon. They were to the number of five hundred, one and other, and the third part of them were of the companions adventurers, having no wages of no man; some were of Calais, of Cherbourg, of Brest in Bretayne, of Mortagne in Poitou; they had heard of the war between Castile and Portugal, and they came to Bordeaux and there assembled and said: 'Let us go at adventure into Portugal; we shall find them there that will receive us and set us a-work.' Sir John Harpeden, who as then was seneschal of Bordeaux, counselled them greatly thereto, for he would not they should abide in Bordelois, for they might there have done more hurt than good, because they were companions adventurers and had nothing to lose. Of them that arrived at Lisbon I cannot name all: there were three squires English that were their captains, one was called Northbery, and another Marthebery and the third Huguelin of Hardeshull, and there were none of them past the age of fifty year, and good men of arms and well used in the feats of war. Of the coming of these Englishmen they of Lisbon were right glad, and so was the king of Portugal, who would see them; and so they went to the palace where the king was, who made them great cheer and demanded of them if the duke of Lancaster had sent them thither. 'Sir,' quoth Northbery, 'it is a long season sith he had any knowledge of us or we of him. Sir, we be men of divers sorts seeking for adventures: here be some are come to serve you from the town of Calais.' 'By my faith,' quoth the king, 'you and they both are right heartily welcome; your coming doth me great good and joy, and shortly I shall set you a-work. We have been here enclosed a great season, so that we be weary thereof, but now we will be at large in the field, as well as our enemies hath been.' 'Sir,' quoth they, 'we desire nothing else, and sir, we desire you that shortly we may see your enemies.' The king made them a dinner in his palace at Lisbon, and commanded that they should all be lodged in the city at their ease and to be paid for their wages for three months. Then the king set his clerks a-work and made letters and sent them all over his realm, commanding every man able to bear harness to draw to Lisbon.

All such as these letters came unto obeyed not, for many abode still in their houses; for three parts of the realm dissimuled with the king and with them of Lisbon, because they had crowned king a bastard, and spake great words thereagainst privily. And because of the great trouble and difference that the king of Castile and his council saw in the realm of Portugal, made him to advance himself to the intent to have conquered the country, saying how all should be won with one day's journey of battle, and that if they of Lisbon might be overthrown, the residue of the country would not be sorry of it, but put out of the realm that Master d'Avis[1] or else slay him, and then it should be a land of conquest for him, for his wife was right inheritor. Yet with a good will king John of Castile would have left the war, but his people

[1] Some MSS. of Froissart have 'maistre Denis' regularly instead of 'maistre d'Avis' (or 'maistre de Vis'), and so it is in the early printed text; so that the translator has 'mayster Danyce' here and elsewhere. The king had been grand master of the order of Avis.

would not suffer him, for they ever gave him courage, saying how his quarrel and cause was just. And when the king of Portugal saw that his commandment was not observed, and that much of his people disobeyed to serve him, he was right pensive and melancholious. He called to him such as he trusted best of Lisbon and of the knights of his house, who did their pain to crown him and also they had served king Ferrant, as sir John Radigo and sir John Teste d'Or, the lord of Figiere[1] and sir Gomez of Cabescon, Ambrose Coudrich, and Peter his brother, sir Ouges of Navaret, a knight of Castile who was turned Portugalois, for king John had chased him out of his realm and the king of Portugal had retained him and made him a chief captain. At this council the king shewed many things and said: 'Sirs, ye that be here, I know well ye be my friends, for ye have made me king. Behold now how divers folks of my realm excuseth themselves, so that I cannot get them to the field; for if they had as good will to fight with our enemies as I have, I would be right glad thereof; but they be not so disposed. I see how they refrain and dissimule the matter; wherefore I have need of counsel on this matter, how I may order myself, and therefore I pray you let me have your advice.' Then sir Gomez of Cabescon, a knight of Portugal, said: 'Sir, I counsel you for your honour that, as soon as ye may, draw yourself and all your people into the field and adventure you and we also, and we shall aid you to die in the quarrel, for ye be our king; and if there be any in Portugal rebels and disdainful to serve you, I say, and so saith divers of this town, that it is because ye have not issued out to shew your face against your enemies. Ye have the grace as yet to be reputed a valiant man in arms, and they say that now at need your valiantness faileth you. This it is that hath set your enemies in pride and hath cooled your subjects; for if they saw in you deeds of valour and of prowess, they would obey and doubt you, and so would do your enemies.' 'By my head,' quoth the king, 'ye say well, and so it is. Wherefore, sir, I will incontinent that every man make him ready; for we will ride out shortly and look on our enemies; either we will win all at this time or lose all.' 'Sir,' quoth the knight, 'it shall be done; for if the journey be yours and God send you good fortune, ye shall be king of Portugal for ever and ye shall be praised in all strange realms, whereas the knowledge thereof shall come. And to the perfect heritage of Portugal ye cannot attain but by battle: ye may take ensample of king don Henry your cousin, father to king John that now is king of Castile, of Spain, of Toledo, of Galice, of Cordowan and of Seville; he came to all these heritages by battle, otherwise he had never had them. For ye know how the puissance of the prince of Wales and of Acquitaine put king don Peter your cousin into possession of all these heritages and lands closed within Spain, and afterward by a journey of battle that don Henry had at Montiel against don Peter, who there lost all again and don Henry put in possession as he was before; at which journey he adventured himself and his, or else he had not been king there. In like wise, sir, ye must adventure, if ye think to live with honour.' 'Sir,' quoth the king, 'ye say true: I will have none other counsel but this, for this is profitable for us.'

Thus departed that council: and then it was ordained that within three days every man should draw into the fields and there to take some ground to abide their enemies. Those three days they kept the gates so close of Lisbon, that nother man nor woman could issue out; for they would not that their enemies should be privy of their intention. And when the Englishmen that were there understood that they should issue out and draw towards Santarem to look on their enemies, they were joyful. Then every man made him ready, and the archers dressed ready their bows and arrows and all other in everything that they needed. And on a Thursday they departed out of Lisbon, and that day they lodged by a little river side a two leagues from Lisbon with their faces toward Santarem, and every man said with good heart and will that they would never return to Lisbon till they had seen their enemies, saying how it was better for them that they should go and require battle of their enemies, rather than they should come on them; for they said they had seen and heard divers en-

[1] Higuera.

samples of requirers and not requirers, and ever of five four hath obtained,[1] and in a manner all the victories that the Englishmen have had in France, they were ever the requirers; for naturally the seekers for battle are more stronger and courageous in assailing than the defenders be. Of this opinion they were near all; and some of the burgesses of Lisbon said: 'We were at Bruges in Flanders when the Gauntois came before the town and required battle against the earl of Flanders and all his puissance, and we know well that Philip d'Arteveld, Peter du Bois, John Clicquetiel,[2] Francis Ackerman and Peter de Wintere, who as then were captains of the Gauntois, they brought out of Gaunt no more but seven thousand men, and yet they required battle of their enemies and overcame and discomfited a forty thousand. This is true, and this was without any treason but by clean fortune of battle. This was done on a Saturday a league from Bruges, as we heard reported the next day, when they had won the town of Bruges. So thus they did put in adventure other to win or to lose; and thus must we do, if we think to have any good speed.' Thus these Lisbonois that Thursday spake one to another: and when the king was informed of their words and of their great comfort, he had great joy.

And on the Friday in the morning they sowned their trumpets and made them ready, and took the way on the right hand following the river and the plain country for their carriage that followed them, and so rode that day four leagues. That day tidings came to the king of Castile, where he lay at Santarem, that the Portugalois and the Lisbonois were coming towards him. These tidings anon were spread abroad in the host, whereof the Spaniards, Frenchmen and Gascons had great joy and said: 'Behold yonder Lisbonois be valiant men, sith they come to seek for battle. Shortly let us go into the fields and let us close them among us, an we may, to the intent that they return not again.' Then it was ordained and published in the host that every man the Saturday in the morning afoot and a-horseback should issue out of Santarem and draw towards their enemies to fight with them. Every man made him ready and were joyful of that journey. And on the Saturday in the morning they sowned their trumpets and the king heard mass in the castle and drank, and then leapt on his horse and every man with him, and so drew into the field in good array of battle, sir Raynold Limousin, marshal of the host, foremost. And he sent forth scurrers to advise the dealing of their enemies and to see where they were and what number they were of. And the Frenchmen sent forth two squires, one a Burgoynian and the other a Gascon, the Burgoynian was called William of Mondigy and he was there with sir John of Rye, and they of Gascoyne and Bearn sent forth Bertrand of Bareges, and they were both the same day made knights: and with them rode forth a chatelain of Castile, a good man of arms, called Peter Ferrant of Medine, he was on a marvellous light jennet. And while these three rode forth to advise their enemies, the residue of the host rode a soft pace, and they were in number two thousand spears, knights and squires, Gascons, Burgoynians, Frenchmen, Picards and Bretons, as well appointed and armed as any men might be, and a twenty thousand Spaniards all a-horseback: and they had not ridden forth a bow-shot but they stood still.

On the other side the king of Portugal in like wise had sent forth three scurrers to aview justly the demeaning of the Spaniards; whereof two of them were English squires, expert men of arms, one called Janequin d'Artebery and the other Philip Barkeston, and with them Ferrant de la Gresse of Portugal. They were all well horsed and rode forth till they came to a little hill, and there they might see the behaving of the Spaniards. Then they returned to the king of Portugal and to his council and there made relation of that they had done, and said: 'Sir, we have been so far forward that we have seen your enemies. Sir, surely they be a great number, they are well a thirty thousand horse: therefore,

[1] 'Et que contre cinq les quatre avoient obtenu la place' (in the full text 'les quatre requerans'), which perhaps means that in four cases out of five those who offered battle had gained the victory; but Johnes translates 'that inferior numbers had often gained the day': that is, that when the proportion was four against five, the four by offering battle had gained the day.

[2] Criekenstein.

sir, take your advice.' Then the king demanded if they rode all in one battle or not. 'Sir,' quoth they, 'surely they be in two battles.' Then the king turned him toward his people and said aloud: 'Sirs, now advise you well; for there needeth now no cowardness, for we shall fight shortly; for our enemies be coming and hath great desire to find us, and so they shall, for we cannot fly nor return. We are issued out of Lisbon a great number of people: think, sirs, to do well and let us sell our lives dear. Ye have made me king: this day shall I see if the crown of Portugal will abide with me peaceably or not. And, sirs, of one thing be sure: I shall not fly, but abide the adventure with you.' Then they all answered with a good will: 'So be it, and we shall all abide with you.'

Then the English captains were called forth, as Northbery and Hardeshull and other of them that were most expert in arms. The king demanded of them what counsel they would give him how to abide the adventure of the battle, for he said he knew well they must needs fight, for his enemies approached fast, 'and they be in number four against one of us.' Then the Englishmen said: 'Sir, sith we shall have battle and that they be greater in number than we be, wherefore it is a hard party. We cannot conquer without we take some advantage of some hedges or bushes: let us take such a ground as we may fortify, and that they shall not enter upon us so lightly as they should do on the plain field.' 'Sirs,' quoth the king, 'ye speak wisely, and it shall be as ye have devised.'

On this counsel of the Englishmen the king rested, and there took advice what ground they might take. And not far off from them was the town of Juberoth, a great village: thither the Lisbonois had sent all their provision, somers and carriages, for it was their intention that night to lodge there, whether they had battle or no, if they might scape with honour. And without the town a quarter of a league or thereabout there was a great abbey of monks, whither they of Juberoth and of other villages were wont to come to hear mass; and the church standeth a little out of the way in a moat environed about with great trees, hedges and bushes: it was a strong place with a little help. Then the Englishmen were called to counsel to the king, for though they were but few, yet the king would follow much their advice. Then they said: 'Sir, we know hereby a place, the minster without Juberoth among the trees; it standeth in a strong place with a little amendment and help.' And such as knew the country said: 'Sir, it is true.' Then the king said: 'Let us draw thither, and let us order there ourselves as men of war ought to do; so that when our enemies come, let them not find us unprovided.'[1]

Incontinent it was done, and so they came whereas the church was. Then when the Englishmen and sir Ouges of Navaret and divers other valiant men of Portugal and of Lisbon had well advised the place round about, they said: 'This place is strong enough with a little help, so that we may here abide the adventure.' Then on the side next the fields they cut down the trees and laid them one over another, to the intent that horsemen should not come with full course on them. They left one way open, not very large, and such archers and cross-bows as they had they set them on every side of the way, and their men of arms all afoot in a plain within the way and the church on their one side: and there was the king's banners pight up. And when they had thus ordered everything, they were in great joy and said that if it pleased God, they were well and in such a place to keep long and to make a good journey. Then the king said: 'Fair sirs, this day every man do his part and think not to fly, for that cannot avail us. We are far off from Lisbon and also in the chase there is no recovering; for three will slay and beat down twelve that be flying. Therefore shew this day that ye be men of prowess and sell dearly your lives, and

[1] In the recital of these events by Laurence Fougase (Fogaça) to the duke of Lancaster (chap. xlv.) it is said that the king of Portugal chose this place because of a great victory gained there formerly by Charlemagne over seven kings of the infidels, in memory of which he had founded an abbey of black monks; and also afterwards a victory had been gained there by the earl of Portugal over the king of Castile, which led to the founding of the kingdom of Portugal. No reference is there made to the advice given by the Englishmen, who in fact are not mentioned at all in that narrative.

imagine in yourselves how the journey shall be ours, as it shall be if God be pleased, and then shall we be much honoured and spoken of in strange countries, whereas the tidings shall come; for always the victors be exalted and they that be discomfited dispraised. And, sirs, think how ye have made me king, wherefore ye ought to be the more hardy and courageous; and of one thing be ye sure, that as long as this axe endureth in my hands, I shall fight, and if it fail or break, I shall get another, and shew myself that I will maintain and defend the crown of Portugal for myself and for the right that I have by succession of my brother, the which I take on my soul that mine enemies travaileth me[1] wrongfully and that the quarrel is mine.'

Then all such as heard the king said: 'Sir, of your grace and mercy ye admonish us wisely, and, sir, we shall help to aid and maintain that we have given you, which is your own. Sir, we shall all abide with you here in this same place, and shall not depart without God depart us. Sir, make a cry to all your people, for every man hath not heard you speak, commanding on pain of death no man to fly: and, sir, if there be any that are faint-hearted to abide the battle, let them come forth, and give them leave to depart from the other, for one faint heart may discourage two dozen of good men; or else strike off their heads in your presence to give ensample to other.' The king answered: 'I will it be so.' Then there were two knights ordained to go and search every company and to demand if any were abashed to abide the battle. The messengers reported to the king when they returned that they could find no man but that was ready to abide the adventure of battle. 'It is so much the better,' quoth the king. Then the king caused all that would be made knights to come before him, and he would give them the order of knighthood in the name of God and of Saint George. And as I understand there were made a three-score new knights, whereof the king had great joy and did set them in the front of the battle and said to them: 'Sirs, the order of knighthood is as noble and high as any heart can think, and there is no knight that ought to be a coward nor shameful, but ought to be fierce and hardy as a lion when his helm is on his head and seeth his enemies. And because I would ye should this day shew prowess where it ought to be shewed, therefore I ordain you in the first front of the battle: and, sirs, do so that we may have honour and you also; otherwise your spurs are but evil set on.' And every knight answered as his turn fell, as he passed by the king: 'Sir, with the pleasure of God we shall so do to have your grace and love.' Thus the Portugalois ordered themselves and fortified them beside the church of Juberoth in Portugal. That day there was no Englishman that would be made knight, yet they were desired of the king and other, but they excused themselves for that day.

[1] 'Laquelle je dis (et prens sur l'âme de moy) que l'on me traveille à tort.' Another reading is 'chalenge' for 'traveille.' The meaning is, 'which I declare on my soul is wrongfully disputed.'

CHAPTER XXXIV

Of the Spaniards, how they ordered themselves and their battle.

Now let us return to the king don John of Castile and the knights and squires of France and of Gascoyne who were there with him; and such as they had sent to advise their enemies returned again and said: 'Sir king and ye lords and knights here present, we have rided so forward that we have seen our enemies, and according as we can judge they be not past ten thousand men in all, one and other, and they be about the minster of Juberoth, and there they be rested and set in order of battle, and there they shall be found whosoever will seek for them.' Then the king called to him his council and specially the barons and knights of France, and demanded of them what was best to do. They answered and said: 'Sir, we think it were best let them be fought withal incontinent. We see nothing else, for by that is reported, they be afraid and in great doubt, because they be so far off from any fortress. Lisbon is far off a six leagues; they cannot run thither with their ease, but they shall be overtaken by the way, without they take the advantage of the night. Therefore, sir, we counsel, sith ye know where they

be, order your battles and go and fight with them, while your people be of good will to do well.' Then the king demanded of them of his own country their opinions, as of sir Diego Gomez Manrique, sir Diego Pier Sarmiento, Pier Gonzalez of Mendoza, and Pier Ferrant of Velasco, and of the great master of Calatrava. They answered the king and said: 'Sir, we have well heard the knights of France, how they would have you hotly to set on your enemies. Sir, we will that ye know and they also, that ere we can come to them it will be night, for ye see the sun draweth downward and as yet ye have not ordered your battles. Sir, therefore we think it were good ye tarried till the morning, and let us draw so near them and lay so good spial in divers places, that if they would dislodge about midnight and depart, then let us also dislodge, for they cannot fly nor scape us, the country is so plain and there is no place to hide them by Lisbon, which we cannot get with our ease.[1] Sir, this counsel we give you.'

Then the king stood still a little and cast down his look to the earth, and after he turned his regard on the strangers. Then the marshal sir Raynold Limousin said, to please the Frenchmen, in the language of Spain to the intent he might the better be understanded of every man, and so turned him to the Spaniards, such as had given the king that counsel, saying and calling every man by his name: 'Sirs, how can ye be more sage in battle or more used in arms than these valiant knights be that be here present? How can ye devise anything beyond them, that should be of any valure? For they have done nothing else all their life days but travel from realm to realm to find and to do deeds of arms. How can you or durst you devise anything against their words, which are so noble and so high for to keep the honour of the king and of his realm, wherein ye have greater part than they? For ye have there your heritages and your bodies, and they have nothing there but now all only their bodies, which they will first and foremost put in adventure, and so they have desired of the king to have the first battle and the king hath granted them. Then regard their great and noble courage, when they will first of all adventure themselves for you. It should seem that ye have envy at them and that ye would that profit nor honour should come to them; which ye ought not to do, but to be all of one accord and will. And also by you and by your counsel the king hath been here in the fields long at great cost and charge for him and for all his, and lain at siege before Lisbon and could never have the adventure of battle till now with him that writeth himself king of Portugal, wherein he hath no right, for he is a bastard and not dispensed withal. And now he is in the field with such friends as he hath, which is no great number; and if now by craft he should again withdraw himself and not fought withal, ye put yourselves then in adventure that all the whole host should rise on you and slay you, or else that the king should repute you for traitors and strike off your heads and confisc all your lands. Therefore I see no better way for you than to be still and let them alone that hath seen more than you in such businesses, for ye never saw that they have done, nor never shall.' And then the king looked up and by seeming was glad with those words, and the Spaniards were abashed and feared they had done greater trespass than they did; for though the marshal reproved them and spake against them, yet they had well spoken and truly counselled the king: but what for valiantness and to please the strangers, who desired battle, the marshal spake as he did.

Then every man was still, and the king said: 'I will in the name of God and Saint James that our enemies be fought withal, and all such as will be made knights to come forth before me, for I will give them the order of knighthood in the honour of God and Saint George.' Then there came forth many squires of France and of Bearn and there they were made knights of the king's hand, as sir Roger of Spain, eldest son to sir Roger of the county of Foix, sir Bertrand of Bareges, sir Peter of Salebiere, sir Peter of Valencin, sir William of Quer, sir Augiers of Solenaire, sir Peter of Vaude, sir William of Mondigy, and of one and another to the

[1] 'And there is no strong place except Lisbon, where we cannot have them at our pleasure'; or following the better text, 'there is no place on this side Lisbon, except the place in which they are, where,' etc.

number of a hundred and forty, and there were certain barons of Bearn that raised up there first their banners, and also divers of Castile and also sir John of Rye. There might have been seen among these new knights great nobleness, and they maintained themselves so goodly that it was pleasure to behold them, for they were a fair battle. Then the lord of Lignac came before the king, and all other that were strangers; whatsoever nation they were of, so they were no Spaniards, they were all named in the name of strangers.[1] Then they said to the king: 'Sir, we be come from far parts to serve you. Sir, we require you do us that grace to let us have the first battle.' 'I am content,' quoth the king, 'in the name of God and Saint James, and Saint George be in your aid.' Then the Spaniards said one to another softly: 'Behold, for God's sake behold, how our king putteth all his trust in these Frenchmen: he hath no perfect trust in none other: they shall have the first battle; they praise us not so much that they will take us with them, they will do their deed by themselves and then let us do ours by ourselves. Let us let them alone with their enterprise: they have made their avaunt how they be strong enough to discomfit the Portugalois: let it be so, we are content; but it were good we demanded of the king whether he will abide with us or else go with the Frenchmen.' So thereupon they were long in murmuring, whether they should demand it or else be still; for they doubted greatly the words of sir Raynold Limousin. Howbeit, all things considered, they thought it none evil to demand him the question. Then six of the most notablest of them went to the king and inclined themselves and said: 'Right noble king, we see and understand well by apparent signs that this day ye[2] shall have battle with your enemies: God send grace it be to your honour and victory, as we greatly desire. Sir, we would know whether your pleasure lieth to be among the Frenchmen or else with us.' 'Fair sirs,' quoth the king, 'though I have granted the first battle to these knights and squires strangers, who are come far off to serve me and are valiant and expert men in wars, yet for all that I renounce you not, for I will be and abide among you: therefore, sirs, help to defend me.' Of this answer the Spaniards had great joy and were well contented, and said: 'Sir, so shall we do, and not to fail to die in the quarrel; for, sir, we are sworn to you and so have promised by the faith of our bodies when ye were crowned: for, sir, we loved so well the king your father that we cannot fail you in any wise.' 'That is our trust,' quoth the king. So thus the king of Spain abode among his own men, who were well a twenty thousand horsemen all covered in steel. Sir Raynold Limousin was in the first battle, for it was his right so to be, because he was marshal.

The same Saturday was a fair day, and the sun was turned toward evensong. Then the first battle came before Juberoth, where the king of Portugal and his men were ready to receive them. Of these French knights there were a two thousand spears, as fresh and as well ordered men as could be devised; and as soon as they saw their enemies, they joined together like men of war and approached in good order till they came within a bow-shot. And at their first coming there was a hard rencounter; for such as desired to assail, to win grace and praise entered into the strait way, where the Englishmen by their policy had fortified them: and because the entry was so narrow, there was great press and great mischief to the assailants, for such English archers as were there shot so wholly together that their arrows pierced men and horse, and when the horses were full of arrows, they fell one upon another. Then the Englishmen of arms, the Portugalois and Lisbonois came on them crying their cries, 'Our Lady of Portugal!' with good spears and sharp heads, wherewith they strake and hurt many knights and squires. There was the lord of Lignac of Bearn beaten down and his banner won and he taken prisoner, and many of his men taken and slain; also sir John of Rye, sir Geoffrey Richon, sir Geoffrey of Partenay and all their companies that were entered within the strait: their horses were so hurt with the archers that they fell on their masters and one upon another. There these Frenchmen were in great danger, for they could not help one another, for they had

[1] The true reading is 'on les nommoit tous François,' 'they were all called Frenchmen.'

[2] 'We.'

no room to enlarge themselves nor to fight at their will. And when the Portugalois saw that mischief fall on the first assailers, they were glad and as fresh and courageous to fight as any men might be. There was the king of Portugal with his banners before him, mounted on a good horse trapped with the arms of Portugal, and he had great joy to see the mischief fall on his enemies; and to comfort his people he laughed and said a-high: 'On forth, good men, defend you and fight with good will; for if there be no more but these, we need not to fear, and if I knew ever anything in battle, all these be ours.'

Thus the king of Portugal recomforted his people, who fought valiantly and had enclosed in the strait all the first assailers, of whom there were many slain. True it was that this first battle, which these knights of France and of Bearn led, had thought to have been quicklier aided of the Spaniards than they were: for if the king of Castile and his company, who were a twenty thousand men, had come by another part and assailed the Portugalois, it had been likely the journey to have been theirs; but they did nothing, wherefore they were to blame and received damage. Also indeed the Frenchmen set on too soon; but they did it to the intent to have won honour and to maintain the words they had spoken before the king: and also, as I was informed, the Spaniards would not set on so soon, for they loved not the Frenchmen; for they had said before: 'Let them alone, they shall find right well to whom to speak. These Frenchmen are great vaunters and high-minded, and also our king hath no perfect trust but in them; and sith the king would they should have the honour of the journey, let us suffer them to take it, or else we shall have all at our intents.'[1] Thus by these means the Spaniards stood still in a great battle and would not go forward; which was right displeasant to the king, but he could not amend it. But the Spaniards said, because there was none returned from the battle: 'Sir, surely these knights of France have discomfited your enemies, the honour of this journey is theirs.' 'God give grace,' quoth the king, 'that it be so: let us ride then somewhat forward.' Then they rode a cross-bow shot forward and then again rested: it was a great beauty to see them, they were so well mounted and armed. And in the mean season the Frenchmen fought, and such as had leisure to alight fought valiantly. Divers knights and squires of either party did many feats of arms one upon another, and when their spears failed, they took axes and gave many great strokes on the helms, slaying and maiming each other.

Whosoever were in such case of arms as the Frenchmen and Portugalois were at Juberoth, must abide the adventure, as they did, without they would fly away; and in flying there is more peril than to abide the battle, for in flying lightly are most slain, and in battle, when one seeth he is overmatched, he yieldeth himself prisoner. It cannot be said but that the knights of France, of Bretayne, of Burgoyne and of Bearn, but that right valiantly fought; but at their first encounter they were hardly handled, and all that was by the counsel of the Englishmen to fortify their place. So at this first battle the Portugalois were stronger than their enemies, so they were all taken or slain but few that were saved; so that there were at that first brunt a thousand knights and squires taken prisoners, whereof the Portugalois were joyful and thought as that day to have no more battle, and so made good cheer to their prisoners, and every man said to their prisoners: 'Sirs, be not abashed, for ye are won by clean feat of arms: we shall keep you good company, as we would ye should do if ye had us in like case; ye shall come to Lisbon and refresh you there and shall be at your ease.' And they thanked them, when they saw none other boot. And so there some were put to their finance incontinent, and some would abide their adventure; for they imagined that the king of Spain with his great army would shortly come and deliver them.

[1] 'Ou nous l'aurons du tout à nostre intention,' which seems to mean, 'or else we will have it altogether according to our opinions.' If they are not to have things ordered in their way, they will not take any part at all.

CHAPTER XXXV

How the French knights and Gascons, such as were taken prisoners at Juberoth by the Portugalois, were slain of their masters and none escaped.

TIDINGS came into the field to the king of Castile and to his company, who were approaching to Juberoth, by them that fled, who came crying with great fear and said: 'Sir king, advance yourself, for all they of the vaward are other taken or slain: there is no remedy of their deliverance without it be by your puissance.' And when the king of Castile heard those tidings, he was sore displeased, for he had good cause, for it touched him near. Then he commanded to ride on and said: 'Advance forth, banners, in the name of God and Saint George: let us ride to the rescue, sith our men have need thereof.' Then the Spaniards began to ride a better pace close together in good order, and by that time the sun was near down. Then some said it were best to abide till the morning, because it was so near night, they said they could make but an easy journey.[1] The king would they should set on incontinent, and laid his reasons and said: 'What, shall we leave our enemies in rest now they be weary, to give them leisure to refresh themselves? Whosoever do give that counsel, loveth not mine honour.' Then they rode forth, making great noise and bruit with sowning of trumpets and tabors to abash therewith their enemies. Now shall I shew you what the king of Portugal did and his company.

As soon as they had discomfited the vaward and had taken their prisoners, and that they saw none other battle coming within their sight, yet for all that they would put no trust in their first victory: therefore they sent six notable persons to go and aview the country, to see if they should have any more to do. They that rode forth came and saw the king of Castile's great battle coming to themward fast approaching to Juberoth, more than twenty thousand horsemen. Then they returned as fast as they might and said all on high to the people: 'Sirs, advise you well, for as yet we have done nothing: behold yonder cometh the king of Castile with his great battle with more than twenty thousand men, there is none tarried behind.' When they heard those tidings, they took short counsel, which was of necessity: then incontinent they ordained a piteous deed, for every man was commanded on pain of death to slay their prisoners without mercy, noble, gentle, rich nor other, none except. Then the lords, knights and squires that were prisoners were in a hard case, for there was no prayer that availed them from the death; and so they were slain, some in one place and some in another, as they were spread abroad unarmed weening to have been saved, but they were not. To say truth it was great pity, for every man slew his prisoner, and he that did not, other men slew them in their hands; and the Portugalois and the Englishmen who had given that counsel said it was better to slay than to be slain: 'For if we kill them not, while we be a fighting they will escape and slay us, for there is no trust in a man's enemy.' Thus was slain by great mischief the lord of Lignac, sir Peter of Quer, the lord of l'Espres, the lord of Bernecque, the lord of Bordes, sir Bertrand of Bareges, the lord of Morianne, sir Raymond d'Arzac, sir John of Assolegie, sir Monaut of Saramen, sir Peter of Salebiere, sir Stephen Valencin, sir Stephen Corasse, sir Peter Ilavefane, and to the number of three hundred squires of Bearn; and of France sir John of Rye, sir Geoffrey Richon, sir Geoffrey Partenay and divers other. Lo, behold the great evil adventure that fell that Saturday, for they slew as many good prisoners as would well have been worth, one with another, four hundred thousand franks.

[1] *i.e.* that they could do no great exploit.

CHAPTER XXXVI

How the king of Castile and all his great battle were discomfited by the king of Portugal before a village called Juberoth.

WHEN the Lisbonois, English and Portugalois had delivered the place and slain all their prisoners (never a one scaped without he were before conveyed to the village of Juberoth, whereas all their carriages were),

then they drew all together with a fierce will on the same place whereas they were first assailed, and as then the sun was going down. Then the king of Castile in a puissant array, with his banners and pennons displayed and mounted on their horses well covered, came on crying, 'Castile!' and began to enter into the place that was fortified; and there they were received with spears and axes, and at the first coming the shot of arrows grieved sore their horses, so that many thereby were slain and overthrown. And all that season the king of Castile nor his men knew not of the mischief that was fallen to the vaward, not how they were all slain, but he believed they had been still prisoners, thinking to recover them again, as ye have heard. There was a hard battle and a fierce, and many a man cast to the earth: the Portugalois had no such advantage but, an they had not fought valiantly, they had been lost and discomfited: that saved them was, their enemies could not come on them but by one narrow way. There the king of Portugal lighted afoot and took an axe in his hand and did marvellous in arms, and beat down a three or four with his own hands; so that he was feared, that none durst approach near him.

I shall shew some part of the conditions of the Spaniards. True it is at their first setting on they are fierce and courageous and of great courage and high-minded, if they have advantage. They fight well a-horseback; but as soon as they have cast two or three darts and given a stroke with their sword, and see that their enemies be not discomfited therewith, then they fear and turn their horses and fly away to save themselves that best may. And at this battle of Juberoth they used the same play; for they found their enemies hard and strong and as fresh in the battle as though they had done nothing of all the day before, whereof they had marvel and also that they heard no tidings of the vaward nor where they were become. There the Spaniards that evening were in the hard fortune of battle and perilous for them; for as many as entered into their strength[1] were by valiantness and feats of arms all slain, they took no man to ransom, whatsoever he were, noble or other; so the Lisbonois had ordained, for they would not be charged with prisoners. There were slain of them of Castile such as followeth: sir Diego Gomez Manrique, sir Diego Pier Sarmiento, sir don Peter Ruy Sarmiento, sir Manrique of Averso, the great master of Calatrava and his brother, who was that day made knight, called sir Diego Moniz, sir Peter Gonzalez of Mendoza, don Peter Gonzalez of Seville, don John Radigo of Roselle and a threescore barons and knights of Spain. At the battle of Nazres, where the prince of Wales discomfited king don Henry of Castile, there were not slain so many noblemen of Castile as there was at this battle of Juberoth, which was the year of grace a thousand three hundred fourscore and five, on a Saturday on our Lady day in August.

When the king of Castile understood and saw how his men were thus discomfited and how that his vaward was clean discomfited without recovery, and that sir Raynold Limousin was dead, who was his marshal, and saw how all his noble chivalry were lost, as well of his own realm as of France and elsewhere, such as were come thither to serve him with their good wills, he was then sore displeased and wist not what counsel to take, for he saw his men began to fly on every side, and he heard how some said to him: 'Sir, depart hence, it is time; the matter is in a hard case; ye cannot alone discomfit your enemies nor recover your damages; your people flieth all about, every man intendeth to save himself. Sir, save yourself, an ye do wisely: if fortune be this day against you, another time it shall be better.' The king of Castile believed counsel and then changed his horse and mounted on a fresh courser, strong and light, whereon no man had ridden before of all day. Then the king strake the horse with his spurs and turned his back toward his enemies and took the way toward Santarem, whither all such as would save themselves fled. The same time the king of Castile had a knight of his house who bare his bassenet, whereupon there was a circle of gold and stones valued to twenty thousand franks. It was ordained, or they went out of Santarem, that this knight should bear it till they came to the business and then to deliver it to the king

[1] 'Au fort des Lisbonnois'; that is, into their stronghold.

to wear on his head: but this knight did not so, for when they came to the joining of the battle, the press was so great that this knight could not come to the king, nor also he was not called for, wherefore he approached not to the king. And when he saw how his company were discomfited, and that the Portugalois obtained the victory, and saw how every man fled on every side, he feared then the losing of such a rich jewel and set then the bassenet on his own head and so fled, but he took not the way to Santarem, but he took another way to the town of Arpent.[1] Thus some fled this way and some that way like people sore discomfited and abashed, but the most part fled to Santarem, and that evening thither came the king sore abashed.

At this discomfiture of the Spaniards at Juberoth, where the Portugalois and Lisbonois obtained the place, there was a great slaughter of men, and it had been greater if they had followed in the chase. But the Englishmen, when they saw the Spaniards turn their backs, they said to the king of Portugal and to his men: 'Sirs, demand for your horses and follow the chase, and all they that be fled shall be other taken or slain.' 'Nay, not so,' quoth the king, 'it sufficeth that we have done: our men be weary and sore travailed, and it is near hand night, we shall not know whither to go; and though they fly, yet they be a great number, and peradventure they do it to draw us out of our strength and so to have us at their ease. Let us this day keep them that be dead and to-morrow take other counsel.' 'By my faith, sir,' quoth Hardeshull, an Englishman, 'the dead bodies are easy to be kept; they shall never do us any hurt, nor we shall have of them no profit. We have slain many good prisoners, and we be strangers and are come far off to serve you; therefore we would fain win somewhat of these calves that fly without wings[2] with their banners waving with the wind.' 'Fair brother,' quoth the king, 'they that all coveteth all loseth: it is better we be sure, sith the honour of the victory is ours and that God hath sent it us, rather than to put ourselves in peril when it needeth not. We thank God we have enow to make you all rich.' Thus in this case the business rested.

Thus as I have shewed you fell of the business at Juberoth, whereas the king of Portugal obtained the victory and there were slain a five hundred knights and as many squires, which was great pity and damage, and about six or seven thousand of other men: God have mercy on their souls. And all that night till on the Sunday to the hour of prime the king of Portugal and his men removed not from the place that they were in, nor never unarmed them, but ate a little and drank every man as they stood, which was brought them from the village of Juberoth. And on the Sunday in the morning after the sunrising the king caused twelve knights to mount on their horses and to ride forth to search the fields, to see if there were any new assembly; and when they had ridden here and there, they returned and shewed how they found nobody but dead men. 'Well,' quoth the king, 'of them we need not to doubt.' Then it was published to depart thence and to go to the village of Juberoth, there to abide all that day and night till Monday in the morning. So thus they departed and left the church of Juberoth and went to the village and there lodged, and tarried out all that Sunday and the next night; and on the Monday in the morning they counselled to draw toward Lisbon. Then they sowned trumpets to dislodge, and so in good order they departed and rode toward Lisbon. And the Tuesday the king entered into the town with much people, glory and triumph, and was received with procession and so brought to his palace. And in riding through the streets the people and children made feast and reverence and cried with high voice: 'Live the noble king of Portugal, to whom God hath given that grace to have victory of the puissant king of Castile, and hath discomfited his enemies.'

By this journey that the king of Portugal had of the king of Castile he fell into such grace and love of his country and realm of Portugal, so that all such as before the battle did dissimule with him then came all to him to Lisbon to do to him their homage, saying how he was well worthy to live, and

[1] 'Ville-Arpent'; that is, apparently, Villalpando.

[2] The translator's French text absurdly gives 'veaulx' instead of 'beaulx oiseaulx.' We ought to read, 'these fine birds that fly without wings and make their banners fly.'

how that God loved him, in that he had discomfited a more puissant king than he was himself: wherefore he was worthy to bear a crown. Thus the king gat the grace of his people, and specially of all the commons of the realm.

Now let us a little speak of the king of Castile, who after he was thus discomfited, went to Santarem, weeping and lamenting for his people and cursing his hard fortune that so many noblemen of his own country and France were slain in the field. The same time that he entered into Santarem yet he knew not the damage that he had; but on the Sunday he knew it, for he had sent his heralds to search out the dead bodies. And he thought before that the most part of all such as the heralds found dead had been but prisoners and saved alive; but they were not, as it appeared. Then he was so sore displeased and sorry that no man could comfort him. When he heard the report of the heralds and knew the certainty of them that were dead, then he said and sware that he should never have joy, sith so many noble men were dead in his quarrel. And after the third day that the king had tarried at Santarem there came to him his knight with his bassenet, who was called sir Martin Haren, and delivered the bassenet to the king, which was valued as ye have heard before. And before there had been hard words spoken of him: some said that falsely he was run away from the king and would never return again. Then the knight kneeled down before the king and excused himself so largely, that the king and his council were well content with him. Then a fifteen days after the king of Castile returned to Burgos in Spain and gave every man leave to depart. Then after there was means and treaties made between the king of Castile and the king of Portugal: then a truce was taken from the feast of Saint Michael to the first day of May, both by land and by sea, and the dead bodies slain at Juberoth were buried in the church of Juberoth and in other churches thereabout, and the bones of divers carried by their servants into their own countries.

CHAPTER XXXVII

How a spirit called Orthon served the lord of Corasse a long time and brought him ever tidings from all parts of the world.

IT is great marvel to consider one thing, the which was shewed me in the earl of Foix's house at Orthez of him that informed me of the business at Juberoth. He shewed me one thing that I have oftentimes thought on sith, and shall do as long as I live. As this squire told me, that of truth the next day after the battle was thus fought at Juberoth the earl of Foix knew it, whereof I had great marvel. For the said Sunday, Monday and Tuesday the earl was very pensive and so sad of cheer that no man could hear a word of him, and all the same three days he would not issue out of his chamber nor speak to any man, though they were never so near about him; and on the Tuesday at night he called to him his brother Arnold Guillaume and said to him with a soft voice: 'Our men hath had to do, whereof I am sorry, for it is come of them by their voyage as I said or they departed.' Arnold Guillaume, who was a sage knight and knew right well his brother's conditions, stood still and gave none answer, and then the earl, who thought to declare his mind more plainly, for long he had borne the trouble thereof in his heart, spake again more higher than he did before and said: 'By God, sir Arnold, it is as I say, and shortly ye shall hear tidings thereof; but the country of Bearn this hundred year never lost such a loss at no journey as they have done now in Portugal.' Divers knights and squires that were there present and heard him say so, stood still and durst not speak, but remembered his words; and within a ten days after they knew the truth thereof by such as had been at the business, and there they shewed everything as it was fortuned at Juberoth. Then the earl renewed again his dolour, and all the country were in sorrow, for they had lost their parents, brethren, children and friends.

'Saint Mary,' quoth I to the squire that shewed me this tale, 'how is it that the earl of Foix could know on one day what was done within a day or two before,

being so far off?' 'By my faith, sir,' quoth he, 'as it appeared well, he knew it.' 'Then he is a diviner,' quoth I, 'or else he hath messengers that flieth with the wind, or he must needs have some craft.' The squire began to laugh and said: 'Surely he must know it by some art of necromancy or otherwise. To say the truth, we cannot tell how it is but by our imaginations.' 'Sir,' quoth I, 'such imagination as ye have therein, if it please you to shew me, I would be glad thereof. And if it be such a thing as ought to be secret, I shall not publish it, nor as long as I am in this country I shall never speak word thereof.' 'I pray you thereof,' quoth the squire, 'for I would not it should be known that I should speak thereof: but I shall shew you as divers men speaketh secretly, when they be together as friends.' Then he drew me apart into a corner of the chapel at Orthez, and then began his tale and said:

'It is well a twenty years past that there was in this country a baron called Raymond lord of Corasse, which is a seven leagues from this town of Orthez. This lord of Corasse had the same time a plea at Avignon before the pope for the dimes of his church against a clerk curate there, the which priest was of Cataloyne. He was a great clerk and claimed to have right of the dimes in the town of Corasse, which was valued to a hundred florins by the year; and the right that he had he shewed and proved it, and by sentence definitive pope Urban the fifth in consistory general condemned the knight and gave judgment with the priest; and of this last judgment he had letters of the pope for his possession, and so rode till he came into Bearn, and there shewed his letters and bulls of the pope's for his possession of his dimes.

'The lord of Corasse had great indignation at this priest, and came to him and said: "Master Peter," or "Master Martin," as his name was, "thinkest thou that by reason of thy letters that I will lose mine heritage? Not so hardy that thou take anything that is mine: if thou do, it shall cost thee thy life. Go thy way into some other place to get thee a benefice, for of mine heritage thou gettest no part, and once for always I defend thee." The clerk doubted the knight, for he was a cruel man, therefore he durst not persevere. Then he thought to return to Avignon, as he did: but when he departed, he came to the knight the lord of Corasse and said: "Sir, by force and not by right ye take away from me the right of my church, wherein ye greatly hurt your conscience. I am not so strong in this country as ye be; but, sir, know for truth that, as soon as I may, I shall send to you such a champion, whom ye shall doubt more than me." The knight, who doubted nothing his threatenings, said: "God be with thee: do what thou mayst, I doubt no more death than life:[1] for all thy words I will not lose mine heritage." Thus the clerk departed from the lord of Corasse and went I cannot tell whither, to Avignon or into Cataloyne, and forgat not the promise that he had made to the lord of Corasse or he departed: for afterward, when the knight thought least on him, about a three months after, as the knight lay on a night abed in his castle of Corasse with the lady his wife, there came to him messengers invisible and made a marvellous tempest and noise in the castle, that it seemed as though the castle should have fallen down, and strake great strokes at his chamber door, that the good lady his wife was sore afraid. The knight heard all but he spake no word thereof, because he would shew no abashed courage, for he was hardy to abide all adventures. This noise and tempest was in sundry places of the castle and dured a long space, and at last ceased for that night. Then the next morning all the servants of the house came to the lord when he was risen, and said: "Sir, have you not heard this night that we have done?" The lord dissimuled and said: "No, I heard nothing: what have you heard?" Then they shewed him what noise they had heard and how all the vessel in the kitchen was overturned. Then the lord began to laugh and said: "Yea, sirs, ye dreamed: it was nothing but the wind." "In the name of God," quoth the lady, "I heard it well."

'The next night there was as great noise and greater, and such strokes given at his chamber door and windows as all should have been broken in pieces. The knight started up out of his bed and would not let

1 'Je te doubte plus mort que vif,' which means apparently, 'I fear you not at all.'

to demand who was at his chamber door that time of the night, and anon he was answered by a voice that said: "I am here." Quoth the knight: "Who sent thee hither?" "The clerk of Cataloyne sent me hither," quoth the voice, "to whom thou dost great wrong, for thou hast taken from him the rights of his benefice. I will not leave thee in rest till thou hast made him a good account, so that he be pleased." Quoth the knight, "What is thy name, that art so good a messenger?" Quoth he, "I am called Orthon." "Orthon," quoth the knight, "the service of a clerk is little profit for thee; he will put thee to much pain if thou believe him. I pray thee leave him and come and serve me, and I shall give thee good thank." Orthon was ready to answer, for he was in amours with the knight, and said: "Wouldst thou fain have my service?" "Yea truly," quoth the knight, "so thou do no hurt to any person in this house." "No more I will do," quoth Orthon, "for I have no power to do any other evil but to awake thee out of thy sleep or some other." "Well," quoth the knight, "do as I tell thee and we shall soon agree, and leave the evil clerk, for there is no good thing in him but to put thee to pain: therefore come and serve me." "Well," quoth Orthon, "and sith thou wilt have me, we are agreed."

'So this spirit Orthon loved so the knight, that oftentimes he would come and visit him while he lay in his bed asleep, and other pull him by the ear or else strike at his chamber door or window to awake him; and when the knight awoke, then he would say: "Orthon, let me sleep." "Nay," quoth Orthon, "that will I not do, till I have shewed thee such tidings as are fallen a-late." The lady the knight's wife would be sore affrayed, that her hair would stand up, and hide herself under the clothes. Then the knight would say: "Why, what tidings hast thou brought me?" Quoth Orthon: "I am come out of England, or out of Hungary or some other place, and yesterday I came thence, and such things are fallen, or such other." So thus the lord of Corasse knew by Orthon everything that was done in any part of the world, and in this case he continued a five year, and could not keep his own counsel, but at last discovered it to the earl of Foix: I shall shew you how.

'The first year the lord of Corasse came on a day to Orthez to the earl of Foix and said to him: "Sir, such things are done in England or in Scotland or in Almaine or in any other country." And ever the earl of Foix found his saying true, and had great marvel how he should know such things so shortly. And on a time the earl of Foix examined him so straitly that the lord of Corasse shewed him altogether how he knew it, and how he came to him first. When the earl of Foix heard that, he was joyful and said: "Sir of Corasse, keep him well in your love: I would I had such a messenger; he costeth you nothing and ye know by him everything that is done in the world." The knight answered and said: "Sir, that is true." Thus the lord of Corasse was served with Orthon a long season. I cannot say if this Orthon had any more masters or not, but every week twice or thrice he would come and visit the lord of Corasse and would shew him such tidings of anything that was fallen from whence he came; and ever the lord of Corasse, when he knew anything, he wrote thereof ever to the earl of Foix, who had great joy thereof, for he was the lord of the world that most desired to hear news out of strange places.

'And on a time the lord of Corasse was with the earl of Foix, and the earl demanded of him and said: "Sir of Corasse, did ye ever as yet see your messenger?" "Nay surely, sir," quoth the knight, "nor I never desired it." "That is marvel," quoth the earl: "if I were as well acquainted with him as ye be, I would have desired to have seen him. Wherefore I pray you desire it of him, and then to tell me what form and fashion he is of. I have heard you say how he speaketh as good Gascon as other you or I." "Truly, sir," quoth the knight, "so it is. He speaketh as well and as fair as any of us both do: and surely, sir, sith ye counsel me, I shall do my pain to see him an I can." And so on a night as he lay in his bed with the lady his wife, who was so inured to hear Orthon that she was no more afraid of him, then came Orthon and pulled the lord by the ear, who was fast asleep; and therewith he awoke and asked who was there. "I am

here," quoth Orthon. Then he demanded: "From whence comest thou now?" "I come," quoth Orthon, "from Prague in Boeme." "How far is that hence?" quoth the knight. "A threescore days' journey," quoth Orthon. "And art thou come thence so soon?" quoth the knight. "Yea truly," quoth Orthon, "I came as fast as the wind or faster." "Hast thou then wings?" quoth the knight. "Nay truly," quoth he. "How canst thou then fly so fast?" quoth the knight. "Ye have nothing to do to know that," quoth Orthon. "No?" quoth the knight, "I would gladly see thee, to know what form thou art of." "Well," quoth Orthon, "ye have nothing to do to know: it sufficeth you to hear me and I to shew you tidings." "In faith," quoth the knight, "I would love thee much better an I might see thee once." "Well," quoth Orthon, "sir, sith ye have so great desire to see me, the first thing that ye see to-morrow when ye rise out of your bed, the same shall be I." "That is sufficient," quoth the lord; "go thy way, I give thee leave to depart for this night."

And the next morning the lord rose; and the lady his wife was so affrayed that she durst not rise, but feigned herself sick and said she would not rise. Her husband would have had her to have risen. "Sir," quoth she, "then I shall see Orthon, and I would not see him by my good will." "Well," quoth the knight, "I would gladly see him"; and so he arose fair and easily out of his bed and sat down on his bed side, weening to have seen Orthon in his own proper form; but he saw nothing whereby he might say: "Lo, yonder is Orthon." So that day passed and the next night came, and when the knight was in his bed, Orthon came and began to speak, as he was accustomed. "Go thy way," quoth the knight, "thou art but a liar: thou promisedst that I should have seen thee and it was not so." "No?" quoth he, "and I shewed myself to thee." "That is not so," quoth the lord. "Why," quoth Orthon, "when ye rose out of your bed, saw you nothing?" Then the lord studied a little and advised himself well. "Yes, truly," quoth the knight, "now I remember me, as I sat on my bed's side thinking on thee, I saw two straws on the pavement tumbling one upon another." "That same was I," quoth Orthon: "into that form I did put myself as then." "That is not enough to me," quoth the lord: "I pray thee put thyself into some other form, that I may better see and know thee." "Well," quoth Orthon, "ye will do so much that ye will lose me and I go from you, for ye desire too much of me." "Nay," quoth the knight, "thou shalt not go from me. Let me see thee once and I will desire no more." "Well," quoth Orthon, "ye shall see me to-morrow. Take heed; the first thing that ye see after ye be out of your chamber, it shall be I." "Well," quoth the knight, "I am then content: go thy way, let me sleep." And so Orthon departed, and the next morning the lord arose and issued out of his chamber and went to a window and looked down into the court of the castle and cast about his eyen, and the first thing he saw was a sow, the greatest that ever he saw, and she seemed to be so lean and evil favoured that there was nothing on her but the skin and the bones, with long ears and a long lean snout. The lord of Corasse had marvel of that lean sow and was weary of the sight of her, and commanded his men to fetch his hounds, and said: "Let the dogs hunt her to death and devour her." His servants opened the kennels and let out his hounds and did set them on this sow; and at the last the sow made a great cry and looked up to the lord of Corasse, as he looked out at a window, and so suddenly vanished away, no man wist how. Then the lord of Corasse entered into his chamber right pensive, and then he remembered him of Orthon his messenger, and said: "I repent me that I set my hounds on him: it is an adventure an ever I hear any more of him, for he said to me oftentimes that if I displeased him I should lose him." The lord said truth, for never after he came into the castle of Corasse, and also the knight died the same year next following. Lo, sir,' quoth the squire, 'thus I have shewed you the life of Orthon and how a season he served the lord of Corasse with new tidings.'

'It is true, sir,' quoth I, 'but now as to your first purpose: is the earl of Foix served with such a messenger?' 'Surely,' quoth the squire, 'it is the imagination of

many that he hath such messengers; for there is nothing done in any place, but an he set his mind thereto, he will know it, and when men think least thereof; and so did he when the good knights and squires of this country were slain in Portugal at Juberoth. Some saith the knowledge of such things hath done him much profit, for an there be but the value of a spoon lost in his house, anon he will know where it is.' So thus then I took leave of the squire and went to other company, but I bare well away his tale.

Now I will leave to speak of the business of Portugal and of Spain, and speak of the business in Languedoc and in France.

CHAPTERS XXXVIII, XXXIX

SUMMARY.—Siege was laid to the castle of Brest, held by the English. Many castles in the marches of Toulouse, Rouergue and thereabout, held by the captains of companies, were taken by the French.

CHAPTERS XL, XLI

SUMMARY.—The king of Armenia came into France to get help against the Turks, who had driven him out of his dominions. He gave much information about the state of affairs in the East.

CHAPTER XLII

How pope Urban and pope Clement were at great discord together, and how the Christian kings were in variance for their elections, and of the wars between them.

THE same season there came to Avignon to see the pope Clement sir Otho of Brunswick, to have money for the war he had made for him against the Romans and Bartholomew of Aigles, who wrote himself pope Urban the sixth, as it is contained in his history herebefore. And there sir Otho shewed divers things to the pope and to the cardinals, wherein he was well believed and heard; but as for money, he could get none, for the pope's chamber was so clean voided from gold and silver that the cardinals could not have the money that pertained to their hats: so this sir Otho of Brunswick departed from them not well content: at Avignon there was delivered him a thousand franks and he set little thereby: whereby pope Clement's war was sore weakened, for sir Otho would in no wise meddle any more in the pope's wars.

Then Margaret of Duras,[1] who was at Gaieta and was adversary against the queen of Naples, wife sometime to king Louis duke of Anjou, she sent for this sir Otho to aid her in the war that she made against the Neapolitans; and this sir Otho a certain space excused himself and dissimuled and foded forth the time, as he that wist not what to do. Then some of his council did put him in mind to go to this Margaret of Duras, who was inheritor to Naples and to Sicily, and to help to aid and defend her heritage, and to take her to his wife, for she was content to marry him, because he was of a noble blood and of high extraction, and was lord and king of the country called Daure.[2] And some other of his council counselled him contrary, saying how he might thereby come to an evil end, for the children of king Louis of Naples, who was crowned king in the city of Bari, though they were but young, yet they had great friends and kinsmen, and specially the French king their cousin-german, who will aid them and their mother Joan, duchess of Anjou and of Maine. All these doubts some of his council shewed him, wherefore sir Otho forbare a long season and dissimuled the matter and took none of both parties.

The same season the soldiers of pope Clement enclosed in the city of Perugia pope Urban, and was besieged by the lord of Montcroix, a valiant knight of the county of Geneva and of Savoy, sir Taillebart, a knight of the Rhodes, and sir Bernard de la Salle; and there pope Urban was sore constrained and on the point to have been taken, for as I was then informed, for the sum of twenty thousand franks a captain Almain, who had a great company

[1] The paragraph should begin with the sentence before: 'By this pope Clement's war was weakened, etc. Also Margaret of Duras,' etc.

[2] A curious mistranslation. It should be: 'and so he became lord and king of the country of which she called herself lady' (dame).

with him, called the earl Conrad, would have delivered pope Urban into the hands of pope Clement; whereupon sir Bernard de la Salle was sent to Avignon to pope Clement for the said sum of money; but the pope nor the cardinals there could not make the money, for that pope's court was so poor that they had no money; and so sir Bernard de la Salle returned evil content to the siege of Perugia, and so then they dissimuled the matter, and the Perugians in like wise, and also this earl Conrad; and so pope Urban issued out of Perugia and out of peril and went to Rome and abode there.

I know right well that in time to come there will be had much [marvel] of these things, how the Church should fall in such trouble and endure so long, but it was a plague sent from God for the clergy to advise and to consider well their great estate and superfluity that they were in; but many did set little thereby, for they were so blinded with pride that each one thought to be as good as another: wherefore it went evil, and if our faith had not been confirmed in the hands and grace of the Holy Ghost, who illumined the heart of them that were gone out of the right way and held them firm in unity, else our faith had been greatly deformed: but the great lords of the earth at the beginning did nothing but laugh at the Church, till I chronicled these chronicles in the year of our Lord Jesu Christ MCCCLXXX. and X. Much of the common people marvelled how the great lords, as the French king, the king of Almaine and other kings and princes of Christendom, did provide no remedy in that case.

There was one thing reasonable to appease the common people and to excuse the high princes and kings, dukes and earls and other lords; as by ensample, the yolk of the egg cannot be without the white nor the white without the yolk, no more may the clergy and the lords be one without another; for the lords are governed by the clergy, or they could not live but as beasts an the clergy were not, and the clergy counselleth and exhorteth the lords to do as they do. And I say surely I have been in my time in divers parts of the world, what for to accomplish my pleasure and to see novelties in the world, and to have knowledge of the conquests and adventures written in this book; and truly the season that I went thus about in the world, I could lightly see no great lord but that he had a marmoset, or of the clergy or a boy of simple lineage mounted up to honour by reason of their jangling and railing,[1] except the earl of Foix, for he had never none such, for he was naturally sage, for his wisdom was better than any that could be given him. Yet I say not that such lords as are ruled by such marmosets be fools, but rather more than fools, for they be sore blinded and yet they have two eyen.

When the knowledge came first to the French king Charles of the difference between these two popes, he did put the matter on the clergy, which way he should take them. They of the clergy of France determined and took pope Clement for the most surest part, and to the French opinion accorded the king of Castile and the king of Scots, because all the season that the schism was thus in the Church, France, Castile and Scotland were joined together by alliance; and the king of England and the king of Portugal were of the contrary opinion against their enemies. The earl of Flanders never inclined in his courage to pope Clement, that he should be right pope, because Urban was first chosen at Rome, who was archbishop of Bari.[2] This Clement, being cardinal of Geneva, wrote letters unto the noble earl of Flanders how there was a pope chosen by due election at Rome and named Urban; wherefore he would not believe after on that Clement, and as long as he lived he was of that opinion, so was the king of Almaine and all the Empire and also the king of Hungary. Thus then I put in writing the state and differences that I had seen in my days in the world and in the Church: it was no marvel though the lords of the world suffered and dissimuled the matter. This brought to my remembrance how[3] that, when I was but young and pope Innocent

[1] 'Par leurs jangles et bourdes,' 'by their raillery and jesting.'

[2] 'Because Clement was present at the first election at Rome of the archbishop of Bari.'

[3] 'Thus then in writing of these estates and differences that I saw in my time in the world and in the Church, which was thus shaken, and of the lords of land who suffered the matter and dissembled, it came often to my remembrance how,' etc.

reigned in Avignon, he held in prison a friar minor called friar John Roche-Taillade. This clerk, as it was said, and I have heard it privily in divers places, he shewed and alleged divers authorities of the incidents and fortunes that fell after in his days in the realm of France, and also he spake of the taking of king John, and shewed certain things reasonable how the Church should suffer much for the great superfluities that he saw in them, and while he was in prison, it was shewed me what he said to the cardinal of Ostia, called d'Arras, and to the cardinal of Auxerre, who went to visit him and to argue with him: then he laid to them an ensample, as hereafter ye shall hear.

'Lords,' said this friar, 'there was once a fowl appeared in this world without any feathers; and when all other fowls knew that he was born, they came to see him, because he was so fair and pleasant to behold. Then they imagined among them what they might do for this bird, for without feathers they knew well he could not live: and they said they would he should live, because he was so fair. Then every fowl there gave him of their feathers, and the fairer bird the more feathers he gave him, so that then he was a fair bird and a well feathered and began to fly. And the birds that had given him of their feathers, when they saw him fly, they took great pleasure: and when this bird saw himself so well feathered and that all other fowls honoured him, he began to wax proud and took no regard of them that had made him, but picked and spurred at them and was contrary to them. Then the other birds drew together and demanded each other what was best to be done with this bird, that they had made up of nought and now so disdaineth them. Then the peacock said: "He is greatly beautied by reason of my feathers: I will take them again from him." "In the name of God," said the falcon, "so will I have mine": and so said all the other birds, and then they began to take again from him all the feathers they had given him. And when this bird saw that, he humbled himself and knowledged of the wealth and honour that he had not of himself but of them: for he knew that he came into the world naked and bare, and the feathers that he had, they might well take from him again when they list: then he cried them mercy and said that he would amend himself and no more be proud. And so then again these gentle birds had pity on him and feathered him again, and said to him: "We would gladly see thee fly among us, so thou wilt be humble as thou oughtest to be: but know surely, if thou be any more proud and disdainous, we will take from thee all thy feathers and set thee as we found thee first."'

Thus said the friar John to the cardinals that were in his presence: 'Sirs, thus shall it fall on you of the Church, for the emperor of Rome and of Almaine, and the other kings christened and high princes of the world have given you the goods and possessions and riches, to the intent to serve God, and ye spend it in pride and superfluity. Ye read not the life of Saint Silvester, pope of Rome after Saint Peter. Imagine and consider how the emperor Constantine gave him first the dimes of the Church, and on what condition. Saint Silvester rode nother with two hundred nor three hundred horse abroad in the world, but he held himself simply closed in Rome and lived soberly with them of the Church, when the angel of God shewed him how the emperor Constantine, who was as then but an infidel, should send for him. In like wise the emperor had it by revelation of an angel that Silvester should shew him the way of health, for he was sick of the leprosy, so that his flesh fell in pieces. And when Silvester came before him, he shewed him the way of baptism and so christened him, and incontinent he was whole. For the which the emperor Constantine believed in God, and all his Empire, and gave to Silvester and to the Church all the dimes, for before the emperor of Rome held them; and beside that gave him many fair gifts and great seignories, augmenting our faith and the Church: but it was his intention that the goods and seignories that he had given him, that he should govern it humbly and truly, and not to spend it in pomp and pride. But nowadays they of the Church do the contrary, wherewith God is displeased, and hereafter will be more displeased, so that the great lords of the earth will wax cold in their devotions and not be

so liberal in giving anything to the Church, but rather to be ready to take from it that was given before. And I think it will not be long or this be seen.'

Thus this friar John of Roche-Taillade, whom the cardinals held in prison in Avignon, shewed to them these words and divers other, whereof the cardinals were abashed and would gladly have put him to death, if they might have found any just cause against him: but they could find none, and so suffered him to live; but they durst not let him out of prison, for he shewed his matters so perfect, and laid for them high scriptures, that peradventure he might have made many in the world to have erred. Howbeit, such as took more heed to his saying than I did, saw many things fall after according as he said and wrote in prison; and all that he said he would prove by the Apocalypse. The true proofs wherewith he armed himself saved him from brenning, and also some of the cardinals had pity on him and would not do their uttermost to him.

[*The author sets forth the question of the crown of Portugal, and then proceeds as follows*]:—

Now let us return to the besynes of Portugal, for they be not to be left for the great adventures that there hath fallen, and to chronicle all things as they have fallen, to the intent that in time to come they should be found written and registered. If adventures were not known, it were great damage, and by clerks that anciently have written and registered the histories and books, thereby the histories are known. There is not so perpetual a memory as is writing, and truly I say to you and will, that they that come after me should know that for to know the truth of this history I have taken therein great pain in my days and have searched many realms and countries to know the truth, and have had acquaintance of many valiant men, and have seen divers, both of France, of England, of Scotland, Castile, Portugal and of other lands, duchies and counties, such as they and their lands hath been conjoined in these wars, and with them I have spoken and been instructed and informed, and I would not that any inquest should pass unknown, sith I knew it to be true and notable.[1] And while I was in Bearn with the earl Gaston of Foix, I was there informed of divers businesses such as fell between Castile and Portugal, and when I was returned again into my country in the county of Hainault and in the town of Valenciennes, and that I had refreshed me there a season, then I determined me to follow the history that I had begun. Then I advised in mine imagination how I could not sufficiently be instructed by the hearing of them that sustained the opinion of the king of Castile, but that in like wise I ought to hear the Portugals, as well as the Gascons and Spaniards that I heard in the house of the earl of Foix. And in the way going thither and returning I took no regard to the pain or travail of my body, but so I went to Bruges in Flanders to find there some of the realm of Portugal and of Lisbon, for there were ever some of that country.

Behold if my adventure were good or no. If I had sought a season seven year, I could not have come to a better point than I did then. For then it was shewed me that if I would go to Middleburg in Zealand, I should find there a knight of Portugal, a valiant man and a sage, and of the king of Portugal's council, who was newly come thither and was going thence by sea into Pruce, and how he could justly and plainly shew me of the besynes and adventures of Portugal, for he knew and had been over all the country. These tidings rejoiced me, and so I went from Bruges with one of Portugal in my company, who knew right well this knight, and so we came to Sluys and there took the sea and did so much by the grace of God that we came to Middleburg, and the Portugals that were in my company acquainted me with this knight, and I found him right gracious, sage, honourable, courteous, amiable and acquaintable, and so I was with him six days or thereabout, and this knight informed me of all the besynes between the realm of Castile and Portugal sith the death of king Ferrant till the departing of that knight out of that country. He shewed me everything so plainly and so graciously, that I took great pleasure to hear him and to

1 'Nor would I have admitted any information about any country, without I had well ascertained after the information obtained that it were true and notable.'

write it; and when I was informed by him of all that I desired to know, I took leave of him, and he conveyed me to my ship, and so did divers other rich merchants of his country, who were come from Bruges and from other places to see him. And in his company there was the son of the count of Novarre in Portugal and divers other knights and squires of that realm; but he had the chief honour among them, and certainly by that I could see and imagine of him and of his estate, he was worthy to have honour, for he was of noble port and goodly stature and likely to be a valiant man; and when I return again from Rome into mine own country, I shall busy me to make relation of the words of this gentle knight called sir John Ferrant Pacheco, and shall chronicle all that hath fallen in Portugal and in Castile[1] unto the year of our Lord MCCCLXXX. and X.

CHAPTERS XLIII-XLVI

SUMMARY.—After the battle of Aljubarrota ambassadors were sent by the king of Portugal to get the aid of the duke of Lancaster. One of these, named Lawrence Fougasse (Fogaça), gave an account of the events in Spain and Portugal and of the battle of Aljubarrota. The duke of Lancaster sailed from Bristol in the month of May with two hundred ships and went first to Brest.

CHAPTERS XLVII, XLVIII

SUMMARY.—After raising the siege of Brest the duke of Lancaster sailed on and landed at Corogna in Galicia, whence he removed after about a month to Compostella.

CHAPTER XLIX

SUMMARY.—Great preparations were made by the French king and his council to pass over into England, and a fleet assembled at Sluys of more than twelve hundred ships. The English prepared for defence.

[1] This is nonsense; but for the reading 'Rome' instead of 'Bruges' the French text is responsible. It should be: 'Then I returned to Bruges and to my own country, and I worked upon the words and relations made by the gentle knight sir John Ferrant Pacheco and chronicled all that which befell in regard to Portugal and Castile,' etc. Also note that it was Froissart who went on board the knight's ship, and not *vice versa*.

CHAPTERS L-LIII [L, LI, LIII, LII][1]

SUMMARY.—The English took Reales and Villalopos in Galicia, and the duke of Lancaster sent an embassy to the king of Portugal, who came to meet him. The English took Pontevedra, Vigo and Bayona, and besieged Ribadavia, while the king of Castile hoped for the invasion of England by the French king.

CHAPS. LIV-LXII [LIII-LV, LV-LX]

SUMMARY.—The French fleet was assembled at Sluys, and the French king with the dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon arrived there, and waited for the duke of Berry. Meanwhile the king of Armenia passed over into England and returned. Finally the duke of Berry arrived, but owing to the lateness of the season and the contrary winds the voyage was deferred till the spring, and the king and lords returned from Sluys.

CHAPS. LXIII-LXVIII [LXI, LXI, LXII, LXXII, LXXII, LXXIII]

SUMMARY.—There was much talk of the duel at Paris between Jean de Carrouge and Jacques Legris, in which the latter was defeated. King Peter of Aragon died, and the young king had difficulties with the English and with them of Barcelona.

John of Brittany, son of Charles of Blois, was delivered out of prison in England by the means of Oliver de Clisson.

An expedition was sent from France to help the king of Castile; and meanwhile the Flemish fleet was defeated by the English, who landed in Flanders and plundered the country.

CHAPTERS LXIX-LXXVI [XLIV, LXXIV-LXXX]

SUMMARY.—The English in Galicia took Ribadavia and Orrès. The king of

[1] The mistaken numbering of the chapters from this point to the end of the volume has been corrected, but for convenience of reference the numbers as printed in the text of Lord Berners' translation are given throughout in brackets.

Portugal was married to Philippa of Lancaster. Besances (Braganza) surrendered to the duke of Lancaster.

Gauthier de Passac and other French captains arrived in Castile. They advised the king of Castile not to give battle until the duke of Bourbon came. Meanwhile the duke of Lancaster resided at Besances, and thither came the king of Portugal, who arranged with the duke of Lancaster to advance into Castile.

CHAPTERS LXXVII–LXXIX [LXXXI–LXXXIII]

SUMMARY.—There was great discontent in England, especially because of the influence of the duke of Ireland with the king.

The duke of Brittany, being fallen out of favour with the English, thought to please them by taking prisoner the constable de Clisson, who was preparing an expedition to England.

CHAPTER LXXX [LXXXIII]

How the duke of Bretayne sent for all his lords and knights to come to council unto Vannes, and after council he desired the constable to go and see his castle of Ermine, and how he took him there prisoner and the lord of Beaumanoir with him.

ON this foresaid imagination the duke of Bretayne rested, and to come to his intent he summoned his council to come to Vannes, and desired all the lords and knights of Bretayne affectuously for to come thither, and he did send out his letters unto them, and specially he required sir Oliver of Clisson, constable of France, that he should not fail but for to be there, saying how he would gladlier see him than any other. The constable would not excuse himself, because the duke of Bretayne was his natural lord, and was glad to have his good will, and so he came to Vannes and so did a great number of other lords of Bretayne.

This council was long, and many matters debated therein touching the duke and his country, without any word speaking of the voyage that they were in purpose to make into England: the duke dissimuled the matter. This council was in the city of Vannes in a castle called the Motte. The duke made all the lords a great dinner and fed them with fair loving words till it was near night, and then they returned to their lodgings into the suburbs without the city. And the constable of France, to please the knights and squires of Bretayne, he desired them all the next day to dine with him. Some did so and some departed to their own houses to take leave of their wives and parents, for the constable was purposed, as soon as he departed thence, straight to go unto his navy at Lautreguier. The duke of Bretayne knew it right well, but spake no word thereof making semblant as though he knew nothing. So this dinner ended, whereas were the most part of the barons of Bretayne, and suddenly unto them came the duke of Bretayne right amorously by seeming, but he thought otherwise in his heart: none knew thereof but such as he had discovered his mind unto. As soon as he entered into the constable's lodging, some said: 'Behold here cometh the duke.' Then every man rose, as reason was, and sweetly received him, as they ought for to do their lord, and he dealt right gently and he sat down among them and ate and drank and kept good company, and shewed them more tokens of love than ever he did before. And he said unto them: 'Fair lords, my lovers and friends, God send you well to go and well to come again, and send you joy and that you may do such deeds of arms as may please you and that it may be honourable unto you all.' And when they heard these sweet words of the duke, they all answered and said: 'Sir, we thank you, and God reward you of your great kindness, that it pleaseth you to come and see us at our departing.'

This same season the duke of Bretayne was making of a castle near to Vannes, called the castle of Ermine, the which as then was near furnished, and to the intent to attrap the constable there, he said unto him and unto the lord de Laval and to the lord of Beaumanoir and to other lords that were there: 'Sirs, I require you, or ye depart, to come and see my new castle of Ermine: ye shall see how I have devised it and also how I purpose for to do.'

They all agreed unto him, because they saw him come so lovingly among them, for

they thought none evil. And so the most part of them mounted on their horses and rode forth with the duke to the castle of Ermine. Then the duke, the constable, the lord de Laval and the lord of Beaumanoir and divers other lords and knights alighted off their horses and entered into the castle, and the duke led the constable by the hand from chamber to chamber and into every house of office, and made them drink in the cellar. Then the duke brought them to the chief tower, and at the door thereof he said to the constable: 'Sir Oliver, I know no man on this side the sea that knoweth more in building than ye do. Wherefore I pray you mount up the stairs and behold the building of the tower. If it be well, I am content; and if anything be amiss, it shall be reformed after your device.' The constable thinking none evil, said: 'Sir, with right a good will: please it you to go before and I shall follow you.' 'Nay, sir,' said the duke, 'go your way up alone, and in the mean time I will talk with the lord de Laval.' The constable went up the stairs, and when he was above and past the first stage, there were men in a chamber laid in a bushment, and they opened the door, and some went down and did shut the door beneath and the other went up all armed to the constable. There they took and led him into a chamber and fettered him with three bolts of iron, and said to him: 'Sir, pardon us, for we must needs do that we do: we be thus commanded by our lord the duke of Bretayne.'

If the constable were abashed at that time, it was no marvel. The constable ought not to have great marvel of that chance; for after that the displeasure fell between the duke and him, for any letters that the duke could write to him, or for any device or safe-conduct to come and go safely, yet for all that the constable would never come in the duke's presence, for he durst not trust him, and now he is come to his misfortune, for he found the duke in great displeasure with him, and that was well shewed.

And when the lord de Laval, being beneath at the stair foot, saw the door closed, his blood began to tremble and had great fear of his brother;[1] and beheld the duke, who waxed pale and green as a leaf. Then he knew that the matter went amiss and said: 'Ah, sir, for God's sake have mercy. What will you do? Take none evil will against the constable.' 'Sir,' said the duke, 'take ye your horse and depart: ye may go when ye will: I know well enough what I have to do.' 'Sir,' said the lord de Laval, 'I will not depart hence without I have my brother the constable with me.' With these words there came unto them the lord of Beaumanoir, whom the duke also hated, and he in like wise demanded to have the constable. Then the duke drew his dagger and came unto him and said: 'Beaumanoir, wilt thou be in the same point as thy master is in?' 'Sir,' said he, 'I trust my master is in good case.' 'Well,' said the duke, 'I demand of thee if thou wilt be in like case.' 'Yea, sir,' said he. Then the duke took his dagger by the point and said: 'If thou wilt be in like case, it behoveth thee to put out one of thine eyen.' The lord of Beaumanoir saw well the matter went not well, and saw the duke wax pale for anger: then he kneeled down on his knee and said: 'Sir, I repute so great nobleness in you, that I trust in God and you that ye will do us right. We be at your mercy, and we are come hither at your request: we trust ye will not dishonour yourself to accomplish any evil will that ye have to us: it should be a strange novelty.'[1] 'Well,' said the duke, 'come on thy way, for thou shalt have no more nor no less than he shall have.' So he was led into another chamber and fettered also with three pair of irons. If he were abashed he had a great cause, for he perceived well the duke loved him but little nor the constable also, but then he had no remedy.

Anon tidings spread over the castle and also the town, how that the constable of France and the lord of Beaumanoir and also the lord de Laval were taken prisoners, and how the lord de Laval might depart when he would, for the duke demanded nothing of him; whereof the people had great marvel, and also great cause why;

[1] 'For his brother-in-law.' Oliver de Clisson had married Catherine de Laval.

[1] 'Il en seroit trop grant nouvelle,' 'there would be much question (*or* talk) of it': as in speaking of the deposition of Richard II., 'Car trop grans nouvelles seroient en tous royaulmes crestiens de sa prinse.'

for every man said how the duke would put them both to death, he hated them so mortally. The duke was greatly blamed of all knights and squires that heard thereof, and they said there was never a greater defamation on any prince than was on the duke of Bretayne, seeing that he had desired the constable to dine with him and to see his house and to make him good cheer, and so to take him prisoner. They said they never heard of case like; wherefore he was infamed and never man more dishonoured, nor thereby no man should trust in any prince, sith the duke had deceived these noblemen. 'What will the French king say when he knoweth this? for by this his voyage into England is broken. There was never so great a shame imagined. But now the duke sheweth what lay in his heart. We trow there was never seen in Bretayne case like, nor in none other place. If a poor knight had done such a deed, he were dishonoured for ever. In whom should a man trust but in his lord? and that lord should maintain him in his right and do him justice. Who shall make correction of this deed? None, but the French king. Now the duke sheweth plainly how he is on the English part and will sustain and hold with the opinion of the king of England, sith he hath thus broken the voyage by the sea, that should have gone into England. What shall become now of the knights and squires of Bretayne, when they shall hear these tidings? Nothing, but incontinent come from their houses and lay siege to the castle of Ermine and close the duke within, and there tarry till they have taken him other dead or quick, and lead him like a false prince to the French king.'

Thus the knights and squires about the marches of Vannes spake and communed together, and such as were come thither to that council with the said lords; and they were in great doubt that the duke would put them to death. Then some other said: 'As for the lord de Laval is in no jeopardy:[1] he is so wise that he will temper the duke in all his business.' And truly so he did, for an he had not been, the constable had been dead the first night, if he had had a thousand lives.

It ought to be believed that sir Oliver of Clisson was not at his ease when he saw himself so taken and attrapped and fettered and kept with thirty persons, and had no comfort by them, for they knew not the will of their lord, so that he reckoned himself but as a dead man, and also he had no hope to live till the next day; and surely he was in great danger, for three times he was unfettered and brought to have been beheaded or else drowned, and surely so he had been, if the lord de Laval had not been. But when this lord de Laval heard the duke's strait commandment to put him to death, he kneeled down before him lifting up his hands sore weeping and said: 'Sir, for God's sake take mercy: advise you, shew not your cruelty against the constable, he hath deserved no death. Sir, of your grace that it may please you to shew me the cause of your displeasure against him, and, sir, I swear unto you, any trespass that he hath done he shall make you such amends with his body and goods, or else I for him, as ye yourself shall demand or judge. Sir, remember you how in your yongth ye two were companions together and brought up both in one house with the duke of Lancaster, who was so gentle a prince that there was none like him. Also, sir, remember how before his peace was made with the French king, always he truly served you: he aided you to recover your heritage; ye have always found in him good comfort and counsel: if ye be now moved or informed against him otherwise than reason should require, yet he hath not deserved death.' 'Sir de Laval,' said the duke, 'let me have my will; for Oliver of Clisson hath so oftentimes displeased me, and now is the hour come that I may shew him my displeasure. Wherefore depart you hence and let me shew my cruelty, for I will he shall die.' 'Ah, sir,' said the lord de Laval, 'refrain your evil will and moderate your courage and regard to reason; for if ye put him to death, there was never prince so dishonoured as ye shall be. There shall not be in Bretayne knight nor squire, city nor castle nor good town nor no man, but he shall hate you to the death and do that they can to disinherit you, nor the king of England nor his council shall

[1] 'The lord de Laval hath remained with him: he would not suffer it: he is so wise,' etc. The translator seems to have taken 'il ne le souffriroit nullement' to mean 'he will not suffer any harm.'

give you no thank therefor. Sir, will you lose yourself for the death of one man? Sir, turn your imagination; for this thought is nothing worth, but dishonourable, that ye should cause such an honourable knight as sir Oliver of Clisson is, to die, coming unto you at your own desire. Surely, sir, this deed should be treason and great reproach both before God and the world, to desire him thus to dinner, and he coming to you, and after that ye went to him into the town desiring him to see your new buildings, and he obeyed in everything to you and drank of your wine; and is this the great love that ye shewed him, to put him to death? There was never so great blame laid to any lord as shall be laid to you. All the world shall reproach you and hate you mortally and be glad to make you war. But, sir, I shall shew you what ye shall do, sith ye so sore hate him. Put him to ransom to a great sum of florins; this ye may well do: and if he hold other town or castle that should be yours, demand them again and ye shall have them: and look, what covenant ye make with him, I shall become pledge therefor.' And when the duke heard the lord de Laval speak so reasonably and pressed so sore on him as in a manner all that night he would not depart from him, then the duke studied a little and somewhat refrained his evil will, and at last spake and said: 'Sir de Laval, ye be a good mean for him; howbeit, I will ye know sir Oliver of Clisson is the man in the world that I most hate: for an ye were not, he should not scape without death this same night. Your words hath saved him: go to him and demand if he will pay me a hundred thousand franks incontinent, for I will nother have him nor you to pledge, nor nothing else but the ready money, and beside that to yield to me three castles and a town, such as I shall name, the castle of Bourg, the castle of Josselin, the castle of Blain, and the town of Jugon, and put me in possession of them, or my deputies: this done, I shall deliver him to you.' 'This shall be done,' said the lord de Laval, 'and, sir, I thank you that ye will thus do at my desire, and, sir, be you sure all that ye have demanded shall be done, these castles and town delivered and these hundred thousand franks paid, or he depart.'

Then the lord de Laval was greatly rejoiced, when he saw the constable out of peril of death. Then the tower door was opened and the lord de Laval mounted up, and came thereas the constable was sitting sore abashed, for he looked for nothing but death. And when he saw the lord de Laval, his heart revived, and thought there was some treaty in hand. Then the lord de Laval said to them that were thereby: 'Sirs, take off his irons, that I may speak with him from the duke': and said to him: 'Sir, how say you? will you do that I shall shew you?' 'Yea truly, sir,' said the constable. Then his irons were taken off, and the lord de Laval drew him apart and said: 'Fair brother, with great pain and much business I have saved your life and made your end;[1] but ye must pay, or ye depart hence, in ready money a hundred thousand franks, and moreover to yield up to the duke three castles and the town of Jugon, otherwise ye can have no deliverance.' Then the constable said: 'I will not refuse that bargain; but who shall go to Clisson to fetch this money? Fair brother,' said the constable, 'I think ye must be fain to go therefor.' 'Nay, sir, not so,' said the lord de Laval, 'for I have promised never to depart out of this castle till I have you with me; for I know well the duke is right cruel, and peradventure in mine absence will repent him by some light information, and so then all were lost.' 'Why, who shall go then?' said the constable. 'Sir,' said he, 'the lord of Beaumanoir shall go. He is here in prison as well as ye be; he shall make all this provision.' 'That is well said,' said the constable; 'go your way down and ordain everything as ye list.

CHAPTER LXXXI [LXXXV]

How the constable of France was delivered at the request of the lord de Laval, paying certain ransom, and how the constable delivered to the duke three castles and a town and paid CM. franks.

THUS the lord de Laval went down out of the tower to the duke, who was going to

[1] 'J'ai fait vostre fin,' 'I have made your terms.' The expression 'fair brother' in the passage represents 'beau-frère.'

bed, for of all that night he had not slept. Then the lord de Laval kneeled down and said: 'Sir, ye shall have all your demand, but, sir, ye must deliver the lord of Beaumanoir, that he may speak with the constable, for he must go and fetch this ransom and put your men in possession of the castles that ye desire to have.' 'Well,' said the duke, 'deliver them out of prison and put them into a chamber and be you the mean of their treaty, for I will not see them; and return again to me when I have slept, and I will speak with you.' Then the lord de Laval issued out of the chamber and went with two knights thither, whereas the lord of Beaumanoir was in prison, who was greatly abashed and doubted sore the death. He feared, when he heard the door open, that they were come to have put him to death; but when he saw the lord de Laval enter, his heart revived, and more when he heard him speak, saying: 'Sir of Beaumanoir, your deliverance is made, wherefore ye may be glad.' Then his fetters were taken off, and so he went into another chamber, and then the constable was also brought thither, and meat and wine was brought to them, for all the servants of the house were glad of their deliverance, for they were sorry of that case: howbeit, they might find no remedy, it behoved them to obey their master's commandment in right or in wrong; and as soon as the castle gate was shut and the bridge drawn, there entered nor issued nother man nor woman, for the keys were in the duke's chamber and he slept till it was three of the clock. And the knights and squires that were without abiding for their masters were sore abashed, and said: 'Now our season and voyage by the sea is lost and broken. Ah, constable, what mishap is fallen to you? what counsel hath deceived you? The council that was made and assembled at Vannes was made for none other intent but to attrap you. Ye were wont to be of the opinion that if the duke had sent for you and had made you a thousand assurances, yet ye would not have gone nor come at his commandment, ye doubted him so sore; and now ye went simply at his desire.' Every man through the duchy of Bretayne complained for the constable and wist not what to do nor say, and all knights and squires said: 'What do we here? Why do we not go and enclose the duke in his castle of Ermine? And if he have slain the constable, serve him in like manner; and if he keep him in prison, let us do so that we may have him again. There fell never such a mischief in Bretayne.' Thus one and other said, but there were none that stirred forward, but tarried to hear other news.

Thus tidings spread abroad, so that within two days it was at Paris, wherewith the king and his uncles, the duke of Berry and the duke of Burgoyne, had great marvel. As then the duke of Bourbon was gone to Avignon to go into Castile, and had seen the pope Clement on his way. These tidings came to him as he was at Lyon-sur-le-Rhone, and with him the earl of Savoy. And the earl of Saint-Pol, the lord of Coucy and [the] admiral of France, being at Harfleur ready to have entered into the sea toward their voyage, when they heard how the duke of Bretayne had taken the constable of France prisoner in his castle of Ermine, and the lord de Laval and the lord of Beaumanoir with him, and they that brought those tidings said how the bruit ran in Bretayne how the duke of Bretayne had put to death the constable of France and the lord of Beaumanoir; these were hard tidings to these lords and they said: 'Now our voyage is broken: let us give leave to all our men of war to depart, and let us go to Paris to the king and see what he will do.' Then the admiral said: 'It is good we do so, but let not our men depart: peradventure the king will send them to some other part, may happen into Castile, for the duke of Bourbon is going thither, or else peradventure he will send them into Bretayne to make war against the duke. Think you that the French king will suffer that matter thus to overpass? Nay surely, for the king shall receive by this bargain damage to the sum of two hundred thousand florins, beside the loss and hurt that is done to his constable, if he scape the life. Was there ever case like, thus the king to break his voyage, who was in good mind to have done damage to his enemies? Let us tarry here still a two or three days and peradventure we shall hear some other tidings out of France or out of Bretayne.'

CHAPTER LXXXII [LXXXVI]

How writings were made at the duke of Bretayne's device for the constable to render his town and castles to the duke and to his heirs for ever, and how they were delivered to the duke.

Now let us speak a little of the duke of Bretayne, who when he had slept, rose and made him ready, and then he sent for the lord de Laval, who came to him, and there they were together a long space. Finally letters were written according to the duke's will making mention that the constable sir Oliver of Clisson renounced clean his title for ever of the said town and castles and yielded them purely to the duke of Bretayne and to his heirs for ever, and that these writings should be permanent without any repeal. And then the lord of Beaumanoir was ordained by the constable to go to these castles and to cause them that had the rule of them to depart thence, and to put in possession the duke's men, and beside that to levy in ready money a hundred thousand franks to pay to the duke. When all this was concluded, the gates of the castle was opened and the lord of Beaumanoir issued out charged and ordained by the constable to accomplish all these ordinances, and he was desired to make all the diligence that might be: and with him went servants of the duke's, and noised as they went how the constable was sure of his life and was put to ransom. All such as loved him, knights and squires, were glad thereof and so thereby sat still; for they were determined to have gone and laid siege to the castle of Ermine and have closed the duke therein: they never did thing that they would have been gladder of. So these tidings ran abroad with the wind, so that the lords and knights being at Harfleur heard thereof and had certain knowledge that the constable had been dead, an the lord de Laval had not been: and they said: 'As for the deliverance of his town and castles, he shall recover them again, or else other, at time and leisure: the French king hath enow for him if he need. Now we may depart from hence; our voyage is broken: let us give our men leave to depart and let us go to Paris and learn tidings there; for we hear say that all such as were at Lautreguier are countermanded, the which is a sign that we shall go nowhere at this season.' Thus they gave licence to all their men of war to depart and themselves departed toward Paris, where the king was.

The lord of Beaumanoir did so much, that within four days he had set the duke of Bretayne's servants in possession of the foresaid castles and town of Jugon, and after he paid the hundred thousand franks for the constable's ransom, thereas the duke commanded. When all was done, the lord de Laval said to the duke: 'Sir, ye have now that you demanded, the hundred thousand franks, the town of Jugon, the castle of Bourg, and the white castle of Josselin;[1] therefore, sir, now deliver me the constable.' 'I am content,' said the duke: 'let him go when he will: I give him leave.' Thus the constable was delivered, and he and the lord de Laval departed from the castle of Ermine. When they were abroad in the fields, the constable made no long tarrying in Bretayne, but mounted on a good horse, and his page on another, and so rode that within two days he came to Paris and alighted at his own house, and then went to the castle of Louvre, to the king and his uncles, the duke of Berry and of Burgoyne. His men followed after him at their leisure.

The king knew of his deliverance, but he knew not that he was so near, and was glad when he heard thereof, and caused the chamber doors to be set open against him, and so he came into the king's presence and kneeled down before him and said: 'Right redoubted lord, your father, whom God pardon, made me constable of France, which office to my power I have well and truly exercised, and if there be any except your grace and my lords your uncles that will say that I have not acquitted myself truly, or done anything contrary to the crown of France, I am here ready to cast my gage in that quarrel.' The king nor none other made none answer to those words. Then he said further: 'Right dear sir and noble king, it fortuned in Bretayne in doing of mine office the duke of Bretayne

[1] 'Chastel-Josselin et le Blain,' 'the castle of Josselin and Blain.'

took me and held me in his castle of Ermine and would have put me to death without reason by reason of his fierce courage, an God had not been and the lord de Laval. So that I was constrained, if I would be delivered out of his hands, to deliver to him a town of mine in Bretayne and three castles and the sum of a hundred thousand franks. Wherefore, right dear sir and noble king, the blame and damage that the duke of Bretayne hath done, greatly regardeth your majesty royal; for the voyage that I and my company should have made by the sea is broken. Wherefore, sir, I yield up the office of the constableship: sir, provide for another, such as shall please you, for I will no more bear the charge thereof, I should have none honour to do it.' 'Constable,' said the king, 'we know well that we have hurt and damage, and is a thing greatly to the prejudice of our realm. We will incontinent send for the peers of France to see what shall be best to be done in this case: therefore take ye no thought, for ye shall have right and reason.'

Then the king took the constable by the hand and raised him up, and said: 'Constable, we will not that ye depart from your office in this manner, but we will that ye use it till we take other counsel.' Then the constable kneeled down again and said: 'Sir, this matter toucheth me so near, that I cannot use it. The office is great, for I must speak and answer every man; and I am so troubled that I can answer no man. Wherefore, sir, I require your grace to provide for another for a season, and I shall always be ready at your commandment.' 'Sir,' said the duke of Burgoyne, 'he offereth enough: ye shall take advice.' 'It is true,' said the king. Then the constable arose and went to the duke of Berry and to the duke of Burgoyne and advised to shew them his business and to inform them justly all the matter, seeing the case touched them greatly, in that they had the governing of the realm: but in speaking with them and hearing the whole matter he perceived the matter touched not them so sore as he made of,[1] so that finally they blamed him for going to Vannes, saying to him, 'Sith your navy was ready and that knights and squires tarried for you at Lautreguier.[1] And also when ye were at Vannes and had dined with the duke and returned again to your castle of Bourke,[2] what had you then anything to do to tarry there any longer nor to go again to the duke to the castle of Ermine?' 'Sir,' said the constable, 'he shewed me so fair semblant that I durst not refuse it.' 'Constable,' said the duke of Burgoyne, 'in fair semblants are great deceptions. I reputed you more subtle than I take you now. Go your way, the matter shall do well enough, we shall regard it at leisure.'

Then the constable perceived well that these lords were harder and ruder to him than the king was: so he departed and went to his own lodging, and thither came to him certain of the lords of the parliament to see him, and said to him that the matter should do right well; and also there came to him to counsel him the earl of Saint-Pol, the lord of Coucy and the admiral of France, and they said to him: 'Constable, make no doubt, for ye shall have reason of the duke of Bretayne; for he hath done against the crown of France great displeasure and worthy to be shamed and put out of his country. Go your ways and pass the time at Montlhery, there ye shall be on your own, and let us alone with the matter; for the peers of France will not suffer the matter to rest thus.' The constable believed these lords and so departed from Paris and rode to Montlhery. So the office of constableship was void for a season, as it was said that sir Guy of Tremouille should be constable: but it was not so; he was so well advised that he would not take it out of the hands of sir Oliver of Clisson.

[1] 'As the king's answer made it appear.'

CHAPTERS LXXXIII-LXXXVII [LXXXVII-XCI]

SUMMARY.—The duke of Gueldres sent his defiance to the French king, which troubled the court of France, already embarrassed by the affairs in Brittany.

Meanwhile the duke of Lancaster took

[1] The translator has cut down this passage so as to make it unintelligible: it should be: 'He answered, that he was not able to excuse himself. "Yes," said the duke of Burgoyne, "ye might well, sith your navy was ready,"' etc.

[2] 'Au bourg,' 'in the town.'

Orense, letting the garrison of Bretons go with their plunder. The king of Portugal first attempted the castle of Santarem, and then returning to Galicia took Ferrol for the duke of Lancaster. Finally the king of Portugal and the duke of Lancaster drew together, thinking to have battle with the king of Castile.

The bishop of Langres and three others were sent to the duke of Brittany to summon him to Paris.

THE *author then says* (chap. lxxxvi. [xc.]):—

It might be demanded of me how I knew all these matters, to speak so properly of them. I answer to all such that I have made great diligence in my days to know it, and have searched many realms and countries, to come to the true knowledge of all the matters contained in this history written and to be written, for God gave me the grace to have the leisure to see in my days and to have the acquaintance of all the high and mighty princes and lords, as well in France as in England; for in the year of our Lord God a thousand three hundred fourscore and ten I had laboured thirty-seven years, and as then I was of the age of fifty-seven years; and in thirty-seven years a man being in strength and well retained in every coast as I was (for after my young days I was in the king of England's court five years with the queen, and also I was welcome to king John of France and to king Charles his son) might well learn many things: and surely it was always my chief imagination and pleasure to enquire and to retain it by writing. And how I was informed of the taking of the constable of France I shall shew you.

A year after this matter fell I rode from the city of Angers to Tours in Touraine, and I lay on a night at Beaufort-in-the-Vale, and the next day I met with a knight of Bretayne called William d'Ancenis. He was riding to see my lady of Maillé in Touraine, his cousin, and her children: she was newly a widow. And I fell in acquaintance with this knight and found him right courteous and sweet of words. Then I demanded of him some tidings, and specially of the taking of the constable, which matter I was glad to hear and to know the truth thereof: and he shewed me, and said how he had been at the parliament at Vannes with the lord of Ancenis his cousin, a great baron of Bretayne; and in like manner as sir Espang de Lyon informed me of all things that had fallen in Foix, in Bearn and in Gascoyne, and also as sir John Ferrant Pacheco shewed me of all the matters of Portugal and of Castile, in like manner this knight shewed me many things, and more would have done, if I had ridden longer in his company. Thus between Monliherne and Prilly was four great leagues, and we rode but softly, and in this way he shewed me many things, the which I bare well in my remembrance, and specially of the adventures of Bretayne: and thus as we rode and that we came near to Prilly, we entered into a meadow. There this knight rested and said: 'Ah, God have mercy of the soul of the good constable of France. He did here once a good journey and profitable for the realm under the banner of sir John de Bueil, for he was not as then constable, but newly come out of Spain.' And I demanded of him how it was. 'I shall shew you,' said he, 'when I am on horseback': and so we mounted. Then we rode forth fair and easily, and as we rode he said:

SUMMARY.—Sir William d'Ancenis related how Bertrand du Guesclin defeated the Englishmen, Gascons, Bretons and others who plundered the land, and afterwards he told the legend of Bertrand du Guesclin's family, to shew that he ought to be called rather du Glay-Aquin.

THE *author then continues thus* (chap. lxxxvii. [xci.]):—

If I had been as long in company with this knight sir William of Ancenis as I was with sir Espang de Lyon, when I rode with him from the city of Pamiers to Orthez in Bearn, or else as long as I had been with sir John Ferrant Pacheco of Portugal, he would have shewed me many things. But it was not so; for after dinner, when we had ridden a two leagues, we came to a forked way: the one way was right to Tours in Touraine, whither-as I purposed to ride, and the other way was to Maillé, whither the knight was determined to ride. So at this way we brake company, taking leave each at other, but between Prilly and our departing he shewed me many things,

and specially of the business in Bretayne, and how the bishop of Langres was sent in the stead of the bishop of Beauvais, who died by the way, and how the bishop of Langres with sir John de Bueil and other came to the duke of Bretayne, and of the answer that they had. And on the information of this knight I took my foundation and have written as followeth.

SUMMARY.—The ambassadors came to Vannes and summoned the duke of Brittany to Paris, but he justified his action and declined to come, with which answer the king and his council were ill content.

CHAPS. LXXXVIII-XCVII [XCII-CI]

SUMMARY.—In England the duke of Gloucester headed the movement of discontent with the government of the duke of Ireland. By his advice the Londoners and men of other towns made complaints to the king, and a parliament was assembled to examine the accounts. Seeing that things went badly, the king and the duke of Ireland departed for Bristol: sir Simon Burley was condemned and executed.

The duke of Ireland had commission from the king to raise an army, and sir Robert Trevelyan was sent as a spy to London, but captured and executed.

The duke of Ireland was defeated on the Thames below Oxford and fled to Flanders.

The king was brought to London and a parliament met at Westminster, at which the oaths of homage were renewed.[1]

CHAPTERS XCVIII-CVI [CII-CX]

SUMMARY.—The king of Portugal and the duke of Lancaster, having joined forces, passed the Douro and entered Castile; but they found the country all laid waste, and the English suffered much from the climate. The king of Castile declined battle. Finally the sickness increased so much, that the duke of Lancaster dismissed his army, obtaining safe-conduct for his men to pass through Castile. The duke of Bourbon came to Burgos and returned straight to France, visiting the earl of Foix on his way: also the French companies left Spain, and the duke of Lancaster, who was sick, went by sea to Bayonne.

In the mean time the earl of Armagnac treated with the captains of companies in France and caused many to leave the realm.

CHAPTERS CVII-CXI [CXI-CXV]

SUMMARY.—In the quarrel between the duke of Juliers and the duke of Brabant the duke of Brabant was taken prisoner and the duke of Gueldres, brother of the duke of Juliers, was killed in the year 1371. *The duke of Brabant was released by command of the emperor. William, son of the duke of Juliers, succeeded to the duchy of Gueldres.*

The dispute was continued between Gueldres and Brabant, and the duke of Gueldres against the advice of his father made alliance with the king of England and sent his defiance to the king of France, while the duchess of Brabant sent to the king of France for aid.

CHAPS. CXII-CXVIII [CXVI-CXXII]

SUMMARY.—The king of Navarre died by a strange accident.

Treaties went forward to rid France of the companies, and the duke of Berry besieged Geoffrey Tête-Noire in the castle of Ventadour.

The duke of Burgundy sent help to the duchess of Brabant.

Perrot of Béarn with his company took Montferrand in Auvergne, whereat the king and his uncles were much displeased.

CHAPTERS CXIX-CXXV [CXXIII-CXXIX]

SUMMARY.—The daughter of the duke of Berry was married to Louis of Blois.

The comte d'Étampes was sent to bring the duke of Brittany to reason by fair means, but could effect nothing.

The English conquests in Galicia were recovered by the king of Castile within fifteen days.

The duke of Brittany allied himself with the English and with the king of Navarre.

[1] It is hardly necessary to remark upon the extreme inexactitude of Froissart's account of these events in England, especially as regards the chronological order.

The Brabançois laid siege to Grave.

The duke of Lancaster entertained proposals for a marriage of his daughter Katherine with the duke of Berry.

The lord of Coucy was sent to the duke of Brittany, who before he came restored the castles which he had taken from Oliver de Clisson.

In the mean time the duke of Lancaster went on with his treaty of marriage with the duke of Berry, while really intending to marry his daughter to the son of the king of Castile.

CHAPTERS CXXVI-CXXXV [CXXX-CXXXIX]

SUMMARY.—The duke of Brittany was persuaded to go to Paris to see the king, and about the same time the king of Sicily and his mother came thither.

The English coming to aid the duke of Brittany were long on the sea, and at length disembarked near Rochelle.

The siege of Grave was continued by them of Brabant, who were defeated by the duke of Gueldres between Ravestein and Grave. The French king, having heard of this, desired yet more to go into Gueldres, and his uncles were compelled to allow him to go. The French army advanced through the Ardennes, to avoid passing through Brabant.

CHAPTER CXXXVI [CXL]

SUMMARY.—The Scots determined to invade England. An English squire, sent to find out their intent, was discovered and captured. The main army of the Scots went towards Carlisle, while the earl Douglas with a smaller body entered Northumberland.

CHAPTER CXXXVII [CXLI]

How the earl Douglas won the pennon of sir Henry Percy at the barriers before Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and how the Scots brent the castle of Pontland, and how sir Henry Percy and sir Ralph his brother took advice to follow the Scots to conquer again the pennon that was lost at the scrimmish.

WHEN the English lords saw that their squire returned not again at the time appointed, and could know nothing what the Scots did, nor what they were purposed to do, then they thought well that their squire was taken. The lords sent each to other, to be ready whensoever they should hear that the Scots were abroad: as for their messenger, they thought him but lost.

Now let us speak of the earl Douglas and other, for they had more to do than they that went by Carlisle. When the earls of Douglas, of Moray, of March and Dunbar[1] departed from the great host, they took their way thinking to pass the water and to enter into the bishopric of Durham, and to ride to the town and then to return, brenning and exiling the country, and so to come to Newcastle and to lodge there in the town in the despite of all the Englishmen. And as they determined, so they did assay to put it in use, for they rode a great pace under covert without doing of any pillage by the way or assaulting of any castle, tower or house, but so came into the lord Percy's land and passed the river of Tyne without any let a three leagues above Newcastle not far from Brancepeth, and at last entered into the bishopric of Durham, where they found a good country. Then they began to make war, to slay people and to bren villages and to do many sore displeasures.

As at that time the earl of Northumberland and the other lords and knights of that country knew nothing of their coming. When tidings came to Newcastle and to Durham that the Scots were abroad, and that they might well see by the fires and smoke abroad in the country, the earl sent to Newcastle his two sons and sent commandment to every man to draw to Newcastle, saying to his sons: 'Ye shall go to Newcastle and all the country shall assemble there, and I shall tarry at Alnwick, which is a passage that they must pass by. If we may enclose them, we shall speed well.' Sir Henry Percy and sir Ralph his brother obeyed their father's commandment and came thither with them of the country. The Scots rode burning and exiling the country, that the smoke thereof came to Newcastle. The Scots came to the gates of Durham and scrimmished there; but

[1] George, earl of March and Dunbar: the text gives Mare, but there was at this time no earl of Mar.

they tarried not long but returned, as they had ordained before to do, and that they found by the way took and destroyed it. Between Durham and Newcastle is but twelve leagues English and a good country: there was no town, without it were closed, but it was brent, and they repassed the river of Tyne where they had passed before, and then came before Newcastle and there rested. All the English knights and squires of the country of York and bishopric of Durham were assembled at Newcastle, and thither came the seneschal of York, sir Ralph Lumley, sir Matthew Redman, captain of Berwick, sir Robert Ogle, sir Thomas Grey, sir Thomas Holton, sir John Felton, sir John Lilleburn, sir Thomas Abingdon, the baron of Hilton, sir John Coppledike and divers other, so that the town was so full of people that they wist not where to lodge.

When these three Scottish earls who were chief captains had made their enterprise in the bishopric of Durham and had sore overrun the country, then they returned to Newcastle and there rested and tarried two days, and every day they scrimmished. The earl of Northumberland's two sons were two young lusty knights and were ever foremost at the barriers to scrimmish. There were many proper feats of arms done and achieved: there was fighting hand to hand: among other there fought hand to hand the earl Douglas and sir Henry Percy, and by force of arms the earl Douglas won the pennon of sir Henry Percy's, wherewith he was sore displeased and so were all the Englishmen. And the earl Douglas said to sir Henry Percy: 'Sir, I shall bear this token of your prowess into Scotland and shall set it on high on my castle of Dalkeith, that it may be seen far off.' 'Sir,' quoth sir Henry, 'ye may be sure ye shall not pass the bounds of this country till ye be met withal in such wise that ye shall make none avaunt thereof.' 'Well, sir,' quoth the earl Douglas, 'come this night to my lodging and seek for your pennon: I shall set it before my lodging and see if ye will come to take it away.' So then it was late, and the Scots withdrew to their lodgings and refreshed them with such as they had. They had flesh enough: they made that night good watch, for they thought surely to be awaked for the words they had spoken, but they were not, for sir Henry Percy was counselled not so to do.

The next day the Scots dislodged and returned towards their own country, and so came to a castle and a town called Pontland, whereof sir Edmund of Alphel was lord, who was a right good knight. There the Scots rested, for they came thither betimes, and understood that the knight was in his castle. Then they ordained to assail the castle, and gave a great assault, so that by force of arms they won it and the knight within it. Then the town and castle was brent; and from thence the Scots went to the town and castle of Otterburn, an eight English mile from Newcastle[1] and there lodged. That day they made none assault, but the next morning they blew their horns and made ready to assail the castle, which was strong, for it stood in the marish. That day they assaulted till they were weary, and did nothing. Then they sowned the retreat and returned to their lodgings. Then the lords drew to council to determine what they should do. The most part were of the accord that the next day they should dislodge without giving of any assault and to draw fair and easily towards Carlisle. But the earl Douglas brake that counsel and said: 'In despite of sir Henry Percy, who said he would come and win again his pennon, let us not depart hence for two or three days. Let us assail this castle: it is pregnable: we shall have double honour. And then let us see if he will come and fetch his pennon: he shall be well defended.'[2] Every man accorded to his saying, what for their honour and for the love of him. Also they lodged there at their ease, for there was none that troubled them: they made many

[1] Froissart says 'eight English leagues.' In the next chapter the distance becomes 'seven little leagues,' and later on, 'a six English miles,' where the original is 'lieues.' The actual distance is about thirty miles. The translator gives the form 'Combur' here, but 'Ottenburge' in the next chapter, as the name of the place. It is remarkable indeed how little trouble he seems to have taken generally to give English names correctly. In this chapter we have 'Nymyche' for 'Alnwick' and 'Pouclan' for 'Pontland,' forms rather less like the real names than those which he found in the French text, viz. Nynich and Ponclau.

[2] Froissart says, 'if he comes, it shall be defended.' The translator perhaps means 'he shall be prevented.'

lodgings of boughs and great barks and fortified their camp amply with the marish that was thereby, and their carriages were set at the entry into the marishes and had all their beasts within the marish. Then they apparelled for to assault the next day: this was their intention.

Now let us speak of sir Henry Percy and of sir Ralph his brother and shew somewhat what they did. They were sore displeased that the earl Douglas had won the pennon of their arms: also it touched greatly their honours, if they did not as sir Henry Percy said he would; for he had said to the earl Douglas that he should not carry his pennon out of England, and also he had openly spoken it before all the knights and squires that were at Newcastle. The Englishmen there thought surely that the earl Douglas' band was but the Scots' vanguard and that their host was left behind. The knights of the country, such as were well expert in arms, spake against sir Henry Percy's opinion and said to him: 'Sir, there fortuneth in war oftentimes many losses. If the earl Douglas have won your pennon, he bought it dear, for he came to the gate to seek it and was well beaten:[1] another day ye shall win as much of him or more. Sir, we say this because we know well all the power of Scotland is abroad in the fields, and if we issue out and be not men enow to fight with them, and peradventure they have made this scrimmish with us to the intent to draw us out of the town, and the number that they be of, as it is said, above forty thousand men, they may soon enclose us and do with us what they will. Yet it were better to lose a pennon than two or three hundred knights and squires and put all our country in adventure.' These words refrained sir Henry and his brother, for they would do nothing against counsel. Then tidings came to them by such as had seen the Scots and seen all their demeanour and what way they took and where they rested.

CHAPTER CXXXVIII [CXLII]

How sir Henry Percy and his brother with a good number of men of arms and archers went after the Scots, to win again his pennon that the earl Douglas had won before Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and how they assailed the Scots before Otterburn in their lodgings.

It was shewed to sir Henry Percy and to his brother and to the other knights and squires that were there, by such as had followed the Scots from Newcastle and had well advised their doing, who said to sir Henry and to sir Ralph: 'Sirs, we have followed the Scots privily and have discovered all the country. The Scots be at Pontland and have taken sir Edmund Alphed in his own castle, and from thence they be gone to Otterburn and there they lay this night. What they will do tomorrow we know not: they are ordained to abide there: and, sirs, surely their great host is not with them, for in all they pass not there a three thousand men.' When sir Henry heard that, he was joyful and said: 'Sirs, let us leap on our horses, for by the faith I owe to God and to my lord my father I will go seek for my pennon and dislodge them this same night.' Knights and squires that heard him agreed thereto and were joyous, and every man made him ready.

The same evening the bishop of Durham came thither with a good company, for he heard at Durham how the Scots were before Newcastle and how that the lord Percy's sons with other lords and knights should fight with the Scots: therefore the bishop of Durham to come to the rescue had assembled up all the country and so was coming to Newcastle. But sir Henry Percy would not abide his coming, for he had with him six hundred spears, knights and squires, and an eight thousand foot-men. They thought that sufficient number to fight with the Scots, if they were not but three hundred spears and three thousand of other. Thus they departed from Newcastle after dinner and set forth in good order, and took the same way as the Scots had gone and rode to Otterburn, a seven little leagues from thence and fair way, but they could not ride fast because of their foot-men. And when the Scots had supped and some laid down to their rest, and were weary of travailing and assaulting of the castle all that day, and thought to rise early in the morning in

[1] *i.e.* 'well fought with.'

cool of the day to give a new assault, therewith suddenly the Englishmen came on them and entered into the lodgings, weening it had been the masters' lodgings, and therein were but varlets and servants. Then the Englishmen cried, 'Percy, Percy!' and entered into the lodgings, and ye know well where such affray is noise is soon raised: and it fortuned well for the Scots, for when they saw the Englishmen came to wake them, then the lords sent a certain of their servants of foot-men to scrimmish with the Englishmen at the entry of the lodgings, and in the mean time they armed and apparelled them, every man under his banner and under his captain's pennon. The night was far on, but the moon shone so bright as an it had been in a manner day. It was in the month of August and the weather fair and temperate.

Thus the Scots were drawn together and without any noise departed from their lodgings and went about a little mountain, which was greatly for their advantage. For all the day before they had well advised the place and said among themselves: 'If the Englishmen come on us suddenly, then we will do thus and thus, for it is a jeopardous thing in the night if men of war enter into our lodgings. If they do, then we will draw to such a place, and thereby other we shall win or lose.' When the Englishmen entered into the field, at the first they soon overcame the varlets, and as they entered further in, always they found new men to busy them and to scrimmish with them. Then suddenly came the Scots from about the mountain and set on the Englishmen or they were ware, and cried their cries; whereof the Englishmen were sore astonied. Then they cried 'Percy!' and the other party cried 'Douglas!'

There began a cruel battle and at the first encounter many were overthrown of both parties; and because the Englishmen were a great number and greatly desired to vanquish their enemies, and rested at their pace[1] and greatly did put aback the Scots, so that the Scots were near discomfited. Then the earl James Douglas, who was young and strong and of great desire to get praise and grace, and was willing to deserve to have it, and cared for no pain nor travail, came forth with his banner and cried, 'Douglas, Douglas!' and sir Henry Percy and sir Ralph his brother, who had great indignation against the earl Douglas because he had won the pennon of their arms at the barriers before Newcastle, came to that part and cried, 'Percy!' Their two banners met and their men: there was a sore fight: the Englishmen were so strong and fought so valiantly that they reculed the Scots back. There were two valiant knights of Scots under the banner of the earl Douglas, called sir Patrick of Hepbourn and sir Patrick his son. They acquitted themselves that day valiantly: the earl's banner had been won, an they had not been: they defended it so valiantly and in the rescuing thereof did such feats of arms, that it was greatly to their recommendation and to their heirs' for ever after.

It was shewed me by such as had been at the same battle, as well by knights and squires of England as of Scotland, at the house of the earl of Foix,—for anon after this battle was done I met at Orthez two squires of England called John of Chateauneuf and John of Cantiron; also when I returned to Avignon I found also there a knight and a squire of Scotland; I knew them and they knew me by such tokens as I shewed them of their country, for I, author of this book, in my youth had ridden nigh over all the realm of Scotland, and I was as then a fifteen days in the house of earl William Douglas, father to the same earl James, of whom I spake of now, in a castle a five leagues from Edinburgh in the country of Dalkeith;[1] the same time I saw there this earl James, a fair young child, and a sister of his called the lady Blanche,—and I was informed by both these parties[2] how this battle was as sore a battle fought as lightly hath been heard of before of such a number; and I believe it well, for Englishmen on the one party and Scots on the other party are good men of war, for when they meet there is a hard fight without sparing, there is no ho between them as long as spears, swords, axes or daggers will endure, but lay on

[1] In French, 'ilz se arresterent,' without 'and.'

[1] 'Which is called in the country Dalkeith.' The French has 'que on nomme au pays Dacquest,' of which the translator makes 'in the countrey of Alquest.'

[2] 'By both sides,' *i.e.* Scotch and English.

each upon other, and when they be well beaten[1] and that the one party hath obtained the victory, they then glorify so in their deeds of arms and are so joyful, that such as be taken they shall be ransomed or they go out of the field, so that shortly each of them is so content with other that at their departing courteously they will say, 'God thank you': but in fighting one with another there is no play nor sparing, and this is true, and that shall well appear by this said rencounter, for it was as valiantly foughten as could be devised, as ye shall hear.

CHAPTER CXXXIX [CXLIII]

How the earl James Douglas by his valiantness encouraged his men, who were reculed and in a manner discomfited, and in his so doing he was wounded to death.

KNIGHTS and squires were of good courage on both parties to fight valiantly: cowards there had no place, but hardiness reigned with goodly feats of arms, for knights and squires were so joined together at hand strokes, that archers had no place of nother party. There the Scots shewed great hardiness and fought merrily with great desire of honour: the Englishmen were three to one: howbeit, I say not but Englishmen did nobly acquit themselves, for ever the Englishmen had rather been slain or taken in the place than to fly. Thus, as I have said, the banners of Douglas and Percy and their men were met each against other, envious who should win the honour of that journey. At the beginning the Englishmen were so strong that they reculed back their enemies: then the earl Douglas, who was of great heart and high of enterprise, seeing his men recule back, then to recover the place and to shew knightly valour he took his axe in both his hands, and entered so into the press that he made himself way in such wise, that none durst approach near him, and he was so well armed that he bare well off such strokes as he received.[2] Thus he went ever forward like a hardy Hector, willing alone to conquer the field and to discomfit his enemies: but at last he was encountered with three spears all at once, the one strake him on the shoulder, the other on the breast and the stroke glinted down to his belly, and the third strake him in the thigh, and sore hurt with all three strokes, so that he was borne perforce to the earth and after that he could not be again relieved. Some of his knights and squires followed him, but not all, for it was night, and no light but by the shining of the moon. The Englishmen knew well they had borne one down to the earth, but they wist not who it was; for if they had known that it had been the earl Douglas, they had been thereof so joyful and so proud that the victory had been theirs. Nor also the Scots knew not of that adventure till the end of the battle; for if they had known it, they should have been so sore despaired and discouraged that they would have fled away. Thus as the earl Douglas was felled to the earth, he was stricken into the head with an axe, and another stroke through the thigh: the Englishmen passed forth and took no heed of him: they thought none otherwise but that they had slain a man of arms. On the other part the earl George de la March and of Dunbar fought right valiantly and gave the Englishmen much ado, and cried, 'Follow Douglas,' and set on the sons of Percy: also earl John of Moray with his banner and men fought valiantly and set fiercely on the Englishmen, and gave them so much to do that they wist not to whom to attend.

[1] 'When they have well fought.'

[2] 'No man was so well armed that he did not fear the great strokes which he gave.'

CHAPTER CXL [CXLIV]

How in this battle sir Ralph Percy was sore hurt and taken prisoner by a Scottish knight.

OF all the battles and encounterings that I have made mention of herebefore in all this history, great or small, this battle that I treat of now was one of the sorest and best foughten without cowardice or faint hearts. For there was nother knight nor squire but that did his devoir and fought hand to hand: this battle was like the battle of Becherel,[1] the which was valiantly

[1] Or, according to another reading, 'Cocherel.'

fought and endured. The earl of Northumberland's sons, sir Henry and sir Ralph Percy, who were chief sovereign captains, acquitted themselves nobly, and sir Ralph Percy entered in so far among his enemies that he was closed in and hurt, and so sore handled that his breath was so short, that he was taken prisoner by a knight of the earl of Moray's called sir John Maxwell. In the taking the Scottish knight demanded what he was, for it was in the night, so that he knew him not, and sir Ralph was so sore overcome and bled fast, that at last he said: 'I am Ralph Percy.' Then the Scot said: 'Sir Ralph, rescue or no rescue I take you for my prisoner: I am Maxwell.' 'Well,' quoth sir Ralph, 'I am content: but then take heed to me, for I am sore hurt, my hosen and my greaves are full of blood.' Then the knight saw by him the earl Moray and said: 'Sir, here I deliver to you sir Ralph Percy as prisoner; but, sir, let good heed be taken to him, for he is sore hurt.' The earl was joyful of these words and said: 'Maxwell, thou hast well won thy spurs.' Then he delivered sir Ralph Percy to certain of his men, and they stopped and wrapped his wounds: and still the battle endured, not knowing who had as then the better, for there were many taken and rescued again that came to no knowledge.

Now let us speak of the young James earl of Douglas, who did marvels in arms or he was beaten down. When he was overthrown, the press was great about him, so that he could not relieve, for with an axe he had his death's wound. His men followed him as near as they could, and there came to him sir James Lindsay his cousin and sir John and sir Walter Sinclair and other knights and squires. And by him was a gentle knight of his, who followed him all the day, and a chaplain of his, not like a priest but like a valiant man of arms, for all that night he followed the earl with a good axe in his hands and still scrimmished about the earl thereas he lay, and reculed back some of the Englishmen with great strokes that he gave. Thus he was found fighting near to his master, whereby he had great praise, and thereby the same year he was made archdeacon of Aberdeen. This priest was called sir William of North Berwick: he was a tall man and a hardy and was sore hurt. When these knights came to the earl, they found him in an evil case and a knight of his lying by him called sir Robert Hart: he had a fifteen wounds in one place and other. Then sir John Sinclair demanded of the earl how he did. 'Right evil, cousin,' quoth the earl, 'but thanked be God there hath been but a few of mine ancestors that hath died in their beds: but, cousin, I require you think to revenge me, for I reckon myself but dead, for my heart fainteth oftentimes. My cousin Walter and you, I pray you raise up again my banner which lieth on the ground, and my squire Davie Collemine slain: but, sirs, shew nother to friend nor foe in what case ye see me in; for if mine enemies knew it, they would rejoice, and our friends discomforted.' The two brethren of Sinclair and sir James Lindsay did as the earl had desired them and raised up again his banner and cried 'Douglas!' Such as were behind and heard that cry drew together and set on their enemies valiantly and reculed back the Englishmen and many overthrown, and so drave the Englishmen back beyond the place whereas the earl lay, who was by that time dead, and so came to the earl's banner, the which sir John Sinclair held in his hands, and many good knights and squires of Scotland about him, and still company drew to the cry of 'Douglas.' Thither came the earl Moray with his banner well accompanied, and also the earl de la March and of Dunbar, and when they saw the Englishmen recule and their company assembled together, they renewed again the battle and gave many hard and sad strokes.

CHAPTER CXLI [CXLV]

How the Scots won the battle against the Englishmen beside Otterburn, and there was taken prisoners sir Henry and sir Ralph Percy, and how an English squire would not yield him, no more would a Scottish squire, and so died both; and how the bishop of Durham and his company were discomfited among themselves.

To say truth, the Englishmen were sorer travailed than the Scots, for they came the same day from Newcastle-upon-Tyne, a

six English miles, and went a great pace to the intent to find the Scots, which they did: so that by their fast going they were near out of breath, and the Scots were fresh and well rested, which greatly availed them when time was of their business: for in the last scrimmish they reculed back the Englishmen in such wise, that after that they could no more assemble together, for the Scots passed through their battles. And it fortuned that sir Henry Percy and the lord of Montgomery, a valiant knight of Scotland, fought together hand to hand right valiantly without letting of any other, for every man had enough to do. So long they two fought that per force of arms sir Henry Percy was taken prisoner by the said lord of Montgomery.

The knights and squires of Scotland, as sir Marc Adreman,[1] sir Thomas Erskine, sir William, sir James and sir Alexander Lindsay, the lord of Fenton, sir John of Saint-Moreaulx,[2] sir Patrick of Dunbar, sir John and sir Walter Sinclair, sir John Maxwell, sir Guy Stuart, sir John Haliburton, sir Alexander Ramsay, Robert Collemine[3] and his two sons John and Robert, who were there made knights, and a hundred knights and squires that I cannot name, all these right valiantly did acquit themselves. And on the English party, before that the lord Percy was taken and after, there fought valiantly sir Ralph Lumley, sir Matthew Redman, sir Thomas Ogle, sir Thomas Gray, sir Thomas Helton, sir Thomas Abingdon, sir John Lilleburn, sir William Walsingham, the baron of Helton, sir John of Colpedich,[4] the seneschal of York and divers other footmen. Whereto should I write long process? This was a sore battle and well foughten; and as fortune is always changeable, though the Englishmen were more in number than the Scots and were right valiant men of war and well expert, and that at the first front they reculed back the Scots, yet finally the Scots obtained the place and victory, and all the foresaid Englishmen taken, and a hundred more, saving sir Matthew Redman, captain of Berwick, who when he knew no remedy nor recoverance, and saw his company fly from the Scots and yielded them on every side, then he took his horse and departed to save himself.

The same season about the end of this discomfiture there was an English squire called Thomas Waltham, a goodly and a valiant man, and that was well seen, for of all that night he would nother fly nor yet yield him. It was said he had made a vow at a feast in England, that the first time that ever he saw Englishmen and Scots in battle, he would so do his devoir to his power, in such wise that either he would be reputed for the best doer on both sides, or else to die in the pain. He was called a valiant and a hardy man and did so much by his prowess, that under the banner of the earl of Moray he did such valiantness in arms, that the Scots had marvel thereof, and so was slain in fighting: the Scots would gladly have taken him alive, but he would never yield, he hoped ever to have been rescued. And with him there was a Scottish squire slain, cousin to the king of Scots, called Simon Glendowyn; his death was greatly complained of the Scots.

This battle was fierce and cruel till it came to the end of the discomfiture; but when the Scots saw the Englishmen recule and yield themselves, then the Scots were courteous and set them to their ransom, and every man said to his prisoner: 'Sirs, go and unarm you and take your ease; I am your master': and so made their prisoners as good cheer as though they had been brethren, without doing to them any damage. The chase endured a five English miles, and if the Scots had been men enow, there had none scaped, but other they had been taken or slain. And if Archambault Douglas and the earl of Fife, the earl Sutherland and other of the great company who were gone towards Carlisle had been there, by all likelihood they had taken the bishop of Durham and the town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. I shall shew you how. The same evening that the Percies departed from Newcastle, as ye have heard before, the bishop of Durham with the rearband came to Newcastle and supped: and as he sat at the table, he had imagination in himself how he did not acquit himself well to see the Englishmen in the field and he to be within the town. Incontinent he

1 Perhaps 'Malcolm Drummond.'
2 The true reading seems to be 'Sandilands.'
3 Perhaps 'Coningham.'
4 Either 'Copeland' or 'Copeldike.'

caused the table to be taken away and commanded to saddle his horses and to sown the trumpets, and called up men in the town to arm themselves and to mount on their horses, and foot-men to order themselves to depart. And thus every man departed out of the town to the number of seven thousand, two thousand on horseback and five thousand afoot; they took their way toward Otterburn, whereas the battle had been. And by that time they had gone two mile[1] from Newcastle tidings came to them how their men were fighting with the Scots. Therewith the bishop rested there, and incontinent came more flying fast, that they were out of breath. Then they were demanded how the matter went. They answered and said: 'Right evil; we be all discomfited: here cometh the Scots chasing of us.' These tidings troubled the Englishmen, and began to doubt. And again the third time men came flying as fast as they might. When the men of the bishopric of Durham heard of these evil tidings, they were abashed in such wise that they brake their array, so that the bishop could not hold together the number of five hundred. It was thought that if the Scots had followed them in any number, seeing that it was night, that in the entering into the town, and the Englishmen so abashed, the town had been won.

The bishop of Durham, being in the field, had good will to have succoured the Englishmen and recomforted his men as much as he could; but he saw his own men fly as well as other. Then he demanded counsel of sir William Lucy and of sir Thomas Clifford and of other knights, what was best to do. These knights for their honour would give him no counsel; for they thought to return again and do nothing should sown greatly to their blame, and to go forth might be to their great damage; and so stood still and would give none answer, and the longer they stood, the fewer they were, for some still stale away. Then the bishop said: 'Sirs, all things considered, it is none honour to put all in peril, nor to make of one evil damage twain. We hear how our company be discomfited, and we cannot remedy it: for to go to recover them, we know not with whom nor with what number we shall meet. Let us return fair and easily for this night to Newcastle, and to-morrow let us draw together and go look on our enemies.' Every man answered: 'As God will, so be it.' Therewith they returned to Newcastle. Thus a man may consider the great default that is in men that be abashed and discomfited: for if they had kept them together and have turned again such as fled, they had discomfited the Scots. This was the opinion of divers; and because they did not thus, the Scots had the victory.

[1] The word 'lieue' is translated 'mile' throughout.

CHAPTER CXLII [CXLVI]

How sir Matthew Redman departed from the battle to save himself; and how sir James Lindsay was taken prisoner by the bishop of Durham; and how after the battle scurrers were sent forth to discover the country.

I SHALL shew you of sir Matthew Redman, who was on horseback to save himself, for he alone could not remedy the matter. At his departing sir James Lindsay was near to him and saw how sir Matthew departed, and this sir James, to win honour, followed in chase sir Matthew Redman, and came so near him that he might have stricken him with his spear, if he had list. Then he said: 'Ah, sir knight, turn; it is a shame thus to fly: I am James of Lindsay: if ye will not turn, I shall strike you on the back with my spear.' Sir Matthew spake no word, but strake his horse with the spurs sorer than he did before. In this manner he chased him more than three miles, and at last sir Matthew Redman's horse foundered and fell under him. Then he stept forth on the earth and drew out his sword, and took courage to defend himself; and the Scot thought to have stricken him on the breast, but sir Matthew Redman swerved from the stroke, and the spear-point entered into the earth. Then sir Matthew strake asunder the spear with his sword; and when sir James Lindsay saw how he had lost his spear, he cast away the truncheon and lighted afoot, and took a little battle-axe that he carried at his back and handled it with his one hand quickly and deliverly, in the which feat

taken?' quoth the bishop. 'Sir,' quoth he, 'I took in the chase sir Matthew Redman.' 'And where is he?' quoth the bishop. 'By my faith, sir, he is returned to Newcastle: he desired me to trust him on his faith for three weeks, and so have I done.' 'Well,' quoth the bishop, 'let us go to Newcastle, and there ye shall speak with him.' Thus they rode to Newcastle

how the bishop of Durham had taken the said sir James Lindsay and how that he was there in the town as his prisoner. As soon as the bishop was departed, sir Matthew Redman went to the bishop's lodging to see his master, and there he found him in a study, lying in a window,[1] and said: 'What, sir James Lindsay, what make you here?' Then sir James came forth of the study to him and gave him good morrow, and said: 'By my faith, sir Matthew, fortune hath brought me hither; for as soon as I was departed from you, I met by chance the bishop of Durham, to whom I am prisoner, as ye be to me. I believe ye shall not need to come to Edinboro to me to make your finance: I think rather we shall make an exchange one for another, if the bishop be so content.' 'Well, sir,' quoth Redman, 'we shall accord right well together, ye shall dine this day with me: the bishop and our men be gone forth to fight with your men, I cannot tell what shall fall, we shall know at their return.' 'I am content to dine with you,' quoth Lindsay. Thus these two knights dined together in Newcastle.

When the knights of Scotland were informed how the bishop of Durham came on them with ten thousand men, they drew to council to see what was best for them to do, other to depart or else to abide the adventure. All things considered, they concluded to abide, for they said they could not be in a better nor a stronger place than they were in already: they had many prisoners and they could not carry them away, if they should have departed; and also they had many of their men hurt and also some of their prisoners, whom they thought they would not leave behind them. Thus they drew together and ordered so their field, that there was no entry but one way, and they set all their prisoners together and made them to promise how that, rescue or no rescue, they should be their prisoners. After that they made all their minstrels to blow up all at once and made the greatest revel of the world. Lightly it is the usage of Scots, that when they be thus assembled together in arms, the foot-men beareth about their necks horns in manner like hunters, some great, some small, and of all sorts, so that when they blow all at once, they make such a noise, that it may be heard nigh four miles off: thus they do to abash their enemies and to rejoice themselves. When the bishop of Durham with his banner and ten thousand men with him were approached within a league, then the Scots blew their horns in such wise, that it seemed that all the devils in hell had been among them, so that such as heard them and knew not of their usage were sore abashed. This blowing and noise endured a long space and then ceased: and by that time the Englishmen were within less than a mile. Then the Scots began to blow again and made a great noise, and as long endured as it did before. Then the bishop approached with his battle well ranged in good order and came within the sight of the Scots, as within two bow-shot or less: then the Scots blew again their horns a long space. The bishop stood still to see what the Scots would do and aviewed them well and saw how they were in a strong ground greatly to their advantage. Then the bishop took counsel what was best for him to do; but all things well advised, they were not in purpose to enter in among the Scots to assail them, but returned without doing of anything, for they saw well they might rather lose than win.

When the Scots saw the Englishmen recule and that they should have no battle, they went to their lodgings and made merry, and then ordained to depart from thence. And because that sir Ralph Percy was sore hurt, he desired of his master that he might return to Newcastle or into some place, whereas it pleased him, unto such time as he were whole of his hurts, promising, as soon as he were able to ride, to return into Scotland, other to Edinboro or into any other place appointed. The earl of March, under whom he was taken, agreed thereto and delivered him a horse litter and sent him away; and by like covenant divers other knights and squires were suffered to return and took term other to return or else to pay their finance, such as they were appointed unto. It was shewed me by the information of the Scots, such as had been at this said battle that was between New-

[1] Or rather, 'very pensive leaning against a window,' and afterwards the expression 'came forth of the study to him' should be 'broke off his thought and came towards him.'

castle and Otterburn in the year of our Lord God a thousand three hundred fourscore and eight, the nineteenth day of August, how that there were taken prisoners of the English party a thousand and forty men, one and other, and slain in the field and in the chase eighteen hundred and forty, and sore hurt more than a thousand: and of the Scots there were a hundred slain, and taken in the chase more than two hundred; for as the Englishmen fled, when they saw any advantage they returned again and fought: by that means the Scots were taken and none otherwise. Every man may well consider that it was a well fought field, when there were so many slain and taken on both parties.

CHAPTER CXLIII [CXLVII]

How the Scots departed and carried with them the earl Douglas dead, and buried him in the abbey of Melrose; and how sir Archambault Douglas and his company departed from before Carlisle and returned into Scotland.

AFTER this battle thus finished, every man returned,[1] and the earl Douglas' dead body chested and laid in a chare, and with him sir Robert Hart and Simon Glendowyn, then they prepared to depart: so they departed and led with them sir Henry Percy and more than forty knights of England, and took the way to the abbey of Melrose. At their departing they set fire in their lodgings, and rode all the day, and yet lay that night in the English ground: none denied them. The next day they dislodged early in the morning and so came that day to Melrose. It is an abbey of black monks on the border between both realms. There they rested and buried the earl James Douglas. The second day after his obsequy was done reverently, and on his body laid a tomb of stone and his banner hanging over him. Whether there were as then any more earls of Douglas, to whom the land returned, or not, I cannot tell; for I, sir John Froissart, author of this book, was in Scotland in the earl's castle of Dalkeith, living earl William, at which time he had two children, a son and a daughter; but after there were many of the Douglases, for I have seen a five brethren, all squires, bearing the name of Douglas, in the king of Scotland's house, David; they were sons to a knight in Scotland called sir James Douglas, and they bare in their arms gold, three oreilles gules, but as for the heritage, I know not who had it: as for sir Archambault Douglas, of whom I have spoken before in this history in divers places, who was a valiant knight, and greatly redoubted of the Englishmen, he was but a bastard.

When these Scots had been at Melrose abbey and done there all that they came thither for, then they departed each from other and went into their own countries, and such as had prisoners, some led them away with them and some were ransomed and suffered to return. Thus the Englishmen found the Scots right courteous and gentle in their deliverance and ransom, so that they were well content. This was shewed me in the country of Bearn in the earl of Foix's house by a knight named John of Chateauneuf, who was taken prisoner at the same journey under the banner of the earl of March and Dunbar: and he greatly praised the said earl, for he suffered him to pass in manner as he desired himself.

Thus these men of war of Scotland departed, and ransomed their prisoners as soon as they might right courteously, and so returned little and little into their own countries. And it was shewed me and I believe it well, that the Scots had by reason of that journey two hundred thousand franks for ransoming of prisoners: for sith the battle that was before Stirling in Scotland, whereas sir Robert of Bruce, sir William Douglas, sir Robert Versy, sir Simon Fraser and other Scots chased the Englishmen three days, they never had journey so profitable nor so honourable for them, as this was. When tidings came to the other company of the Scots that were beside Carlisle, how their company had distressed the Englishmen beside Otterburn, they were greatly rejoiced, and displeased in their minds that they had not been there. Then they determined to dislodge and to draw into their own countries, seeing their other company were withdrawn. Thus they dislodged and entered into Scotland.

[1] That is, 'After the battle was over and every man had returned,' but it should be, 'After all this was done and everything was gathered together.'

Now let us leave to speak of the Scots and of the Englishmen for this time, and let us return to the young Charles of France, who with a great people went into Almaine, to bring the duke of Gueldres to reason.

When the French king and all his army were past the river of Meuse at the bridge of Morsay, they took the way of Ardennes and of Luxembourg, and always the pioneers were before, beating woods and bushes and making the ways plain. The duke of Juliers and his country greatly doubted the coming of the French king, for they knew well they should have the first assault and bear the first burden: and the land of Juliers is a plain country; in one day the men of war should do much damage there, and destroy and waste all, except the castles and good towns. Thus the French king entered into the country of Luxembourg and came to an abbey, whereas Wenceslas sometime duke of Brabant was buried. There the king tarried two days: then he departed and took the way through Bastogne, and lodged within a league whereas the duchess of Brabant lay. She sent word of her being there to the duke of Burgoyne, and he brought her into the field to speak with the king, who received her right honourably, and there communed together. Then the duchess returned to Bastogne, and thither she was conveyed with sir John of Vienne and sir Guy of Tremouille; and the next day the king went forward, approaching to the land of his enemies, and came to the entering into Almaine, on the frontiers of the duchy of Juliers. But or he came so far forward, Arnold bishop of Liege had been with the king and had greatly entreated for the duke of Juliers, that the king should not be miscontent with him, though he were father to the duke of Gueldres; for he excused him of the defiance that his son had made, affirming how it was not by his knowledge nor consent, wherefore, he said, it were pity that the father should bear the default of the son. This excuse was not sufficient to the king nor to his uncles: for the intent of the king and his council was, without the duke of Juliers would come and make other manner of excuse, and to yield himself to the king's pleasure, his country should be the first that should bear the burden. Then the bishop of Liege and the lords of Hesbaing and the councils of the good towns offered to the king and his council wholly the bishopric of Liege for his army to pass and repass paying for their expenses, and to rest and refresh them there as long as it pleased them. The king thanked them, and so did his uncles, and would not refuse their offer, for he knew not what need he should have after.

CHAPTERS CXLIV, CXLV [CXLVIII, CXLIX]

SUMMARY. — The duke of Juliers, alarmed by the advance of the king of France, came and excused himself, as not approving the conduct of his son the duke of Gueldres, and by his means the duke of Gueldres was persuaded to disavow his letter of defiance: and so the king of France returned.

CHAPTER CXLVI [CL]

SUMMARY.—The earl of Arundel with the English fleet had come to land near Rochelle: then hearing that sir Louis of Sancerre was coming thither to fight with him, he put to sea and came to Bordeaux.

The duke of Lancaster contracted his daughter to the son of the king of Castile.

The French king took upon himself the government, being more than twenty years of age, and kept the feast of All Saints at Rheims.

Sir John de Vienne went as ambassador to the king of Castile to warn him against an English alliance.

CHAPTERS CXLVII, CXLVIII [CLI, CLII]

SUMMARY.—The duke of Berry proposed a marriage first for his son and then for himself with the young lady Jane of Boulogne, who had been brought up by the earl of Foix.

Geoffrey Tête-Noire, besieged in Ventadour, made his will and died, appointing a captain in his stead.

The duke of Gueldres was taken prisoner in Prussia, and being delivered by the grand master of Prussia, returned to keep faith with his captors.

CHAPS. CXLIX-CLI [CLIII-CLV]

SUMMARY.—Sir John de Vienne received his answer from the king of Castile, that the intended marriage would not prejudice the alliance with France.

The earl of Arundel with the English fleet returned home.

The duchess of Lancaster went with her daughter into Spain.

The marriage took place of the duke of Berry with the young lady of Boulogne, at which the author was present.

CHAPTER CLII [CLVI]

SUMMARY.—A peace was agreed to for three years between England and France, to include allies on both sides.

The author thus continues:—

In this time great bruit was in France and in other places of a great feast and jousts that the young king Charles would make at Paris at the first entering of Isabel the French queen, against which feast knights, squires, ladies and damosels apparelled them to be at that triumph. Of the which feast I shall speak more hereafter, and of the charter of the peace that was engrossed and sealed between the parties.[1]

Ye shall know that when I, sir John Froissart, author of this history, was departed from Orthez from the earl of Foix, as ye have heard herebefore, and went in company with the lord de la Rivière and the lord Guilliam of Tremouille, who brought the young duchess of Berry, daughter to the earl of Boulogne, to the duke of Berry, who wedded her in the town of Riom in Auvergne, as it is contained herebefore in this history; for at all these matters I was present, wherefore I may well speak thereof. And when I came to Paris, I found there the gentle lord of Coucy, a good lord of mine, who had newly married a young lady, daughter to the duke of Lorraine; which lord made me good cheer and demanded of me news of the country of Foix and Bearn, and of pope Clement, being at Avignon, and of the marriage between Berry and Boulogne, and of another great friend of mine and good lord and master, the earl Berault, Dolphin of Auvergne; and to all his demands I answered all that I knew, so that he was content. Then he desired me to go with him into Cambresis, to a castle that the king had given him called Crevecœur, a two leagues from Cambray and nine leagues from Valenciennes. And so I rode in his company. And as we rode by the way, he shewed me how the bishop of Bayeux and the earl of Saint-Pol and other were at Boulogne, sent thither by the French king to conclude the truce, and how that for king Richard king of England there were at Calais the bishop of Durham and the earl of Salisbury with other, and how they had been there the space [of] more than a month abiding for the ambassadors of Scotland, who were as then newly come thither. He said how his cousin the earl of Saint-Pol had written to him thereof, and how the French king had sent to the king of Scots and to his council that he should agree to the truce, for the Englishmen would consent to no peace without the Scots were comprised in the same. Thus we rode till we came to Crevecœur, and there I was with him three days. Then I took leave of him and went to Valenciennes, and there I tarried fifteen days. Then I went into Holland, to see a gentle lord and good master of mine, the earl of Blois, and found him at Schoonhove. He made me good cheer and demanded of me some tidings, and I shewed him such as I knew. I tarried with him a month there and at Goude. Then I returned into France to know the truth of the conclusion that was taken between England and France at Lelinghen. Also I purposed to be at the feast that should be at Paris at the entry of the French queen, to know the truth of all these matters. I returned through Brabant, and so came to Paris eight days before the feast began. Then I fell in company with the lords of France and of Scotland, such as had been at the making of the truce between England and France, and I fell in acquaintance with sir Guilliam of Melun, who shewed me

[1] Here ends the third book of the Chronicles, and after this in the fuller text there comes the prologue to the fourth book, which in the text followed by the translator is placed (in a shortened form) considerably later, to suit the division into volumes; see chap. 187 [191] of the translation, where the fourth volume of the early printed editions begins.

all the whole matter and how the earl of Saint-Pol was passed into England to see king Richard and to confirm the truce that was granted for three years, and that he should return again to be at the said great feast. Then I demanded of the said sir Guilliam what lords of Scotland had been at the said treaty. I demanded it because in my youth I had been in Scotland and searched all the realm to the wild Scots: and while I was there, I tarried a space in the court of king David of Scotland, and there I had acquaintance of the most part of the lords and knights of Scotland. Therefore I demanded who had been there; and this sir Melun answered me and said how there had been the bishop of Aberdeen and sir James and sir David Lindsay and sir Walter of Sinclair. I bare his saying away, and did put in writing all that I had seen and heard, and shall shew the truth what I saw and knew of this feast and of the first entering of queen Isabel into Paris.

CHAPTER CLIII [CLVII]

Of the ordinance of the entry of queen Isabel into the town of Paris.

THE Sunday the twentieth day of June in the year of our Lord God a thousand three hundred fourscore and nine there was people in Paris and without such number that it was marvel to behold; and the same Sunday in the morning there was assembly made in the church of Saint Denis of noble ladies of France, such as should accompany the queen, and of such lords as should assist the queen's litters and other ladies'; and there was of the burgesses of Paris twelve hundred an-horseback ranged in the fields on both sides of the way, apparelled in gowns of one suit of cloth of baudkin, green and crimson. And the old queen Jane and her daughter, duchess of Orleans, entered first into Paris one hour before noon in a litter covered, well accompanied with lords, and passed through the high street of Saint Denis and so rode to the palace and there tarried for the king: that day these two ladies went no further.

Then the French queen and the other ladies set forward, as the duchess of Berry, the duchess of Burgoyne, the duchess of Touraine, the duchess of Bar, the countess of Nevers, the lady of Coucy, and other ladies and damosels all in good order: all their litters were apparelled as richly as might be; but the duchess of Touraine had no litter, she rode alone upon a fair palfrey richly apparelled, and she rode on the one side by the queen's litter, and it was assisted with the duke of Touraine and the duke of Bourbon at the fore head on both sides, and in the midst on both sides the litter were the duke of Berry and the duke of Burgoyne, and at the feet was the lord Peter of Navarre and the earl of Ostrenavant: the queen's litter was richly apparelled and discovered. Then next followed on a rich apparelled palfrey the duchess of Berry, and she was assisted with the earl de la Marche and with the earl of Nevers, and she riding a soft pace between them both. Then followed the litter all discovered and open of the duchess of Burgoyne and Margaret of Hainault her daughter, countess of Nevers. That litter was assisted with the lord Henry of Bar and the young earl of Namur called sir Guilliam. And then the lady of Orleans on a palfrey richly apparelled, and the lord James of Bourbon and the lord Philip d'Artois assisted the lady of Orleans. Then another litter with the duchess of Bar and the daughter of the lord of Coucy.[1] Of other ladies and damosels that came after in chariots and palfreys, and knights that followed, there was no mention made. And as for sergeants and officers of arms, had business enough to do to make way and to break the press. There was such people in the streets that it seemed that all the world had been there.

At the first gate of Saint Denis entering into Paris there was a heaven made full of stars, and within it young children apparelled like angels sweetly singing, and among them an image of our Lady holding in figure a little child[2] playing by himself with a little mill made of a great nut: this

[1] Marie, daughter of the sire de Coucy, was daughter-in-law of the duchess of Bar, therefore the reading, 'et sa fille, fille au sire de Coucy,' which is condemned by Lettenhove (xx. 250) on the ground that the daughter of the sire de Coucy could not be also the daughter of the duchess of Bar, is probably correct.

[2] 'Holding in figure her little child': that is, holding a child set there to represent the infant Christ (and kept quiet apparently by having the little windmill to play with).

heaven was high and richly apparelled with the arms of France, with a banner of the sun shining of gold, casting his rays; this was devised by the king[1] for the feast of the jousts. The queen and the other ladies, as they passed under in at the gate, they had great pleasure to behold it, and so had all other that passed by. Then when the queen and the ladies were passed by, then they came a soft pace before the fountain in the street of Saint Denis, which conduit was covered over with a cloth of fine azure painted full of flower-de-luces of gold, and the pillars were set full of the arms of divers noble lords of France; and out of this fountain there issued in great streams piment and claret, and about this fountain there were young maidens richly apparelled, with rich chaplets on their heads, singing melodiously, great pleasure it was to hear them, and they held in their hands cups and goblets of gold, offering and giving to drink all such as passed by; and the queen rested there and regarded them and had great pleasure of that device, and so did all other ladies and damosels that saw it.

Then after, under the minster of the Trinity in the street there was a stage and thereupon a castle, and along on the stage there was ordained the pass of king Saladin[2] and all their deeds in personages,[3] the Christen-men on the one part and the Saracens on the other part, and there was in personages all the lords of name that of old time had been armed and had done any feats of arms at the pass of Saladin, and were armed with such armour[4] as they then used. And then a little above them there was in personages the French king and the twelve peers of France armed with the blason of their arms. And when the French queen's litter was come before this stage, she rested there a season. Then the personage on the stage of king Richard[5] departed from his company and went to the French king and demanded licence to go and assail the Saracens; and the king gave him leave. Then king Richard returned to his twelve[1] companions: then they all set them in order and incontinent went and assailed the king Saladin and the Saracens. There in sport there seemed a great battle and it endured a good space: this pageant was well regarded.

Then the queen passed forth and came to the second gate of Saint Denis, and there was a castle ordained as was at the first gate and a heaven clouded and full of stars richly devised, and therein the figure of God sitting in majesty, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, and within the heaven children in figure of angels sweetly singing, which pageant was greatly praised. And as the queen's litter passed under the gate of Paradise, there were two angels came out and came down holding in their hands a rich crown of gold garnished with precious stones, and they set fair and easily the crown on the queen's head, singing right sweetly this verse: 'Dame, as ye be enclosed between the flower-de-luces, so ye be queen of the realm of France,' and so drew again into Paradise.[2] Then they passed forth and came before the chapel of Saint James, and there was a scaffold richly devised on the right hand as the queen rode, covered over with rich arras and drawn about with curtains in manner of a chamber, and within there were men playing upon organs right sweetly. And all the street of Saint Denis was covered over with cloths of silk and camlet, such plenty as though such cloths should cost nothing. And I, sir John Froissart, author of this history, was present and saw all this and had great marvel where such number of cloths of silk were gotten; there was as great plenty as though they had been in Alisandre or Damas: and all the houses on both sides of the great street of Saint Denis unto the bridge of Paris were hanged with cloths of Arras of divers histories, the which was pleasure to behold.

Thus they passed forth a soft pace and

[1] 'Which was the device of the king.'
[2] 'Le Pas du roy Salhadin,' *i.e.* the fight with Saladin.
[3] By representation of actors.
[4] Or rather, 'wearing such coats of arms.'
[5] 'The person who represented king Richard on the stage.'

[1] The word 'twelve' is due to the translator.
[2] The lines were these:

'Dame enclose entre fleurs de lis,
Royne estes-vous de Paris,
De France et de tout le pays.
Nous en ralons en paradis.'

The last line is mistranslated: it should be given as part of the angels' song, 'We return to Paradise.' The second line was partly omitted by the translator, probably because he found the reading 'paradis' for 'Paris,' and was puzzled by it.

so came to the gate of the Chatelet of Paris, and there the queen rested to see the other goodly devices that were there ordained. At the gate of the Chatelet of Paris there was a castle made of wood and timber, as strongly made as it should have endured forty years, the which castle was embattled and at every loop there was a man of arms armed at all pieces; and in the same castle there was a bed made, richly encurtained and apparelled, as it had been to have stood in the king's chamber, and this bed was called the bed of Justice, and in this bed there lay by figure Saint Anne. In this castle there was a plain, for the castle contained a great space, and this plain was full of trees and full of hares, conies and birds, that flew in and out, for when they were abroad they flew thither again for fear of the people. And out of these trees there issued a white hart and went to the bed of Justice, and out of the other part of the wood there issued out a lion and an eagle properly, and freshly approached[1] the hart and the bed of Justice. Then came there out of the trees a twelve young maidens richly apparelled with chaplets of gold on their heads, holding naked swords in their hands, and they went between the hart, the lion and the eagle, and there they shewed themselves ready to defend the hart and the bed of Justice. This device the queen and all other had great pleasure to regard.

Then they passed forth and came to the bridge of Paris, which was covered and richly beseen, the covering of green and crimson full of stars and the streets hanged, to Our Lady's church. And by that time that the queen and the ladies were past the bridge and approached to the church of Our Lady, it was late, for all the way as they went they rode but a soft pace; and or the queen and the ladies entered into the church of Our Lady, they found by their way other plays and pastimes greatly to their pleasure. Among all other there was a master came out of Genes: he had tied a cord on the highest house on the bridge of Saint Michael over all the houses, and the other end was tied on the highest tower in Our Lady's church; and as the queen passed by, and was in the great street called Our Lady's street, because it was late this said master with two brenning candles in his hands issued out of a little stage that he had made on the height of Our Lady's tower, and singing he went upon the cord all along the great street, so that all that saw him had marvel how it might be, and he bare still in his hands two brenning candles, so that it might well be seen over all Paris and two mile without Paris: he was such a tumbler that his lightness was greatly praised.

And before the church of Our Lady the bishop of Paris was, revested with the arms of our lord Jesu Christ, with all the college and great number of other of the clergy. There the queen alighted out of her litter and was taken down by the four dukes, that is to say, the duke of Berry, the duke of Burgoyne, the duke of Touraine and the duke of Bourbon, and all other ladies in like wise taken down by them that were their assisters, both out of their litters and from their horses and in good order. So they entered into the church, the bishop and the clergy before them, singing in the honour of God and of our blessed Lady. The queen was led and assisted and brought up to the high altar, and there she kneeled down and said her prayers, such as pleased her, and offered to the treasury of our Lady four cloths of cloth of gold and the goodly crown that the angels did set on her head; and then incontinent sir John de la Rivière[1] and sir John le Mercier delivered the bishop of Paris a more richer crown, and the bishop and the four dukes did set it on the queen's head. Then they returned again through the church, and the queen and the ladies set again in their litters, as they were before: there were more than five hundred torches brenning, for it was late. Thus they were brought to the palace of Paris, where the king, the old queen and the duchess of Orleans her daughter were. There the queen and her ladies lighted from their litters, and each of them brought into several chambers; and the lords went to their lodgings after the dancing was past.

The next day, Monday, the king made them all a dinner at his palace, and at the hour of the high mass the queen was led with the foresaid four dukes into the Holy Chapel, and there in the mass season the queen was sacred and anointed, as a

[1] 'Very properly made, and approached,' etc.

[1] His true name was Bureau de la Rivière.

queen ought to be, and the archbishop of Rouen did the observance, who was called sir William of Vienne. After the mass sung solemnly the king and the queen returned into their chambers, and all other ladies such as had chambers in the palace. Then anon after the king and the queen returned into the hall, and all other ladies. The great table of marble that always standeth still in the hall was made longer with a great plank board of oak of four inches thick, which board was richly covered. And above the great table against one of the pillars was the king's dressing-board standing full of vessel of gold and silver, which was greatly coveted of many that saw it. Before the table along descending down there were barriers made of wood with three alleys, and there were sergeants and ushers a great number keeping the entries, to the intent that none should enter but such as were servitors of the table; for the hall was so full of people that a man could not turn him but with much pain. Minstrels a great number pleasantly played, every man after his faculty. Then the king and the prelates and the queen and the ladies washed and sat down at the tables. At the king's table sat down as chief the bishop of Noyon, then the bishop of Langres, then the king, and by the king the archbishop of Rouen. The king sat in a surcoat of scarlet furred with ermines and a rich crown of gold on his head: then the queen, and by her the king of Armenia, then the duchess of Berry, then the duchess of Burgoyne and the duchess of Touraine, then the lady of Nevers and the good damosel of Bar,[1] then the lady of Coucy and Mary of Harcourt: no other sat at the high table, saving beneath all sat the lady of Sully, wife to sir Guy of Tremouille. And at two other tables along down the hall sat more than five hundred ladies and damosels. The press was so great that it was great pain to serve them with their messes, which were great and notable. I have not to do to make great process thereof: I shall somewhat speak of the pastimes that were made between the messes, the which had been a great pleasure for the king to have seen, if he had tarried out the whole dinner.

[1] The French text has 'ma damoiselle Bonne de Bar,' but the better reading is 'madame de Bar.'

First, in the midst of the palace there was a castle made of timber forty foot long and twenty foot broad, with four towers, in every quarter one, and one in the midst higher than the other. This castle was figured for the city of Troy and the tower in the midst for the palace of Ilion, and there were pennons with the arms of the Troyans, as of king Priamus, Hector his son and his other children, and also the arms of such other kings and princes as were enclosed in Troy with king Priam: this castle went upon wheels, the which might be turned every way properly. This castle came to assail another sort[1] that was thereby in a pavilion, which also went upon wheels so softly and covertly that the moving thereof could not be perceived, and there was the arms of the kings of Greece and of other such as were at the siege. Also there was a ship properly devised, wherein might well be a hundred men of arms, and all moved by the craft of wheels, both the castle, pavilion and ship. They of the pavilion and of the ship assailed ever the castle and they within the castle made great defence; but this sport endured not long, for the press of the people was so sore about them that no man could stir. The people were sore chafed with the heat and put to much pain. And there was a table by the parliament chamber door, whereat sat many ladies and damosels: it was by reason of the press overthrown to the earth and the ladies caused suddenly to rise without order, and sore chafed with the press and heat that was in the palace. The queen herself was at the point to have been sore displeased:[2] perforce a back door[3] was broken up to get fresh air. The lady of Coucy was sore dis-eased. When the king saw this matter, he commanded to cease and the tables in great haste to be taken up to let the ladies and damosels at large: they left taking of[4] wine and spices and went to their chambers. Then some of the ladies tarried still in the palace and some went into the town to their lodgings, to be the more at their ease, for with press and with

[1] 'Autres gens.' [2] 'Mesaisée.'
[3] 'Une barrière,' but the better reading is 'une verrière,' 'a glass window.'
[4] 'On se délivra de donner,' 'they made haste to serve.'

heat they had been sore grieved. The lady Coucy went to her lodging and held her there till it was late.

Then about five of the clock the French queen, accompanied with the foresaid duchesses, departed from the palace of Paris and took their litters all open and so went through the streets to the king's lodging, called Saint-Pol on the river of Seine.[1] With the queen there were more than a thousand horses, and the king went from the palace to the river of Seine and took there a barge and went by water to his house of Saint-Pol. And for all that the house was great and large and well amended, yet the king had caused in the great court near to the gate from the river to be made a great hall, which was covered over with cloths of the arms of Normandy, and the walls were hanged with cloths of Arras of sundry histories. In this hall the king gave the ladies a supper; but the queen kept her chamber, she was no more seen that night. The other ladies and the king and the lords danced and revelled all that night, near hand till it was day in the morning: then every person departed and went to their lodgings to sleep, for it was good time.

Now I shall shew you what gifts and presents they of Paris gave on the Tuesday before noon to the queen and to the duchess of Touraine, who was but newly come into France out of Lombardy; for she was daughter to the duke of Milan and she had the same year wedded Louis duke of Touraine; she was named Valentine; she had never before been at Paris, therefore the burgesses of Paris gave her her welcome. On this Tuesday about twelve of the clock about a forty burgesses of Paris of the most notablest persons of the city, all in one suit of clothing, came to the king's house of Saint-Pol and brought a present for the queen through the streets of Paris. The present was in a litter richly wrought and borne between two strong men properly apparelled like two ancient sage persons.[2] The litter had a celler of a thin fine cloth of silk, so that the jewels that were in the litter might well be seen through. When they came to Saint-Pol, first they came into the king's chamber, which was ready apparelled to receive them, for always such as bringeth anything are welcome. Then these burgesses set down the litter on two tressels in the midst of the chamber. Then they kneeled down before the king and said: 'Right dear lord and noble king, your burgesses of Paris presenteth your grace these jewels here in this litter in the welcoming of your grace into the governance of your realm of France.' Then the king said: 'Good men, I thank you: they are right goodly and rich.' Then the burgesses rose and drew back and therewith took their leave. When they were gone, the king said to sir William of Bordes and to Montague, who were by him: 'Sirs, let us go near to this litter and see these presents more nearer.' Then the king well regarded them. First there were four pots of gold, six lavers of gold and six plates of gold;[1] all this vessel weighed a hundred and fifty mark of gold. In like manner another sort of burgesses richly apparelled all in one livery came to the queen and presented her another litter, which was borne into her chamber, shewing how the good men of Paris did recommend them to her grace and sent her that present: which present was a ship of gold, two great flagons of gold, two dredge-boxes[2] of gold, two salts of gold, six pots gold, six lavers of gold, twelve lamps of silver, two basons of silver; the sum was three hundred mark, what gold, what silver. This present was brought in a litter between two men, one in semblance of a bear and the other in semblance of an unicorn. The third present in like wise was brought into the duchess of Touraine's chamber by two men figured in the form of two black Moors richly apparelled, with white towels about their heads like Saracens. The litter was fair and rich, covered with a fine cloth of silk and brought by twelve burgesses all in one apparel, who gave this present to the said duchess, in the which present there was a ship of gold, a great pot of gold, two ewers gold, two great plates gold, two salts gold, six pots silver, two dozen saucers silver, two dozen bowls silver; sum, gold and

[1] Saint-Pol-sur-Seine.

[2] 'Hommes saiges,' but this is a corruption of 'hommes sauvages,' 'wild men.'

[1] The full text has also, 'four salt-holders of gold, twelve cups of gold, twelve basons of gold.'

[2] 'Drageoirs,' 'comfit-boxes.'

silver, two hundred marks. This present greatly rejoiced the duchess of Touraine, as it was reason, for it was goodly and rich; and courteously she thanked them of their gift. Thus this Tuesday these presents were given to the king, the queen and to the duchess of Touraine. It was greatly to be considered the value of these presents and also the puissance of the Parisians; for it was shewed me by one who saw all these presents that they cost the Parisians more than threescore thousand crowns of gold. After these presents thus delivered it was time to go to dinner; but that day the king and the queen and other ladies dined in their chambers, the sooner to have done, for at three of the clock at after dinner they should draw into the field of Saint Katherine, whereas there was ordained stages and scaffolds a great number for the king and the queen and other to behold the jousts.

SUMMARY.—The jousts were held on this Tuesday and on the following day, and prizes awarded. On Friday the king gave a great dinner to the ladies and there was jousting after it. Then lords and ladies took leave of the king and queen and returned home.

CHAPS. CLIV, CLV [CLVIII, CLIX]

SUMMARY.—The truce between England and France for three years was confirmed. The young son of the duke of Anjou, styled king of Sicily, was married to the daughter of the king of Aragon.

CHAPTER CLVI [CLX]

How the French king had desire to go and visit the far parts of his realm, and how he went first into Burgoyne and to Avignon, to see pope Clement.

AFTER this great feast was accomplished and that every lord and lady were gone home to their own houses, as ye have heard herebefore, and that the French king saw that he had truce with England for three year, he had then imagination to go and visit his realm, specially the utward [illegible]es of Languedoc: for the lord de la [illegible] and sir John Mercier, who were [illegible] chief of his privy council, they exhorted him to go to Avignon to see pope Clement and the cardinals, who desired to see him, and also to go to Toulouse; for they said to the king: 'Sir, a king in his youth ought to visit his realm and to know his people and to learn how they be governed, the which should be greatly to his profit and the better to be beloved with his subjects.' The king lightly inclined to their counsel, for he had desire to travel and see new things; and the lord de la Rivière, who was but newly come out of those marches, heard great complaints of the people of Toulouse, of Carcassonne and of Beaucaire, and they desired greatly to see the king; for they had been sore charged with tailles and aids by the duke of Berry by the information of a servant of his called Betisac, who had pity of no man, he so pilled the people that nothing was left: therefore he counselled the king to go thither to provide some remedy, and also that the king should send for the earl of Foix to come to him to Toulouse. The king made him ready to go thither and sent afore all the way that provision should be made for his coming, and sent word thereof to his uncle the duke of Burgoyne and to his aunt the duchess, how he would come along through their country and would see his cousins their children, and to bring in his company his brother the duke of Touraine and his uncle of Bourbon; which pleased greatly the duke and the duchess, and the duke caused to be proclaimed a feast and a jousts to be holden at Dijon, and knights and squires of Burgoyne, of Savoy and of other marches adjoining were required to be at this feast; and so every man ordered themselves accordingly.

Thus whiles the king's provision was a making to go to Avignon and to Languedoc, the duke of Burgoyne on his part made great provision to receive the king, and so did every man in their marches that purposed to be at the feast at Dijon. The same season other matters fell in France. Ye have heard how the duke of Ireland, who was called earl of Oxford, was banished out of England by the uncles of king Richard, and specially the duke of Gloucester had greatest displeasure to him, so that to save himself he was fled into Holland, and tarried there but a small season in the town of Dordrecht, for he

was fain to depart thence, for duke Aubert, who was lord of that town and of Holland, denied him the tarrying in his country; for he would not keep him against the will of his cousins-germans of England: for all that the king of England had written for him, yet he was fain to depart and to go to Utrecht, a frank town for all manner of people paying for that they take; and the duke of Ireland had enough to pay, for beside that he brought with him he had threescore thousand franks out of France from the constable for the redemption of John of Bretayne. And he was come to the French king under safe-conduct and was there with him more than a year. The king made him good cheer, because he was a stranger; howbeit, true it was, though this duke was with the king, yet the lord of Coucy hated him in his heart, for he had good cause; for though the duke in all affairs was provided of wit, honour, eloquence and of great largess, yet he had greatly trespassed against the lord of Coucy's daughter, who was his wife lawfully spoused, and forsook her without any title of reason, but by false and evil temptation and deceit was deceived and took another wife, a damosel of the queen of England's of the country of Boeme, and the king and the queen of England sinfully consented thereto and he was dispensed by pope Urban of Rome at the instant desire of the king and queen of England. This sin grieved greatly the conscience of the duke of Ireland, and because the lord of Coucy,[1] who was of the council of France and well worthy so to be, for he had done good service and was well able to do, he procured so much by means of his friends, as sir Oliver of Clisson and the lord de la Rivière, sir John Mercier and other, that it was said to the duke of Ireland that he should depart out of France and to go and choose himself another place to abide in, where he list, so that it be not in the realm of France, and thither he should surely be conveyed. The duke of Ireland saw well how he was daily in peril by means of the lord of Coucy and his lineage; wherefore he thought it should be best for him to go far off rather than to abide near. Then he advised him to draw into Brabant, and desired the king to write to the duchess of Brabant, that it would please her to suffer him peaceably to abide in her country. The king wrote to his aunt the duchess of Brabant, and she condescended to the king's desire. The duke of Ireland was conducted by men of the king's to Louvain and there he tarried, and sometime he went to a castle not far off from the town of Louvain, the which he had borrowed of a knight of Brabant. With the duke of Ireland was the archbishop of York, who in like wise was banished out of England, all for one cause: this bishop was one of the Nevilles of England, who in the country of Northumberland were puissant men both of lands and lineage. There tarried these two lords at Louvain or thereabout, as I heard say, as long as they lived, for they could never come to mercy nor peace with the king of England's uncles: I can no further speak of them.

About the feast of Saint Michael the French king departed from his house of Beauté beside Paris and left there the queen, and took the way by Troyes in Champagne to go into Burgoyne, and his uncle the duke of Bourbon and duke Louis of Touraine and the lord of Coucy and many other lords and knights in his company. The king rode so long that he came to Dijon: the duke of Burgoyne and the earl of Nevers his son were come before to the Chatillon on the river of Seine. When the king was come to Dijon, the duchess of Burgoyne and the countess of Nevers her daughter received the king joyfully, and all other lords for love of the king; and to his welcoming to Dijon many ladies and damosels were come thither to see him. There was the lady of Sully, the lady of Vergy, the lady of Pagny and divers other fair ladies and fresh and well apparelled. Then began feasting, dancing and carolling. These ladies enforced themselves to dance and to sing and to make joy for love of the king and the duke of Touraine, the duke of Bourbon and of the lord of Coucy. Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, all three days, there was goodly jousts and prizes given to the best doers. The king was eight days in the town of Dijon in great triumph and sport: the tenth day he

1 'This sin weighed heavily on the duke of Ireland both in conscience and in all other matters, and for this reason the lord of Coucy,' etc.

took leave of his uncle the duke of Burgoyne and of the duchess and their children. The intent of the duke of Burgoyne was shortly after to follow the king his nephew and to go with him that journey. The king departed from Dijon, when he had taken leave of all ladies and damosels, and rode so long by his journeys that he came to Villeneuve beside Avignon. There his house royal was apparelled for him and there was the cardinals of Amiens, of Aigrefeuille, of Saint-Marcel, of Chateau-neuf and more than thirteen other came and met the king in the field, and all were glad of the king's coming.

The duke of Berry was come to Avignon and lodged in the pope's palace, but he came to Villeneuve to the king and lay in the livery of Arras called à Montais,[1] in the way to Montpellier. The duke of Burgoyne arrived there the next day that the king came thither, by the water of Rhone, for the duke took a barge at Lyon-sur-le-Rhone. Thus the king and these four dukes were together: then they determined to pass the bridge of Avignon and to go and see the pope; and about nine of the clock in the morning the king passed the bridge accompanied with his brother and his three uncles and twelve cardinals, and so went to the pope's palace, and pope Clement was ready in his chamber of consistory sitting in his chair of papality.

When the French king came into the chamber and saw the pope, he inclined himself, and when he came near, the pope rose and the king kissed his hand and his mouth. Then the pope sat down and caused the king to sit down by him on a place purposely prepared for him: then the dukes kissed the pope's hand and sat down among the cardinals. Anon it was time of dinner: then they drew into the pope's great chamber, where the tables were ready covered. The pope washed and sat down at a table alone and kept his estate: the French king sat down at another table alone, and the cardinals and dukes sat down in order. The dinner was plentiful, and after dinner they had wine and spices. Then the king and the four dukes went into their chambers: each of them had a chamber apparelled in the palace, and there they tarried a certain days.

The fifth day after that the king came thither, the young earl of Savoy, cousin to the king and nephew to the duke of Bourbon, came thither: the king was right joyful of his coming. The French king, the duke of Touraine his brother, and the earl of Savoy, who were light of courage and of spirit, though they were lodged in the pope's palace near to the pope and to the cardinals, yet for all that they would not abstain to dance and to carol and to make sport among the ladies and damosels of Avignon, and the earl of Geneva, brother to the pope, brought them in acquaintance with the ladies and damosels of the town. The king gave great gifts to the ladies and damosels, whereby he had great laud and praise.

The pope and the cardinals were right joyful of the king's being there, as it was reason that they should so be, for without the love of the French king their port should have been but small; for they considered, or ought to have considered, that there was no king christened that were obedient to them, except it were for love and favour and alliance of the French king. The king of Spain and the king of Scots obeyed this pope Clement, and the king of Aragon was but newly so determined; and that made the queen Yolande of Bar, who was cousin-german to the French king, else he had not done so, for before the king of Aragon, and his father before him, was as neuter. Therefore this pope and cardinals ought well to feast the French king, seeing their puissance and profit that they lived by to keep their estate came by means of the French king. Thus the king tarried there a certain season in great joy and sport: and for love of the king's coming thither, the pope opened his graces to all clerks being in the court for the space of a month, and gave the nominations to the king of all colleges and cathedrals, and to every college two prebends, and revoked all other graces before given, and would that the king's graces should proceed before, as they did, whereby many of the king's clerks were promoted. Also the pope gave graces to

[1] 'En la livrée d'Arras que on dist à Montais.' It may be supposed that this was an inn at Monteaux near Villeneuve, but Lettenhove confesses that he does not understand this use of the word 'livrée.'

the duke of Touraine, the duke of Berry, the duke of Burgoyne and to the lord Coucy: all other were stopped that had been granted before. The pope was so courteous and liberal, that for love of the king's coming he granted everything that was asked.

When the king had been there a certain space, the pope shewed him his complaint, how that the other pope of Rome greatly hindered his right and made much trouble and difference in the Church. The king heard him well, and promised this pope Clement, that after his return again into France he would intend to none other thing but to bring the Church in one accord. With those words the pope was greatly comforted. The king took his leave and returned to Villeneuve and so did his brother and uncles of Berry and Burgoyne: and there on a day the king made a dinner to all the cardinals and to the earl of Geneva, brother to the pope. After dinner they took their leaves, for the king said that the next day he would ride toward Montpellier, and he thanked them of the reverence that they had done to him. The cardinals returned to Avignon. Then it was ordained that the king should depart the next day, his brother and the duke of Bourbon in his company; and so he did, and took leave of his uncles of Berry and of Burgoyne, and said how they should return into their own countries, for they should go no further with him at that time; for he said he would go to Toulouse and send for the earl of Foix to come thither. His uncles were content therewith, for as then the king had such counsel about him, that the duke of Berry and the duke of Burgoyne's voices were not heard, without it were in small matters. The governing of Languedoc was taken away from the duke of Berry and divided into seneschausses to the king's profit, whereof the countries and marches of Carcassonne, of Beziers, of Narbonne, of Fanjeaux, of Bigorre and of Toulouse were greatly rejoiced; for before that season they had been sore oppressed with tailles that the duke of Berry had raised on them, as ye shall hear after when the matter requireth it.

When the duke of Berry and the duke of Burgoyne saw that the king would go to Montpellier and visit Languedoc and would not suffer them to go in his company, they were sore displeased therewith. Howbeit, sagely they dissimuled the matter and said each to other: 'The king goeth into Languedoc to make inquisition on them that governed there and to make a treaty with the earl of Foix, who is the most proudest earl now living: he never loved nor praised any neighbour that ever he had, nother French king, England, Spain, Aragon nor Navarre. The king taketh with him of his council no more but Rivière and Mercier, Montague and the Begue of Villaines. How say you to this, brother,' quoth the duke of Berry. The duke of Burgoyne answered and said: 'The king our nephew is young and he believeth young counsel. They shall deceive him, for surely the conclusion shall not be good, and that ye shall see. It must behove us to suffer for this present time, but the time shall come that such as counselleth him shall repent, and the king also. Let him go in God's name whither it shall please him, and let us return into our own countries. As long as we hold together, there is none shall do us any wrong: we are two of the chief members of France.' Thus these two dukes devised together, and the French king departed the next day and took the way to Nimes and rode thither to dinner. The said two dukes tarried still with the pope three days, and the lord of Coucy in like wise: the fourth day they departed and rode into their own countries; and the king went from Nimes and lay all night at Lunel.

When the king departed from Lunel, he went to dinner to Montpellier, it was but three little miles.[1] There he was received of the burgesses, ladies and damosels of the town, for they greatly desired to see the king, and many rich presents were given to him, for Montpellier is a puissant town, rich and full of merchandise. The king praised the town much and well considered their puissance; and it was shewed the king that the town had been much richer before than it was at that present time, for the duke of Anjou and the duke of Berry, each of them in their turn, had greatly pilled them. The king was sorry that the good people had endured so much damage, and said how he would reform the country into a better state. Then it was shewed the

1 'Lieues': the distance is about twelve miles.

king that the poverty of that town was nothing to that he should find forward; for that town of itself hath good means of recoverance by reason of the merchandise that is there used both by land and by sea; but in the marches of Carcassonne and Toulouse and thereabout, whereas the said two dukes had the governance, look, on what thing they had puissance to lay on their hands there was nothing left, but all taken away: 'for ye shall find the people there so poor, that such as were wont to be rich and puissant, now they are scant able to labour their vines nor lands: it is a great pity to see them, their wives and children, for they have had every year five or six tailles laid on their shoulders and are ransomed to the third or fourth part of their substance, and sometime to all together: one taille could not be paid, but that another was ready on the neck thereof. For, sir, as it is well known, these two dukes your uncles, while they ruled in Languedoc, they have levied in the country from Villeneuve into Toulousain, round about to the river of Garonne and returning to the river of Dordogne, the sum of thirty hundred thousand franks: and specially sith the duke of Anjou departed, the duke of Berry hath done the more damage; for he found the plain country and commonty in good case, for the duke of Anjou took but of the rich men, who had wherewith to pay, but the duke of Berry spared nother poor nor rich, for he gathered all before him, specially by one of his council, his treasurer named Betisac, who is of the nation of the city of Beziers, as ye shall hear by the complaints of the people that will cry out on him.' To these words the king said: 'As God have my soul, I shall provide for this matter, or I return, and I shall punish the trespassers; for I shall make an inquisition of the servants and officers of mine uncles, such as had ruled herebefore in the parts of Languedoc, and such as have deserved shall be corrected.'

The king tarried at Montpellier the space of twelve days, for the order of the town and the pastime of ladies and damosels, such as he found there, pleased him greatly. To say truth, the king as at that time was in his lusty youth and light and quick of spirit: he danced and carolled among the frisk ladies and damosels of the town sometime all night, and gave and made banquets and suppers largely, and would give to the ladies and damosels rings of gold and chains to them that he reputed worthy. The king did so much that he had great laud and praise, and some of them would that he had tarried there longer than he did, for he kept revel, dancing and solace, and every day it was new to begin.

SUMMARY.—Three knights of the king's following were moved by the company of the ladies of Montpellier to undertake deeds of arms, taking occasion from the incident of sir Peter Courteney's coming into France in the days of king Charles V.

CHAPTERS CLVII, CLVIII [CLXI, CLXII]

SUMMARY.—The author relates the incident of sir Peter Courteney and the sire de Clary.

This matter, told at Montpellier, moved the three knights aforesaid to give a challenge for the ensuing summer, offering to joust with all comers at Saint-Inglevert in the marches of Calais.

The king left Montpellier and came by Lezignan and Saint-Thibéry to Beziers, Betisac being always in his company.

CHAPTER CLIX [CLXIII]

Of the complaints made to the king by the people of Languedoc in the town of Beziers against Betisac, treasurer to the duke of Berry, of the great extortions that he had made; and of the confession that he made and of the cruel death that he had in the said town.

THREE days the king was at Beziers in great joy and revel among ladies and damosels, and all that time Betisac was nothing spoken unto: but the inquisitors who were ordained by the king did secretly enquire of his deeds, and they found by inquest divers cases horrible, not to be pardoned. The fourth day that the king had been there this Betisac was called before the king's council in a chamber and there straitly examined; and it was said to him: 'Betisac, answer wisely to these

all the whole matter and how the earl of Saint-Pol was passed into England to see king Richard and to confirm the truce that was granted for three years, and that he should return again to be at the said great feast. Then I demanded of the said sir Guilliam what lords of Scotland had been at the said treaty. I demanded it because in my youth I had been in Scotland and searched all the realm to the wild Scots: and while I was there, I tarried a space in the court of king David of Scotland, and there I had acquaintance of the most part of the lords and knights of Scotland. Therefore I demanded who had been there; and this sir Melun answered me and said how there had been the bishop of Aberdeen and sir James and sir David Lindsay and sir Walter of Sinclair. I bare his saying away, and did put in writing all that I had seen and heard, and shall shew the truth what I saw and knew of this feast and of the first entering of queen Isabel into Paris.

CHAPTER CLIII [CLVII]

Of the ordinance of the entry of queen Isabel into the town of Paris.

THE Sunday the twentieth day of June in the year of our Lord God a thousand three hundred fourscore and nine there was people in Paris and without such number that it was marvel to behold; and the same Sunday in the morning there was assembly made in the church of Saint Denis of noble ladies of France, such as should accompany the queen, and of such lords as should assist the queen's litters and other ladies'; and there was of the burgesses of Paris twelve hundred an-horseback ranged in the fields on both sides of the way, apparelled in gowns of one suit of cloth of baudkin, green and crimson. And the old queen Jane and her daughter, duchess of Orleans, entered first into Paris one hour before noon in a litter covered, well accompanied with lords, and passed through the high street of Saint Denis and so rode to the palace and there tarried for the king: that day these two ladies went no further.

Then the French queen and the other ladies set forward, as the duchess of Berry, the duchess of Burgoyne, the duchess of Touraine, the duchess of Bar, the countess of Nevers, the lady of Coucy, and other ladies and damosels all in good order: all their litters were apparelled as richly as might be; but the duchess of Touraine had no litter, she rode alone upon a fair palfrey richly apparelled, and she rode on the one side by the queen's litter, and it was assisted with the duke of Touraine and the duke of Bourbon at the fore head on both sides, and in the midst on both sides the litter were the duke of Berry and the duke of Burgoyne, and at the feet was the lord Peter of Navarre and the earl of Ostrenavant: the queen's litter was richly apparelled and discovered. Then next followed on a rich apparelled palfrey the duchess of Berry, and she was assisted with the earl de la Marche and with the earl of Nevers, and she riding a soft pace between them both. Then followed the litter all discovered and open of the duchess of Burgoyne and Margaret of Hainault her daughter, countess of Nevers. That litter was assisted with the lord Henry of Bar and the young earl of Namur called sir Guilliam. And then the lady of Orleans on a palfrey richly apparelled, and the lord James of Bourbon and the lord Philip d'Artois assisted the lady of Orleans. Then another litter with the duchess of Bar and the daughter of the lord of Coucy.[1] Of other ladies and damosels that came after in chariots and palfreys, and knights that followed, there was no mention made. And as for sergeants and officers of arms, had business enough to do to make way and to break the press. There was such people in the streets that it seemed that all the world had been there.

At the first gate of Saint Denis entering into Paris there was a heaven made full of stars, and within it young children apparelled like angels sweetly singing, and among them an image of our Lady holding in figure a little child[2] playing by himself with a little mill made of a great nut: this

[1] Marie, daughter of the sire de Coucy, was daughter-in-law of the duchess of Bar, therefore the reading, 'et sa fille, fille au sire de Coucy,' which is condemned by Lettenhove (xx. 250) on the ground that the daughter of the sire de Coucy could not be also the daughter of the duchess of Bar, is probably correct.

[2] 'Holding in figure her little child': that is, holding a child set there to represent the infant Christ (and kept quiet apparently by having the little windmill to play with).

heaven was high and richly apparelled with the arms of France, with a banner of the sun shining of gold, casting his rays; this was devised by the king[1] for the feast of the jousts. The queen and the other ladies, as they passed under in at the gate, they had great pleasure to behold it, and so had all other that passed by. Then when the queen and the ladies were passed by, then they came a soft pace before the fountain in the street of Saint Denis, which conduit was covered over with a cloth of fine azure painted full of flower-de-luces of gold, and the pillars were set full of the arms of divers noble lords of France; and out of this fountain there issued in great streams piment and claret, and about this fountain there were young maidens richly apparelled, with rich chaplets on their heads, singing melodiously, great pleasure it was to hear them, and they held in their hands cups and goblets of gold, offering and giving to drink all such as passed by; and the queen rested there and regarded them and had great pleasure of that device, and so did all other ladies and damosels that saw it.

Then after, under the minster of the Trinity in the street there was a stage and thereupon a castle, and along on the stage there was ordained the pass of king Saladin[2] and all their deeds in personages,[3] the Christen-men on the one part and the Saracens on the other part, and there was in personages all the lords of name that of old time had been armed and had done any feats of arms at the pass of Saladin, and were armed with such armour[4] as they then used. And then a little above them there was in personages the French king and the twelve peers of France armed with the blason of their arms. And when the French queen's litter was come before this stage, she rested there a season. Then the personage on the stage of king Richard[5] departed from his company and went to the French king and demanded licence to go and assail the Saracens; and the king gave him leave. Then king Richard returned to his twelve[1] companions: then they all set them in order and incontinent went and assailed the king Saladin and the Saracens. There in sport there seemed a great battle and it endured a good space: this pageant was well regarded.

Then the queen passed forth and came to the second gate of Saint Denis, and there was a castle ordained as was at the first gate and a heaven clouded and full of stars richly devised, and therein the figure of God sitting in majesty, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, and within the heaven children in figure of angels sweetly singing, which pageant was greatly praised. And as the queen's litter passed under the gate of Paradise, there were two angels came out and came down holding in their hands a rich crown of gold garnished with precious stones, and they set fair and easily the crown on the queen's head, singing right sweetly this verse: 'Dame, as ye be enclosed between the flower-de-luces, so ye be queen of the realm of France,' and so drew again into Paradise.[2] Then they passed forth and came before the chapel of Saint James, and there was a scaffold richly devised on the right hand as the queen rode, covered over with rich arras and drawn about with curtains in manner of a chamber, and within there were men playing upon organs right sweetly. And all the street of Saint Denis was covered over with cloths of silk and camlet, such plenty as though such cloths should cost nothing. And I, sir John Froissart, author of this history, was present and saw all this and had great marvel where such number of cloths of silk were gotten; there was as great plenty as though they had been in Alisandre or Damas: and all the houses on both sides of the great street of Saint Denis unto the bridge of Paris were hanged with cloths of Arras of divers histories, the which was pleasure to behold.

Thus they passed forth a soft pace and

[1] 'Which was the device of the king.'
[2] 'Le Pas du roy Salhadin,' *i.e.* the fight with Saladin.
[3] By representation of actors.
[4] Or rather, 'wearing such coats of arms.'
[5] 'The person who represented king Richard on the stage.'

[1] The word 'twelve' is due to the translator.
[2] The lines were these:

'Dame enclose entre fleurs de lis,
Royne estes-vous de Paris,
De France et de tout le pays.
Nous en ralons en paradis.'

The last line is mistranslated: it should be given as part of the angels' song, 'We return to Paradise.' The second line was partly omitted by the translator, probably because he found the reading 'paradis' for 'Paris,' and was puzzled by it.

so came to the gate of the Chatelet of Paris, and there the queen rested to see the other goodly devices that were there ordained. At the gate of the Chatelet of Paris there was a castle made of wood and timber, as strongly made as it should have endured forty years, the which castle was embattled and at every loop there was a man of arms armed at all pieces; and in the same castle there was a bed made, richly encurtained and apparelled, as it had been to have stood in the king's chamber, and this bed was called the bed of Justice, and in this bed there lay by figure Saint Anne. In this castle there was a plain, for the castle contained a great space, and this plain was full of trees and full of hares, conies and birds, that flew in and out, for when they were abroad they flew thither again for fear of the people. And out of these trees there issued a white hart and went to the bed of Justice, and out of the other part of the wood there issued out a lion and an eagle properly, and freshly approached[1] the hart and the bed of Justice. Then came there out of the trees a twelve young maidens richly apparelled with chaplets of gold on their heads, holding naked swords in their hands, and they went between the hart, the lion and the eagle, and there they shewed themselves ready to defend the hart and the bed of Justice. This device the queen and all other had great pleasure to regard.

Then they passed forth and came to the bridge of Paris, which was covered and richly beseen, the covering of green and crimson full of stars and the streets hanged, to Our Lady's church. And by that time that the queen and the ladies were past the bridge and approached to the church of Our Lady, it was late, for all the way as they went they rode but a soft pace; and or the queen and the ladies entered into the church of Our Lady, they found by their way other plays and pastimes greatly to their pleasure. Among all other there was a master came out of Genes: he had tied a cord on the highest house on the bridge of Saint Michael over all the houses, and the other end was tied on the highest tower in Our Lady's church; and as the queen passed by, and was in the great street called Our Lady's street, because it was late this said master with two brenning candles in his hands issued out of a little stage that he had made on the height of Our Lady's tower, and singing he went upon the cord all along the great street, so that all that saw him had marvel how it might be, and he bare still in his hands two brenning candles, so that it might well be seen over all Paris and two mile without Paris: he was such a tumbler that his lightness was greatly praised.

And before the church of Our Lady the bishop of Paris was, revested with the arms of our lord Jesu Christ, with all the college and great number of other of the clergy. There the queen alighted out of her litter and was taken down by the four dukes, that is to say, the duke of Berry, the duke of Burgoyne, the duke of Touraine and the duke of Bourbon, and all other ladies in like wise taken down by them that were their assisters, both out of their litters and from their horses and in good order. So they entered into the church, the bishop and the clergy before them, singing in the honour of God and of our blessed Lady. The queen was led and assisted and brought up to the high altar, and there she kneeled down and said her prayers, such as pleased her, and offered to the treasury of our Lady four cloths of cloth of gold and the goodly crown that the angels did set on her head; and then incontinent sir John de la Rivière[1] and sir John le Mercier delivered the bishop of Paris a more richer crown, and the bishop and the four dukes did set it on the queen's head. Then they returned again through the church, and the queen and the ladies set again in their litters, as they were before: there were more than five hundred torches brenning, for it was late. Thus they were brought to the palace of Paris, where the king, the old queen and the duchess of Orleans her daughter were. There the queen and her ladies lighted from their litters, and each of them brought into several chambers; and the lords went to their lodgings after the dancing was past.

The next day, Monday, the king made them all a dinner at his palace, and at the hour of the high mass the queen was led with the foresaid four dukes into the Holy Chapel, and there in the mass season the queen was sacred and anointed, as a

[1] 'Very properly made, and approached,' etc.

[1] His true name was Bureau de la Rivière.

queen ought to be, and the archbishop of Rouen did the observance, who was called sir William of Vienne. After the mass sung solemnly the king and the queen returned into their chambers, and all other ladies such as had chambers in the palace. Then anon after the king and the queen returned into the hall, and all other ladies. The great table of marble that always standeth still in the hall was made longer with a great plank board of oak of four inches thick, which board was richly covered. And above the great table against one of the pillars was the king's dressing-board standing full of vessel of gold and silver, which was greatly coveted of many that saw it. Before the table along descending down there were barriers made of wood with three alleys, and there were sergeants and ushers a great number keeping the entries, to the intent that none should enter but such as were servitors of the table; for the hall was so full of people that a man could not turn him but with much pain. Minstrels a great number pleasantly played, every man after his faculty. Then the king and the prelates and the queen and the ladies washed and sat down at the tables. At the king's table sat down as chief the bishop of Noyon, then the bishop of Langres, then the king, and by the king the archbishop of Rouen. The king sat in a surcoat of scarlet furred with ermines and a rich crown of gold on his head: then the queen, and by her the king of Armenia, then the duchess of Berry, then the duchess of Burgoyne and the duchess of Touraine, then the lady of Nevers and the good damosel of Bar,[1] then the lady of Coucy and Mary of Harcourt: no other sat at the high table, saving beneath all sat the lady of Sully, wife to sir Guy of Tremouille. And at two other tables along down the hall sat more than five hundred ladies and damosels. The press was so great that it was great pain to serve them with their messes, which were great and notable. I have not to do to make great process thereof: I shall somewhat speak of the pastimes that were made between the messes, the which had been a great pleasure for the king to have seen, if he had tarried out the whole dinner.

[1] The French text has 'ma damoiselle Bonne de Bar,' but the better reading is 'madame de Bar.'

First, in the midst of the palace there was a castle made of timber forty foot long and twenty foot broad, with four towers, in every quarter one, and one in the midst higher than the other. This castle was figured for the city of Troy and the tower in the midst for the palace of Ilion, and there were pennons with the arms of the Troyans, as of king Priamus, Hector his son and his other children, and also the arms of such other kings and princes as were enclosed in Troy with king Priam: this castle went upon wheels, the which might be turned every way properly. This castle came to assail another fort[1] that was thereby in a pavilion, which also went upon wheels so softly and coverily that the moving thereof could not be perceived, and there was the arms of the kings of Greece and of other such as were at the siege. Also there was a ship properly devised, wherein might well be a hundred men of arms, and all moved by the craft of wheels, both the castle, pavilion and ship. They of the pavilion and of the ship assailed ever the castle and they within the castle made great defence; but this sport endured not long, for the press of the people was so sore about them that no man could stir. The people were sore chafed with the heat and put to much pain. And there was a table by the parliament chamber door, whereat sat many ladies and damosels: it was by reason of the press overthrown to the earth and the ladies caused suddenly to rise without order, and sore chafed with the press and heat that was in the palace. The queen herself was at the point to have been sore displeased:[2] perforce a back door[3] was broken up to get fresh air. The lady of Coucy was sore dis-eased. When the king saw this matter, he commanded to cease and the tables in great haste to be taken up to let the ladies and damosels at large: they left taking of[4] wine and spices and went to their chambers. Then some of the ladies tarried still in the palace and some went into the town to their lodgings, to be the more at their ease, for with press and with

[1] 'Autres gens.' [2] 'Mesaisée.'
[3] 'Une barrière,' but the better reading is 'une verrière,' 'a glass window.'
[4] 'On se délivra de donner,' 'they made haste to serve.'

heat they had been sore grieved. The lady Coucy went to her lodging and held her there till it was late.

Then about five of the clock the French queen, accompanied with the foresaid duchesses, departed from the palace of Paris and took their litters all open and so went through the streets to the king's lodging, called Saint-Pol on the river of Seine.[1] With the queen there were more than a thousand horses, and the king went from the palace to the river of Seine and took there a barge and went by water to his house of Saint-Pol. And for all that the house was great and large and well amended, yet the king had caused in the great court near to the gate from the river to be made a great hall, which was covered over with cloths of the arms of Normandy, and the walls were hanged with cloths of Arras of sundry histories. In this hall the king gave the ladies a supper; but the queen kept her chamber, she was no more seen that night. The other ladies and the king and the lords danced and revelled all that night, near hand till it was day in the morning: then every person departed and went to their lodgings to sleep, for it was good time.

Now I shall shew you what gifts and presents they of Paris gave on the Tuesday before noon to the queen and to the duchess of Touraine, who was but newly come into France out of Lombardy; for she was daughter to the duke of Milan and she had the same year wedded Louis duke of Touraine; she was named Valentine; she had never before been at Paris, therefore the burgesses of Paris gave her her welcome. On this Tuesday about twelve of the clock about a forty burgesses of Paris of the most notablest persons of the city, all in one suit of clothing, came to the king's house of Saint-Pol and brought a present for the queen through the streets of Paris. The present was in a litter richly wrought and borne between two strong men properly apparelled like two ancient sage persons.[2] The litter had a celler of a thin fine cloth of silk, so that the jewels that were in the litter might well be seen through. When they came to Saint-Pol, first they came into the king's chamber, which was ready apparelled to receive them, for always such as bringeth anything are welcome. Then these burgesses set down the litter on two tressels in the midst of the chamber. Then they kneeled down before the king and said: 'Right dear lord and noble king, your burgesses of Paris presenteth your grace these jewels here in this litter in the welcoming of your grace into the governance of your realm of France.' Then the king said: 'Good men, I thank you: they are right goodly and rich.' Then the burgesses rose and drew back and therewith took their leave. When they were gone, the king said to sir William of Bordes and to Montague, who were by him: 'Sirs, let us go near to this litter and see these presents more nearer.' Then the king well regarded them. First there were four pots of gold, six lavers of gold and six plates of gold;[1] all this vessel weighed a hundred and fifty mark of gold. In like manner another sort of burgesses richly apparelled all in one livery came to the queen and presented her another litter, which was borne into her chamber, shewing how the good men of Paris did recommend them to her grace and sent her that present: which present was a ship of gold, two great flagons of gold, two dredge-boxes[2] of gold, two salts of gold, six pots gold, six lavers of gold, twelve lamps of silver, two basons of silver; the sum was three hundred mark, what gold, what silver. This present was brought in a litter between two men, one in semblance of a bear and the other in semblance of an unicorn. The third present in like wise was brought into the duchess of Touraine's chamber by two men figured in the form of two black Moors richly apparelled, with white towels about their heads like Saracens. The litter was fair and rich, covered with a fine cloth of silk and brought by twelve burgesses all in one apparel, who gave this present to the said duchess, in the which present there was a ship of gold, a great pot of gold, two ewers gold, two great plates gold, two salts gold, six pots silver, two dozen saucers silver, two dozen bowls silver; sum, gold and

[1] Saint-Pol-sur-Seine.

[2] 'Hommes saiges,' but this is a corruption of 'hommes sauvages,' 'wild men.'

[1] The full text has also, 'four salt-holders of gold, twelve cups of gold, twelve basons of gold.'

[2] 'Drageoirs,' 'comfit-boxes.'

silver, two hundred marks. This present greatly rejoiced the duchess of Touraine, as it was reason, for it was goodly and rich; and courteously she thanked them of their gift. Thus this Tuesday these presents were given to the king, the queen and to the duchess of Touraine. It was greatly to be considered the value of these presents and also the puissance of the Parisians; for it was shewed me by one who saw all these presents that they cost the Parisians more than threescore thousand crowns of gold. After these presents thus delivered it was time to go to dinner; but that day the king and the queen and other ladies dined in their chambers, the sooner to have done, for at three of the clock at after dinner they should draw into the field of Saint Katherine, whereas there was ordained stages and scaffolds a great number for the king and the queen and other to behold the jousts.

SUMMARY.—The jousts were held on this Tuesday and on the following day, and prizes awarded. On Friday the king gave a great dinner to the ladies and there was jousting after it. Then lords and ladies took leave of the king and queen and returned home.

CHAPS. CLIV, CLV [CLVIII, CLIX]

SUMMARY.—The truce between England and France for three years was confirmed. The young son of the duke of Anjou, styled king of Sicily, was married to the daughter of the king of Aragon.

CHAPTER CLVI [CLX]

How the French king had desire to go and visit the far parts of his realm, and how he went first into Burgoyne and to Avignon, to see pope Clement.

AFTER this great feast was accomplished and that every lord and lady were gone home to their own houses, as ye have heard herebefore, and that the French king saw that he had truce with England for three year, he had then imagination to go and visit his realm, specially the utward marches of Languedoc: for the lord de la Rivière and sir John Mercier, who were as then chief of his privy council, they exhorted him to go to Avignon to see pope Clement and the cardinals, who desired to see him, and also to go to Toulouse; for they said to the king: 'Sir, a king in his youth ought to visit his realm and to know his people and to learn how they be governed, the which should be greatly to his profit and the better to be beloved with his subjects.' The king lightly inclined to their counsel, for he had desire to travel and see new things; and the lord de la Rivière, who was but newly come out of those marches, heard great complaints of the people of Toulouse, of Carcassonne and of Beaucaire, and they desired greatly to see the king; for they had been sore charged with tailles and aids by the duke of Berry by the information of a servant of his called Betisac, who had pity of no man, he so pilled the people that nothing was left: therefore he counselled the king to go thither to provide some remedy, and also that the king should send for the earl of Foix to come to him to Toulouse. The king made him ready to go thither and sent afore all the way that provision should be made for his coming, and sent word thereof to his uncle the duke of Burgoyne and to his aunt the duchess, how he would come along through their country and would see his cousins their children, and to bring in his company his brother the duke of Touraine and his uncle of Bourbon; which pleased greatly the duke and the duchess, and the duke caused to be proclaimed a feast and a jousts to be holden at Dijon, and knights and squires of Burgoyne, of Savoy and of other marches adjoining were required to be at this feast; and so every man ordered themselves accordingly.

Thus whiles the king's provision was a making to go to Avignon and to Languedoc, the duke of Burgoyne on his part made great provision to receive the king, and so did every man in their marches that purposed to be at the feast at Dijon. The same season other matters fell in France. Ye have heard how the duke of Ireland, who was called earl of Oxford, was banished out of England by the uncles of king Richard, and specially the duke of Gloucester had greatest displeasure to him, so that to save himself he was fled into Holland, and tarried there but a small season in the town of Dordrecht, for he

was fain to depart thence, for duke Aubert, who was lord of that town and of Holland, denied him the tarrying in his country; for he would not keep him against the will of his cousins-germans of England: for all that the king of England had written for him, yet he was fain to depart and to go to Utrecht, a frank town for all manner of people paying for that they take; and the duke of Ireland had enough to pay, for beside that he brought with him he had threescore thousand franks out of France from the constable for the redemption of John of Bretayne. And he was come to the French king under safe-conduct and was there with him more than a year. The king made him good cheer, because he was a stranger; howbeit, true it was, though this duke was with the king, yet the lord of Coucy hated him in his heart, for he had good cause; for though the duke in all affairs was provided of wit, honour, eloquence and of great largess, yet he had greatly trespassed against the lord of Coucy's daughter, who was his wife lawfully spoused, and forsook her without any title of reason, but by false and evil temptation and deceit was deceived and took another wife, a damosel of the queen of England's of the country of Boeme, and the king and the queen of England sinfully consented thereto and he was dispensed by pope Urban of Rome at the instant desire of the king and queen of England. This sin grieved greatly the conscience of the duke of Ireland, and because the lord of Coucy,[1] who was of the council of France and well worthy so to be, for he had done good service and was well able to do, he procured so much by means of his friends, as sir Oliver of Clisson and the lord de la Rivière, sir John Mercier and other, that it was said to the duke of Ireland that he should depart out of France and to go and choose himself another place to abide in, where he list, so that it be not in the realm of France, and thither he should surely be conveyed. The duke of Ireland saw well how he was daily in peril by means of the lord of Coucy and his lineage; wherefore he thought it should be best for him to go far off rather than to abide near. Then he advised him to draw into Brabant, and desired the king to write to the duchess of Brabant, that it would please her to suffer him peaceably to abide in her country. The king wrote to his aunt the duchess of Brabant, and she condescended to the king's desire. The duke of Ireland was conducted by men of the king's to Louvain and there he tarried, and sometime he went to a castle not far off from the town of Louvain, the which he had borrowed of a knight of Brabant. With the duke of Ireland was the archbishop of York, who in like wise was banished out of England, all for one cause: this bishop was one of the Nevilles of England, who in the country of Northumberland were puissant men both of lands and lineage. There tarried these two lords at Louvain or thereabout, as I heard say, as long as they lived, for they could never come to mercy nor peace with the king of England's uncles: I can no further speak of them.

About the feast of Saint Michael the French king departed from his house of Beauté beside Paris and left there the queen, and took the way by Troyes in Champagne to go into Burgoyne, and his uncle the duke of Bourbon and duke Louis of Touraine and the lord of Coucy and many other lords and knights in his company. The king rode so long that he came to Dijon: the duke of Burgoyne and the earl of Nevers his son were come before to the Chatillon on the river of Seine. When the king was come to Dijon, the duchess of Burgoyne and the countess of Nevers her daughter received the king joyfully, and all other lords for love of the king; and to his welcoming to Dijon many ladies and damosels were come thither to see him. There was the lady of Sully, the lady of Vergy, the lady of Pagny and divers other fair ladies and fresh and well apparelled. Then began feasting, dancing and carolling. These ladies enforced themselves to dance and to sing and to make joy for love of the king and the duke of Touraine, the duke of Bourbon and of the lord of Coucy. Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, all three days, there was goodly jousts and prizes given to the best doers. The king was eight days in the town of Dijon in great triumph and sport: the tenth day he

[1] 'This sin weighed heavily on the duke of Ireland both in conscience and in all other matters, and for this reason the lord of Coucy,' etc.

took leave of his uncle the duke of Burgoyne and of the duchess and their children. The intent of the duke of Burgoyne was shortly after to follow the king his nephew and to go with him that journey. The king departed from Dijon, when he had taken leave of all ladies and damosels, and rode so long by his journeys that he came to Villeneuve beside Avignon. There his house royal was apparelled for him and there was the cardinals of Amiens, of Aigrefeuille, of Saint-Marcel, of Chateau-neuf and more than thirteen other came and met the king in the field, and all were glad of the king's coming.

The duke of Berry was come to Avignon and lodged in the pope's palace, but he came to Villeneuve to the king and lay in the livery of Arras called à Montais,[1] in the way to Montpellier. The duke of Burgoyne arrived there the next day that the king came thither, by the water of Rhone, for the duke took a barge at Lyon-sur-le-Rhone. Thus the king and these four dukes were together: then they determined to pass the bridge of Avignon and to go and see the pope; and about nine of the clock in the morning the king passed the bridge accompanied with his brother and his three uncles and twelve cardinals, and so went to the pope's palace, and pope Clement was ready in his chamber of consistory sitting in his chair of papality.

When the French king came into the chamber and saw the pope, he inclined himself, and when he came near, the pope rose and the king kissed his hand and his mouth. Then the pope sat down and caused the king to sit down by him on a place purposely prepared for him: then the dukes kissed the pope's hand and sat down among the cardinals. Anon it was time of dinner: then they drew into the pope's great chamber, where the tables were ready covered. The pope washed and sat down at a table alone and kept his estate: the French king sat down at another table alone, and the cardinals and dukes sat down in order. The dinner was plentiful, and after dinner they had wine and spices. Then the king and the four dukes went into their chambers: each of them had a chamber apparelled in the palace, and there they tarried a certain days.

The fifth day after that the king came thither, the young earl of Savoy, cousin to the king and nephew to the duke of Bourbon, came thither: the king was right joyful of his coming. The French king, the duke of Touraine his brother, and the earl of Savoy, who were light of courage and of spirit, though they were lodged in the pope's palace near to the pope and to the cardinals, yet for all that they would not abstain to dance and to carol and to make sport among the ladies and damosels of Avignon, and the earl of Geneva, brother to the pope, brought them in acquaintance with the ladies and damosels of the town. The king gave great gifts to the ladies and damosels, whereby he had great laud and praise.

The pope and the cardinals were right joyful of the king's being there, as it was reason that they should so be, for without the love of the French king their port should have been but small; for they considered, or ought to have considered, that there was no king christened that were obedient to them, except it were for love and favour and alliance of the French king. The king of Spain and the king of Scots obeyed this pope Clement, and the king of Aragon was but newly so determined; and that made the queen Yolande of Bar, who was cousin-german to the French king, else he had not done so, for before the king of Aragon, and his father before him, was as neuter. Therefore this pope and cardinals ought well to feast the French king, seeing their puissance and profit that they lived by to keep their estate came by means of the French king. Thus the king tarried there a certain season in great joy and sport: and for love of the king's coming thither, the pope opened his graces to all clerks being in the court for the space of a month, and gave the nominations to the king of all colleges and cathedrals, and to every college two prebends, and revoked all other graces before given, and would that the king's graces should proceed before, as they did, whereby many of the king's clerks were promoted. Also the pope gave graces to

[1] 'En la livrée d'Arras que on dist à Montais.' It may be supposed that this was an inn at Monteaux near Villeneuve, but Lettenhove confesses that he does not understand this use of the word 'livrée.'

the duke of Touraine, the duke of Berry, the duke of Burgoyne and to the lord Coucy: all other were stopped that had been granted before. The pope was so courteous and liberal, that for love of the king's coming he granted everything that was asked.

When the king had been there a certain space, the pope shewed him his complaint, how that the other pope of Rome greatly hindered his right and made much trouble and difference in the Church. The king heard him well, and promised this pope Clement, that after his return again into France he would intend to none other thing but to bring the Church in one accord. With those words the pope was greatly comforted. The king took his leave and returned to Villeneuve and so did his brother and uncles of Berry and Burgoyne: and there on a day the king made a dinner to all the cardinals and to the earl of Geneva, brother to the pope. After dinner they took their leaves, for the king said that the next day he would ride toward Montpellier, and he thanked them of the reverence that they had done to him. The cardinals returned to Avignon. Then it was ordained that the king should depart the next day, his brother and the duke of Bourbon in his company; and so he did, and took leave of his uncles of Berry and of Burgoyne, and said how they should return into their own countries, for they should go no further with him at that time; for he said he would go to Toulouse and send for the earl of Foix to come thither. His uncles were content therewith, for as then the king had such counsel about him, that the duke of Berry and the duke of Burgoyne's voices were not heard, without it were in small matters. The governing of Languedoc was taken away from the duke of Berry and divided into seneschausses to the king's profit, whereof the countries and marches of Carcassonne, of Beziers, of Narbonne, of Fanjeaux, of Bigorre and of Toulouse were greatly rejoiced; for before that season they had been sore oppressed with tailles that the duke of Berry had raised on them, as ye shall hear after when the matter requireth it.

When the duke of Berry and the duke of Burgoyne saw that the king would go to Montpellier and visit Languedoc and would not suffer them to go in his company, they were sore displeased therewith. Howbeit, sagely they dissimuled the matter and said each to other: 'The king goeth into Languedoc to make inquisition on them that governed there and to make a treaty with the earl of Foix, who is the most proudest earl now living: he never loved nor praised any neighbour that ever he had, nother French king, England, Spain, Aragon nor Navarre. The king taketh with him of his council no more but Rivière and Mercier, Montague and the Begue of Villaines. How say you to this, brother,' quoth the duke of Berry. The duke of Burgoyne answered and said: 'The king our nephew is young and he believeth young counsel. They shall deceive him, for surely the conclusion shall not be good, and that ye shall see. It must behove us to suffer for this present time, but the time shall come that such as counselleth him shall repent, and the king also. Let him go in God's name whither it shall please him, and let us return into our own countries. As long as we hold together, there is none shall do us any wrong: we are two of the chief members of France.' Thus these two dukes devised together, and the French king departed the next day and took the way to Nimes and rode thither to dinner. The said two dukes tarried still with the pope three days, and the lord of Coucy in like wise: the fourth day they departed and rode into their own countries; and the king went from Nimes and lay all night at Lunel.

When the king departed from Lunel, he went to dinner to Montpellier, it was but three little miles.[1] There he was received of the burgesses, ladies and damosels of the town, for they greatly desired to see the king, and many rich presents were given to him, for Montpellier is a puissant town, rich and full of merchandise. The king praised the town much and well considered their puissance; and it was shewed the king that the town had been much richer before than it was at that present time, for the duke of Anjou and the duke of Berry, each of them in their turn, had greatly pilled them. The king was sorry that the good people had endured so much damage, and said how he would reform the country into a better state. Then it was shewed the

[1] 'Lieues': the distance is about twelve miles.

king that the poverty of that town was nothing to that he should find forward; for that town of itself hath good means of recoverance by reason of the merchandise that is there used both by land and by sea; but in the marches of Carcassonne and Toulouse and thereabout, whereas the said two dukes had the governance, look, on what thing they had puissance to lay on their hands there was nothing left, but all taken away: 'for ye shall find the people there so poor, that such as were wont to be rich and puissant, now they are scant able to labour their vines nor lands: it is a great pity to see them, their wives and children, for they have had every year five or six tailles laid on their shoulders and are ransomed to the third or fourth part of their substance, and sometime to all together: one taille could not be paid, but that another was ready on the neck thereof. For, sir, as it is well known, these two dukes your uncles, while they ruled in Languedoc, they have levied in the country from Villeneuve into Toulousain, round about to the river of Garonne and returning to the river of Dordogne, the sum of thirty hundred thousand franks: and specially sith the duke of Anjou departed, the duke of Berry hath done the more damage; for he found the plain country and commonty in good case, for the duke of Anjou took but of the rich men, who had wherewith to pay, but the duke of Berry spared nother poor nor rich, for he gathered all before him, specially by one of his council, his treasurer named Betisac, who is of the nation of the city of Beziers, as ye shall hear by the complaints of the people that will cry out on him.' To these words the king said: 'As God have my soul, I shall provide for this matter, or I return, and I shall punish the trespassers; for I shall make an inquisition of the servants and officers of mine uncles, such as had ruled herebefore in the parts of Languedoc, and such as have deserved shall be corrected.'

The king tarried at Montpellier the space of twelve days, for the order of the town and the pastime of ladies and damosels, such as he found there, pleased him greatly. To say truth, the king as at that time was in his lusty youth and light and quick of spirit: he danced and carolled among the frisk ladies and damosels of the town sometime all night, and gave and made banquets and suppers largely, and would give to the ladies and damosels rings of gold and chains to them that he reputed worthy. The king did so much that he had great laud and praise, and some of them would that he had tarried there longer than he did, for he kept revel, dancing and solace, and every day it was new to begin.

SUMMARY.—Three knights of the king's following were moved by the company of the ladies of Montpellier to undertake deeds of arms, taking occasion from the incident of sir Peter Courteney's coming into France in the days of king Charles V.

CHAPTERS CLVII, CLVIII [CLXI, CLXII]

SUMMARY.—The author relates the incident of sir Peter Courteney and the sire de Clary.

This matter, told at Montpellier, moved the three knights aforesaid to give a challenge for the ensuing summer, offering to joust with all comers at Saint-Inglevert in the marches of Calais.

The king left Montpellier and came by Lezignan and Saint-Thibery to Beziers, Betisac being always in his company.

CHAPTER CLIX [CLXIII]

Of the complaints made to the king by the people of Languedoc in the town of Beziers against Betisac, treasurer to the duke of Berry, of the great extortions that he had made; and of the confession that he made and of the cruel death that he had in the said town.

THREE days the king was at Beziers in great joy and revel among ladies and damosels, and all that time Betisac was nothing spoken unto: but the inquisitors who were ordained by the king did secretly enquire of his deeds, and they found by inquest divers cases horrible, not to be pardoned. The fourth day that the king had been there this Betisac was called before the king's council in a chamber and there straitly examined; and it was said to him: 'Betisac, answer wisely to these

writings that ye see here.' There was shewed him a great number of bills of complaints that were put up to the king against him, making mention of the extortions that he had done to the people: all these bills of complaints were read before him one after another. To some he answered wisely making his excuse, and to some he plainly denied them and said: 'I know nothing of those matters: lay them to the seneschals of Beaucaire and of Carcassonne and to the chancellor of Berry: it pertaineth to them to answer to those matters.' Howbeit, finally it was shewed him that he must keep prison for a time, till the matter were better examined. He obeyed, because he might not choose. As soon as he was in prison, the inquisitors went to his lodging and took into their hands all such writings and accounts as they found there, which pertained to such matters as he had intermeddled withal before, and they aviewed them at leisure and found in them the reckonings of great sums of money, such as had been raised and levied of the people. Then he was demanded where all that money was become, and whether the sums were true or not. He answered and said: 'As for the sums, are true,[1] and the money delivered to the duke of Berry and so passed through his hands and his treasurers', whereof I have good quittances in my lodging in such a place.' The which quittances were sent for before the council and there they were read, and they agreed with the sums of his receipt. Then the council and the inquisitors were appeased and Betisac sent again to a courteous prison. Then the council communed together on that matter and said: 'It seemeth that Betisac is clear of such causes as are laid to his charge, for the money that hath been raised the duke of Berry hath had it, howsoever it hath been spent.'

All things considered, Betisac's excusations were lawful, for the duke of Berry was the most covetous man in all the world: so he might get good, he cared not where nor how he had it; and when he had it, he would bestow it but simply, as many lords do and have done in times past. Thus the king's council saw no fault in Betisac, whereby he should lose his life: some were of that opinion and some contrary, and said: 'Betisac hath done so many cruel deeds and hath so sore impoverished the people for to accomplish the desire of his lord the duke of Berry, that the blood of the poor people crieth out and saith how he hath deserved death: for he that is a man born in these parts, and councillor with his master, and seeing the poverty of the people, he ought in good manner to have shewed the truth to the duke his master; and if the duke would not have heard him, then he should have come to the king and to his council and have shewed them the poverty of the people, and how the duke of Berry had dealt with them: then he had been well excused.' So Betisac was sent for again to the council and straitly examined where the money that had been gathered was become, for they found the sum of thirty hundred thousand franks received. He answered thereto and said: 'My lords, it were hard for me to tell where my lord the duke of Berry hath bestowed it: much he hath laid out on buildings and reparations of castles and houses; also he hath bought certain lands in the county of Boulogne and in the county of Estampes; also he hath spent much in buying of precious stones and jewels, the which ye know well he hath always been desirous to buy; also he is well stuffed to maintain the estate that he hath always kept; also he hath given such gifts and rewards to Thibault and Morinot and to his servants about him, in such wise that they be rich men.' 'Well, Betisac,' quoth they of the council, 'and ye have had for your part to your singular profit a hundred thousand franks.' 'My lords,' quoth he, 'that I have had was by the consent of my lord the duke of Berry, for he would that his servants should become rich.' Then the council said all with one voice: 'Ah, Betisac, that word is foolishly spoken: that riches is not good nor reasonable that is evil gotten. Ye shall return again into prison, and we shall take further advice on that ye have said and spoken. Ye must abide the pleasure of the king, to whom we shall shew all

[1] *i.e.* 'they are true.' It is a characteristic of the translator's style to omit the pronoun subject in such clauses: *e.g.* chap. 167 [171]: 'as for the Genoways, are our neighbours'; and chap. 184 [187]: 'as to the covenants of marriage between our children, by the grace of God shall not be broken on my part.'

your excusations.' 'My lords,' quoth he, 'all shall be as God will.' Then he was again set in prison and there remained four days, or he was sent for again.

When these tidings were spread abroad in the country, that Betisac was in prison, and that enquiry was made of his deeds, and that it was published that whosoever had any matter to him should come forth, thereby much people came to Beziers and put up supplications to the king of the cruel deeds of Betisac. Some complained of him that he had disherited them without cause or reason, and other complained of him that he had by force taken their wives and daughters. When the king's council saw so many great causes laid to Betisac, they were weary thereof, and beside all these complaints he was sore behated with the people, and all this came to him by reason to fill the duke of Berry's purse: he did ever what he would have him to do. The king's council wist not what to do, for then there was come thither two knights from the duke of Berry, the lord of Nantouillet and sir Peter Mespin, who had brought letters to the king from the duke, and they in the duke's behalf avowed all that ever Betisac had done before, and the duke required the king and his council to have again his man and treasurer. The king had great hatred to Betisac because of the evil name and fame that ran upon him: the king and the duke of Touraine his brother inclined greatly to have had him hanged, saying how he had well deserved it; but the king's council durst not judge him for doubt of the duke of Berry. They said to the king: 'Sir, if the duke of Berry avow all his deeds, whatsoever they be, we cannot see by no way of reason that he hath deserved death; for the season that he meddled in these countries by cessing of tailles, subsidies and aids and receiving of them, he did it at the instance of the duke of Berry, who had at that time there puissance royal, as well as ye have now. But, sir, according to the deserts of his deeds ye may seize into your hands all his moveables and heritages and leave him in the same case as the duke of Berry found him first, and with his goods make restitution to such poor men as be undone by him.' What should I make long process? Betisac was at the point of his deliverance with the loss of his goods, till at the last other tidings came in place: I shall shew you what.

I knew not nor I could not know[1] but by knowledging of himself, if he were indeed so evil as he judged himself: he said he was an heretic and had done many horrible deeds. As it was shewed me, there came some to him on a night, being in prison, to put him in fear; whether they were his friends or foes I know not. They said: 'Betisac, thou art in a hard case: the French king, his brother and the duke of Bourbon doth hate you mortally: there be so many complaints put up against you from divers places of such oppressions as ye have done when ye had rule in Languedoc, so that they all judge you to be hanged: for ye cannot scape with the loss of your goods, the which hath been offered to the king; but the king, who hateth you mortally, hath answered how that all your goods are his and your body also, the which, he saith, he will not keep long. I shew you this for good will, for to-morrow it is thought ye shall be delivered to be judged to die.' Those words greatly affrayed Betisac, and said to them: 'Ah, Saint Mary, is there no remedy?' 'Yes,' quoth they, 'to-morrow say how ye would speak with the king's council, and then other they will come to you or send for you to them; and when ye be in their presence, then say thus: "My lords, I knowledge myself I have greatly displeased God, and for the displeasure he hath to me this false slander is raised on me." Then they will demand of you wherein. Then ye shall answer how ye have a long season erred in your faith, and that ye be an heretic and keep still that opinion. When the bishop of Beziers shall hear that, he will then challenge to have you in his keeping. Then ye shall be delivered to him, for such causes ought to be declared by the law of the Church. Then ye shall be sent to Avignon: there will be none against the duke of Berry, the pope will not displease him, and by this means ye may be delivered and nother lose body nor goods: but if ye bide still in the case that ye be in, ye shall not scape past to-morrow, but that ye shall be hanged; for the king hateth you because of the slander of the people.' Betisac, who trusted on that false informa-

[1] 'I know not, nor can I know.'

tion, for he that is in peril of death knoweth not well what to do, wherefore he answered and said: 'Ye be my friend and counsel me truly, whereof God thank you, and I trust the time shall come that I shall thank you.'

The next morning he called the gaoler and said: 'Friend, I require you cause such men and such to come to speak with me,' and named such as were the inquisitors over him. The gaoler shewed them how Betisac would speak with them. They came to him and demanded what he would. He answered and said: 'Sirs, I have searched my conscience: I knowledge myself I have highly displeased God, for long time I have erred against the faith. I never believed of the Trinity, nor that the Son of God would come so low as to come from heaven to come into this world to take human kind of a woman; for[1] I believe and say that when we die there is nothing of the soul.' 'Ah, Saint Mary,' quoth they, 'Betisac, ye are greatly against Holy Church: your words demandeth for a fire: advise you better.' 'I cannot tell,' quoth Betisac, 'whether my words demandeth fire or water, but I have holden this opinion sith I have had knowledge, and shall hold it till I die.' The inquisitors would hear no more of him at that time, and were glad to find such a matter against him, thereby to put him to death. Then they commanded the gaoler to keep him straitly and to suffer no man to speak with him, to the intent that he should not be turned from that opinion. Then they went to the king's council and shewed them all the matter: then they went to the king and shewed him all the manner of Betisac, as ye have heard, whereof the king had great marvel and said: 'We will that he be put to death: it is an evil man, he is a false heretic and a thief: we will he be brent and hanged, then he shall have as he hath deserved. He shall not be excused for all mine uncle of Berry.'

Anon these tidings were spread abroad in the city of Beziers, how Betisac had of his own voluntary will without any constraint confessed how he was an heretic and had used long the sin of bulgary,[2] and how the king had said how he should be brent and hanged, whereof much people were right joyous, for he was sore hated. The two knights that were come thither from the duke of Berry were greatly abashed and wist not what to suppose. Then sir Peter Mespin said to the lord of Nantouillet: 'Sir, I fear me Betisac is betrayed: peradventure some person hath been with him secretly in the prison and hath borne him in hand that if he hold that horrible error, that the Church then shall challenge him, and so be sent to Avignon to the pope and thereby be delivered. Ah, fool that he is, he is deceived, for the king saith he will have him both brent and hanged. Let us go to the prison to him and reform him and bring him to another state; for he is far out of the way and evil counselled.' They went straight to the prison and desired the gaoler that they might speak with Betisac. The gaoler excused himself and said: 'Sirs, ye must pardon me, for I am straitly charged to suffer no man to speak with him, and also here be four sergeants of arms sent by the king to keep him, and we dare not break the king's commandment.' Then the two knights saw well how they laboured in vain, and how there was no remedy by all likelihood, but that Betisac should die. Then they returned to their lodging and reckoned and paid, and took their horses and returned to their lord the duke of Berry and shewed him all the case.

The conclusion of Betisac was such, that the next day about ten of the clock he was taken out of prison and brought to the bishop's palace, and there were ready the judges and officers spiritual: and the baily of Beziers brought forth the prisoner and said: 'Behold, sirs, here is Betisac, whom I deliver to you for an heretic and a sinner in bulgary, and if he had not been a clerk, he had been judged or this according to his deserts.' Then the official demanded of Betisac if it were with him according as he was accused, and to confess the truth there openly before all the people. And Betisac, who thought to have said well and to have scaped by reason of his confession, he answered and said that all was true. He was demanded this three times, and at every time he confessed it to be true before all the people. Thus ye

[1] 'And.'

[2] 'Tenoit et avoit tenu longtemps l'opinion des bougres.' The 'opinion of the Bulgarians' means heresy, and 'bougre' in old French means 'heretic.'

may know whether he was deceived or not, for if he had made no such confession, he had been delivered; for the duke of Berry had fully avowed all his deeds, the which he had done at his commandment in the country of Languedoc: but it was to be supposed that fortune played her turn with him, for when he thought to have been most assuredest on the height of fortune's wheel, he was turned up-se-down from her wheel, as she hath done a hundred thousand more sith the world began. Then Betisac was delivered again by the spiritual judge to the baily of Beziers, who under the king ruled the temporalty; the which Betisac without delay was brought to a place before the palace, he was so hasted forward that he had no leisure to answer nor to say nay, for when he saw a fire ready prepared in the place and saw that he was in the hands of the hangman, he was sore abashed, and saw well then that he was deceived and betrayed. Then he cried out aloud requiring to be heard, but then was no heed taken to his saying, but the hangman said: 'It is ordained that ye shall die, for your evil works hath brought you to an evil end.' He was hasted forward to his death and the fire made ready: there was also raised a pair of gallows and thereto tied a chain of iron, and at the end thereof a collar of iron, the which was put about his neck, and then the chain drawn up a-high and tied round about the gallows. Then he cried and said: 'Duke of Berry, they cause me to die without reason, they do me wrong.' As soon as he was tied to the gallows, there was set round about dry sedge, reed and faggots, and fire put thereto, and incontinent the faggots were afire. Thus Betisac was hanged and brent, and the French king out of his chamber might well see him, if he would. To this poor end came Betisac, and so the people were revenged of him; and for to say the truth, he had done many extortions and damages to the people while he had the governing of the country of Languedoc.

CHAPTER CLX [CLXIV]

SUMMARY.—The earl of Foix came to Toulouse to see the king, and did homage for the county of Foix.

CHAPTER CLXI [CLXV]

Of the feat and covenant that was done between the king and the duke of Touraine his brother, which of them should soonest come to Paris from Montpellier, which is a hundred and fifty leagues asunder, each of them but with one knight.

THE French king being at Toulouse, he ordered all his business and removed and renewed seneschals and officers, and reformed the country into good estate, so that every man was well contented; and on a day the king, present his brother, his uncle of Bourbon and the lords of France and Gascoyne to the intent to have a perpetual memory, gave to his cousin-german, sir Charles d'Albret, for the augmentation of his honour, two quarters of arms of France with flower-de-luces; for afore the lords d'Albret bare always in their arms a field of gules plain without any other thing: now they be quartered with the arms of France: which thing the lord d'Albret took for a great gift. Which lord made the same day a great dinner, which cost him more than a thousand franks, and he gave to heralds and minstrels two hundred franks.

Anon after it was ordained that the king should depart from Toulouse to return into France: every man made him ready and took leave of the king, the bishop of Toulouse, the seneschal and the burgesses and lords and damosels of the town. The king departed and rode that night to Castelnaudary and so forward every day, so that he came to Montpellier, where he was joyfully received, and there tarried three days, for the ladies and damosels there pleased him much. Then he had great desire to return to Paris to see the queen: on a day, as he communed in sport with his brother of Touraine, he said: 'Fair brother, I would that you and I were at Paris and all our estate here still as it is, for I have great desire to see the queen and your fair sister[1] of Touraine.' Then the duke said: 'Sir, we cannot be there with wishing: it is a far journey hence.' 'That is true,' quoth the king,

[1] 'Et vous belle sœur de Thouraine,' 'and you (have great desire to see) my fair sister of Touraine': but the better reading is 'et ma belle sœur de Thouraine.'

'yet I think I might be soon there, an I would.' 'Yea,' quoth the duke, 'with help of good horses; for so could I be, but my horse must bear me.' 'Well,' quoth the king, 'lay a wager you and I, who shall be there soonest.' 'I am content,' quoth the duke: for he was ever ready to win money of the king. The wager was laid between the king and the duke, that whosoever of them twain came soonest to Paris should win five thousand franks of the other, and to depart the next day all at one hour, and each of them to take but one knight or servant with them: there was no man that durst break their wager. The next day they departed as it was ordained: the lord of Garencieres rode with the king, and the lord of Viefville was with the duke of Touraine. Thus these four rode night and day like young lusty gallants; they changed many horses; thus they rode in post. The duke of Bourbon returned by Puy in Auvergne and rode to see his grandfather[1] by the way, the earl Dolphin of Auvergne, and the countess and their children, of whom there were to the number of eight, what sons what daughters, all brethren and sisters to the duchess of Bourbon, his wife, but that was by reason of two marriages.

Thus the French king and his brother the duke of Touraine rode in great haste each of them to win the wager. Consider well the great pain of these two great and rich lords: youth and liberty of courage made them to do that enterprise; their estates abode behind. The French king made it four days and a half or he came to Paris, and the duke of Touraine no more but four days and a quarter of a day, they followed each other so near. The duke won the wager by reason that the French king rested himself about eight of the clock at Troyes in Champagne, and the duke took a barge in the river of Seine and went along the river to Melun,[2] and there took horse and rode so till he came to Paris, and so went to Saint-Pol to the queen and to his wife and demanded tidings of the king, for he wist not whether he were come or not. And when he knew that the king was not come, he was joyful and said to the queen: 'Madam, ye shall shortly hear tidings of the king.' He said truth, for the king came soon after. When the duke of Touraine heard that the king was come, he went and met him and said: 'Sir, I have won my wager, let me be paid.' 'It is reason,' quoth the king, 'and so ye shall.' There they shewed before the ladies all their journey, and how that in four days and a half they were come from Montpellier to Paris, which was a hundred and fifty leagues asunder. The ladies turned all the matter to sport and laughing, but they well judged that they had endured much pain, and judged that youth and courage of heart caused them to do it. And the duke of Touraine was truly paid for his wager.

[1] A better reading is 'father-in-law.'

[2] The duke of Touraine rested for the night on a barge going down the river, while the king remained at Troyes; thus the duke gained some hours' advantage. The distance from Montpellier to Paris cannot be much less than 400 English miles, but there is good evidence that the match did not take place quite as Froissart reports it.

CHAPTER CLXII [CLXVI]

Of the death of pope Urban of Rome, called the antipope, and how pope Clement wrote to the French king and to his uncles and to the university, and of the election of pope Boniface by the cardinals of Rome.

ABOUT the said season died at Rome pope Urban the sixth. The Romans were sore displeased with his death, for he was well beloved. He was buried in the church of Saint Peter, and after his obsequy done well and reverently, then the cardinals went into the conclave to choose a new pope; and so they did, or that pope Clement knew thereof in Avignon, for it was ten days past or they knew it. And as soon as pope Clement and his cardinals knew thereof, they assembled together at the pope's palace and had great communication together, and were in great hope that the business of the Church should leave and be concluded and to come to a full union, for the error had long endured. They thought that the cardinals at Rome should not agree so soon to enter into conclave, but rather to submit themselves to pope Clement at Avignon. They sent also word to the French king of the death of Urban, called the antipope, and desired

him (the sooner to come to their purpose) that he would write to his cousins the king of Almaine and the king of Hungary, to the earl of Vertus and to the duke of Austria, who had ever holden with pope Urban, that they should now cease, and help to make rest and peace in the Church, and to shew them by his letters that in our faith there ought to be no variation, for as there is but one God in heaven, so there ought to be but one God in earth. The same season the duke of Burgoyne was with the king at Paris, to whom pope Clement and the cardinals wrote in like manner: then the king shewed his uncle these news and was right joyful and said: 'Fair uncle, we have had great desire to go with great puissance to Rome to destroy the infidels; but as now our journey is well shorted, for Urban the antipope is dead, as Clement hath written to us; and he thinketh that the cardinals will not enter into conclave to choose any new pope, but rather to come to Avignon and to submit themselves under pope Clement: and we are desired by him and by the cardinals at Avignon, for the more surety, to write pleasant letters to our cousins the king of Almaine and to his brother the king of Hungary and to the earl of Vertus and to the duke of Austria. What counsel will ye give me to do?' The duke of Burgoyne said: 'Sir, true it is pope Urban is dead, but as yet we know nothing of the state of the cardinals at Rome, nor of the Romans, nor whether they will keep their old opinion or not. I fear it will be hard for them to leave it, for the Romans are masters over the cardinals: by force they made them to choose the archbishop of Bari and made him pope, and so maintained him to the end; and so if now by perforce they cause the cardinals to enter into conclave and to choose a pope at their pleasure. Wherefore, sir, ye shall not need to enter so far into the matter, as to desire them that will do but little for you, as they have shewed yet hitherunto. Suffer, sir, till ye hear other news; and peradventure it may so be that the cardinals at Rome shall not be all of one accord, and peradventure will dissimule with the Romans and choose none other pope but Clement, and to appease their furour to promise them to cause Clement to come to Rome, which he will do right gladly on that condition. And if the matter go so, then shall it be time for you to write to all the princes christened that are of the opinion contrary to you, in the best manner ye can to avoid the schism[1] and to bring the Church to an union and peace, as by reason every man ought to do. But as yet ye be not sure how the matter goeth: it is best ye abide the adventure thereof; it shall not be long or we hear other tidings.' When the duke of Burgoyne had said these words to the king and to his council, there was none that spake contrary thereto. The king thought his words were reasonable and said: 'Fair uncle, we believe it is good reason that ye say: ye see more clearer in the matter than we do: and as for the business of the Church, we will do nothing therein but by your counsel and advice.' Thus they ceased of that communication.

Great murmuration there was among the clerks of the university of those tidings, whereby they ceased to read or to study and intended to nothing but to hearken and to know how the cardinals of Rome maintained themselves, whether they would elect a new pope or else to return to the pope at Avignon. They did cast many doubts and argued one with another: they knew well how Clement had written to the king and to the duke of Touraine and to the duke of Burgoyne and to the king's council: in like wise letters were written generally to the university, that they should conclude to an universal peace in the Church. Thus the clerks devised among themselves, and such as would the advancement of Clement said: 'Now it is time that the king and the lords of France write to the great princes of Christendom, as to the king of Almaine, the king of Hungary, the lord of Milan, and to the duke of Austria, and to such other as are of our opinion,[2] to the intent that they should return to the same state: such writing may much avail.' In three days three times the notable clerks of the university of Paris assembled together, and at last came to Saint-Pol to speak with the king and his council, to desire him to set to his hand to oppress

[1] 'As to the best manner that can be devised for removing the schism.'

[2] 'And to those that hold the opinion contrary to us,' 'qui tiennent nostre opinion contraire.'

the schism of the Church and to intend to the ordinance of pope Clement, who had humbly written to him. But when they came to Saint-Pol, they were not answered; the king dissimuled the matter with them, so that they were evil content. Finally the king contented them, saying how shortly they should hear other news: and so they did; for the cardinals of Rome entered into the conclave and made a new pope, the cardinal of Naples, a noble and valiant clerk: he was called Boniface. When the French king and his council heard thereof, they were pensive, for then they well imagined how that the schism was likely to endure long. Then the duke of Burgoyne said to the king: 'Sir, now regard whether your writings had not been lost or no: it is now fallen as I said.' 'Fair uncle,' quoth the king, 'ye say truth.'

Then graces were opened to all clerks at Rome by Boniface, and all provinces certified thereof, such as were under his obeisance; and such as would receive such graces went towards Rome. And when they approached the marches of Ancona, they rode in great peril, for sir Bernard de la Salle, who kept the frontiers there, and made war to the Romans in the quarrel of pope Clement, took such clerks as passed by and did them much trouble, and many slain and lost.

Now let us leave speaking of these popes and turn to other matters.

CHAPTER CLXIII [CLXVII]

SUMMARY.—The castle of Ventadour was at length taken, and the captains of it put to death for their attempted treachery.

CHAPTER CLXIV [CLXVIII]

SUMMARY.—The jousts were held at Saint-Inglevert thirty days against all comers.

CHAPTER CLXV [CLXIX]

SUMMARY.—The Genoese, who suffered much both in their islands and on their coast from pirates, who had their base in the strong town of Afrique,[1] *fitted out an expedition against this town and invited French knights to join them, and desired one of the French king's uncles or the duke of Touraine to be their commander. The duke of Bourbon accepted, and there went also the lord of Coucy and many other lords of France and of other countries.*

The fleet sailed from Genoa about midsummer in the year 1390, *and arrived at the island of Comminieres, about thirty miles from the town of Afrique.*

CHAPTER CLXVI [CLXX]

SUMMARY.—Aymerigot Marcel, after having sold the fortress of Alleuse to the earl of Armagnac, established himself in la Roche-Vendeix and pillaged the country. The French king sent the viscount of Meaux to be his lieutenant in Auvergne, who besieged and captured la Roche-Vendeix. Aymerigot Marcel was taken and executed at Paris.

CHAPTER CLXVII [CLXXI]

How the Christian lords and the Genoways being in the isle of Comminieres at anchor departed thence to go and lay siege to the strong city of Afrique in Barbary, and how they maintained the siege.

WHERREAS I have spoken at length of the life of Aymerigot Marcel, it was to furnish this history; for the conditions both of evil and good ought to be always treated in a history, and specially when it toucheth any great feat, for ensample of other and to give matter and occasion to do well: for if Aymerigot had led his life in good virtues, he had been a man of great valour, and because he did the contrary, he came to an evil end.

Now let us leave speaking of him, and let us return to the high enterprise that the Christian knights of France and other nations did in that season in the realm of Afrique, and I will begin thereas I left. The said lords assembled in the isle of Comminieres after they had passed the

[1] The town which Froissart calls 'Afrique' is Mehadia.

tempests and perils in the gulf of Lyon. There they tarried each for other, for there were in the city of Afrique a thirty thousand. In this isle of Comminieres they were a nine days and refreshed them: and there the patrons of the galleys said to the lords: 'Sirs, we be in the land next approaching to the marches of Afrique, whither by the grace of God ye are purposed to go and lay siege; wherefore it is behoveable to take counsel each of other, how we may enter into the haven and to take land. To save ourselves[1] it is best we send foremost our little ships called brigandines, and let us tarry in the mouth of the haven the first day that we approach and all the night after, and the next morning to take land by the grace of God at our leisure, and then lodge ourselves as near the city as we may, without the shot of their artillery, and let us set our cross-bow Genoways in order, who shall be ready to defend all scrimmishes; and we suppose well that when we shall take landing we have here in your companies many young squires, who to enhance their honours will require to have the order of knighthood. Instruct them wisely and sweetly how they shall maintain themselves, and, my lords, know for truth that all we seamen shall acquit us unto you well and truly and always shew you by what manner of order we shall most grieve our enemies, and we shall take pain and study how the city of Afrique may be won, for ofttimes they have done us great damage; for on that coast it is the chief key of Barbary and of the realms that followeth, first the realm of Afrique, of Marocco and of Buggia, and if God of his grace will consent that we may win this city of Afrique, all the Saracens will tremble to the realm of Libya and Syria, so that all the world shall speak thereof, and by the aid of other Christian realms and isles marching near to Afrique we shall always be refreshed with victuals and new men; for this is a common voyage, for every man will desire daily to do deeds of arms and specially on God's enemies.'[2]

And thus in the conclusion of their process the patrons said: 'Lords, we say not this by no presumption, nor by manner as to teach you what ye should do, but this that we have said is all only for love and by humility, for ye be all noblemen, sage and valiant, and can better order everything than we can devise and speak.' Then the lord of Coucy said: 'Sirs, your good counsel and advice ought greatly to content us, for we see nothing therein but good; and, sirs, be ye sure that we shall do nothing without your counsel, for ye have brought us hither to do deeds of arms.'

Thus in the presence of the duke of Bourbon the lords and other counselled together in the isle of Comminieres, how they might approach the strong town of Afrique. When everything was well advised and set in good order by the admiral and patrons of the galleys, and that wind and weather served them, every lord entered into his galley among their own men, having great desire to encounter with their enemies, the Saracens. Then the trumpets blew up at their departing: it was great pleasure to behold their oars, how they rowed abroad in the sea, which was peaceable, calm and fair, so that in manner the sea shewed herself that she had great desire that the Christian men should come before the strong town of Afrique. The Christian navy was goodly to regard and well ordered, and it was great beauty to see the banners and pennons of silk with the arms and badges of the lords and other waving with the wind and shining against the sun, and within an hour of noon the Christian men perceived the high towers of the town of Afrique, and the farther they sailed, the nearer it shewed to their sights; wherefore every man rejoiced and good cause why, seeing all they desired to come thither: they thought then in a manner their pains released and their voyage accomplished. Thus as they approached to the entry of the realm of Afrique, they communed and devised among themselves; and in like manner the Saracens that were within the town of Afrique spake and devised and were sore abashed, when they saw their

[1] 'Pour nous saulver,' but a better reading is 'pour eulx saluer,' 'to greet them,' that is the enemy.

[2] 'We shall always be able to hold and refresh it with victuals and new men: for this shall be a common voyage, and let it be accomplished and directed so as to make war every day on the enemies of God, and always to win land.' By 'a common voyage' they mean one in which they share equally with their allies.

enemies approach with such a number of sails, and said that surely they were likely to be besieged. Howbeit, they thought their town so strong with towers and walls and with artillery, that therewith they recomforted and took courage; and to give warning to the country, as soon as they saw their enemies on the sea on the high towers, they sowned timbres and tabors according to their usage in such wise that the men abroad in the country drew together. Such men of Barbary as had been sent thither by the king of Afrique and by the king of Tunis and Buggia, when they knew of the Christian men's coming by reason of the noise of the timbres and tabors, to the intent that they should not enter too far into their countries, every man took heed to his charge; and sent certain of their captains to the sea side to see the approaching of the Christian men and to behold their dealing that night. Also they provided to defend the towers and gates about the haven of Afrique, to the intent that by their negligence the town of Afrique should take no damage, which town was so strong that it was not likely to take great hurt without long siege.

And I, John Froissart, author of this chronicle, because I was never in Afrique and because I might truly write the manner and fashion of this enterprise, always I desired such knights and squires as had been at the same voyage to inform me of everything: and because I had been oftentimes in my days at Calais, I demanded also of such there as had been at the said voyage,[1] and it was shewed me of a surety that the Saracens among themselves said how the Christian men that were there were expert and subtle men of arms: whereupon an ancient Saracen said to all his company: 'Sirs, all things considered, it is best that the Christian men at the beginning see not our strength and puissance, nor also we have not men sufficient to fight with them, but daily men will come to us: wherefore I think it best to suffer them to take land. They have no horses to overrun the country: they will not spread abroad, but keep together for fear of us: the town is strong enough and well provided, we need not fear any assaults: the air is hot and will be hotter; they are lodged in the sun, and we in the shadow: and they shall daily waste their victuals and shall be without hope to recover any new, an they lie here any long season; and we shall have plenty, for we be in our own country: and they shall oftentimes be awaked and scrimmished withal, to their damage and to our advantage. Let us not fight with them, for otherwise they cannot discomfit us: they have not been used with the air of this country, which is contrary to their nature: I think this the best way.'

To the saying of this ancient knight Saracen all other agreed: then it was commanded on pain of death that no man should go to the sea side to scrimmish with the Christian men, without they were commanded, but to keep themselves close in their lodgings and suffer the Christian men to take land. This determination was upholden, none durst break it, and they sent a certain of their archers into the town of Afrique, to aid to defend it. The Saracens shewed themselves nothing, as though there had been no men in the country. The Christian men lodged all that night in the mouth of the haven of Afrique, and the next morning the weather was fair and clear and the air in good temper, and the sun rose that it was pleasure to behold. Then the Christian men began to stir and made them ready, having great desire to approach the town of Afrique and to take land. Then trumpets and clarions began to sown in the galleys and vessels and made great noise, and about nine of the clock, when the Christian men had taken a little refreshing with drink, then were they rejoiced and lighted; and according as they had appointed before, they sent in first their light vessels called brigandines, well furnished with artillery: they entered into the haven, and after them came the armed galleys and the other ships of the fleet in good order, and turning towards the land by the sea side there was a strong castle with high towers, and specially one tower, which defended the sea side and the

[1] Here there is omitted in the text followed by the translator a long passage which contains a comparison between the city of Afrique and the town of Calais, and a debate of the Saracens as to what they should do.

land also; and in this tower was a bricole or an engine, which was not idle but still did cast great stones among the Christian men's ships. In like wise in every tower of the town against the sea side there were engines to cast stones: the Saracens had well provided for their town, for they looked ever long before when they should be besieged.

When the Christian men entered into the haven of Afrique to take land, it was a pleasant sight to behold their order and to hear the clarions and trumpets sound so high and clear. Divers knights and valiant men of the realm of France spread abroad that day their banners, with divers other new-made knights. The lord John of Ligne was there first made knight, he was of the country of Hainault; he was made by the hands of a cousin of his named sir Henry d'Antoing, and there he spread abroad first his banner, the field gold, a bend of gules, and in his company was his cousin-german the lord of Havreth in Hainault. Thus the lords, knights and squires with great desire advanced them and took land and lodged on the land of their enemies in the sight of the false Saracens on a Wednesday in the evening of Mary Magdalen in the year of our Lord God a thousand three hundred and fourscore [and ten], and as they took land they were lodged by their marshals. The Saracens that were within the town praised much the Christian men's order, and because that the great galleys could not approach near to the land, the men issued out in boats and took land and followed the banner of our Lady.

The Saracens that were within the town and such as were abroad in the country suffered the Christian men peaceably to take land, for they saw well it should not be for their advantage to have fought with them at their landing. The duke of Bourbon, who was as chief of the Christian army there, was lodged in the midst of his company right honourably, his banner displayed, powdered full of flower-de-luces with an image of our Lady in the midst and a scutcheon with the arms of Bourbon under the feet of the image.

SUMMARY.—Here follows the order in which the lords and knights were lodged in the camp. The Saracens had an army of forty thousand or more encamped against them outside the town, with a wood behind them, and they every day attacked the outposts of the Christian camp, never coming to close quarters: and this went on for nine weeks.

THE author thus continues:—

The Saracens within the town of Afrique had great marvel by what title or instance that the Christian men came thither so strongly to make them war. It was shewed me how they took advice among them how to know the truth thereof and determined to send to the Christian men to know their minds, and so took a trucheman that could speak Italian and commanded him to go to the Christian host and to demand of them in what title and instance they are come to make us war, and why they be come so strongly into the empire of Barbary and into the land of Afrique: 'and say how we have in nothing trespassed them. Of a truth afore this time there hath been war between us and the Genoways, but as for that war by reason ought not to touch the Christian men of far countries off. As for the Genoways, are our neighbours, they take of us and we of them, we have been ancient enemies and shall be, except when truce is between us.' With this message the trucheman departed and rode to the Christian army and met first with a Genoway, and shewed him how he was a messenger sent from the Saracens to speak with some lord of France. The Genoway had to name Antony Marchi; he was a centurion of the cross-bows: he brought this messenger to the duke of Bourbon and to the lord of Coucy, who gladly heard him speak; and the words that he spake in his own language[1] the centurion Genoway expouned them in French. When this messenger had declared his message, he desired to have an answer. The lords of France said he should have, but first they would take advice in the matter. Then a twelve of the greatest lords drew together to council in the duke of Bourbon's tent and concluded, and so sent for the messenger; and the Genoway made him his answer in all their names, saying how

1 'The words that the lords could not understand': the dragoman spoke Italian.

the title and quarrel that they made war in was because the Son of God, called Jesu Christ, and true prophet, by their line and generation was put to death and crucified; and because they had judged their God to death without title or reason, therefore they would have amends and punish that trespass and false judgment that they of their law had made; and also because they believed not in the holy baptism and are ever contrary to their faith and law; nor also because they believed not in the Virgin Mary, mother to Jesu Christ. For these causes and other, they said, they took the Saracens and all their sect for their enemies, and said how they would revenge the despites that they had done and daily do to their God and Christian faith. With this answer the trucheman returned without peril or damage and shewed to his masters all as ye have heard. At this answer the Saracens did nothing but laugh, and said how that answer was nothing reasonable, for it was the Jews that put Christ to death and not they. Thus the siege still endured, every party making good watch.

Anon after, the Saracens took counsel together and determined that a seven or eight days together they should suffer the Christian men in rest, and not to make any manner of scrimmish with them, and then suddenly on a night about the hour of midnight to set on the host, trusting thereby to do a great feat. As they ordained so they did, and an eight days together they made no scrimmish, and on the ninth day about midnight they secretly armed them with such armour as they were accustomed to, and so came close together without any noise near to the lodgings of the Christian men, and had enterprised to have done a great feat and to have entered not on that side that their watch was on, but on the other part of the field, where there was no watch kept. They had come to their intents, an God properly had not been against them in shewing of apparent miracles: I shall shew you how.

As the Saracens approached, they saw suddenly before them a great company of ladies and damosels, all in white colour, and one in especial, who in beauty without comparison exceeded all the other, and there was borne before her a banner all of white, and red within. With this sight the Saracens were so abashed, that they lacked spirit and force to go any further, and so stood still, and the ladies before them. Also it was shewed me that the Genoways had a great dog in their company, that they brought with them, but they knew not from whence he came, there was none that challenged the dog to be his; which dog did them great service, for the Saracens could never come so privily to scrimmish, but the dog would bay and make such bruit, that he would not rest till such as were asleep were awaked. Every man knew, when they heard the dog bay, that the Saracens were coming to scrimmish with them, whereby ever they apparelled themselves to resist them. The Genoways called the dog our Lady's dog. The same season that the Saracens stood still in a trance and the ladies before them, this dog was not idle, but he made great bruit and ran baying first to the stand watch: the lord of Coucy and sir Henry d'Antoing kept the watch that night. When every man heard this dog make such bruit, they rose and armed them ready, for they knew well that the Saracens did approach to awake them: and true it was that the Virgin Mary and her company was before them, to defend the Christian men from all perils, so that they took that night no manner of damage, for the Saracens durst not approach, but returned to their lodgings; and after that the Christian men took better heed to their watch.

The Saracens, knights and squires, such as were in the town of Afrique, and specially such as had seen these ladies, were so abashed that they wist not what to think; and the Christian knights and squires that lay at the siege studied day and night how they might win the town, and they within studied again how to defend their town. The season was hot and dry, for the sun was in his most strength, as in the month of August, and the marches of Afrique are right hot by reason of the sand, and also they be nearer to the sun than we be. And the wines that the Christian men had came from Puylle and Calabre, and they be hot and dry, far from the nature of the French wines, whereby many fell into hot fevers. And to consider according to reason, I cannot tell how the Frenchmen and other

of low countries could endure the pain of the hot and gross air that they found there, without refreshing of good, sweet and fresh water, which they lacked there: yet they made fountains and wells in the sand, which did them great pleasure, for there they found fresh water; howbeit oftentimes the water was sore chafed by reason of the heat, and also oftentimes they had great default of victuals, and some season they had enough coming from Sicily and from other isles adjoining. Such as were whole comforted them that were diseased, and such as had victuals departed with them that lacked, otherwise they could not have endured; they dealt each with other like brethren and friends. The lord of Coucy specially had the chief resort of gentlemen; he could behave himself sweetly among them, much better than the duke of Bourbon; for the duke was somewhat of an high courage, proud and presumptuous, nor spake not so sweetly nor so humbly to knights, squires and strangers as the lord of Coucy did. Most commonly the duke of Bourbon would sit all day without his tent with his legs across, and whosoever would speak with him it behoved him to have a procurer and to make great reverence. He considered not the state of poor men so well as the lord Coucy did; wherefore he was more in the grace and love of the people than the duke of Bourbon was; and as it was shewed me by divers knights and squires strangers, that in their opinions, if the lord Coucy had been sovereign captain alone, they had sped otherwise than they did; for by reason of the pride of the duke of Bourbon many feats and enterprises were left undone: it was the opinion of many that he kept himself sure enough from taking.[1]

SUMMARY.—A combat was arranged without knowledge of the duke of Bourbon between ten Christians and ten Saracens, but at the appointed time the Saracens did not appear. The host were kept under arms all that day, the hottest they had seen, and in the evening when exhausted went to assault the town, in which assault they lost no less than sixty knights and squires.

[1] 'It was the opinion of many that he kept the town from being taken.'

CHAPTER CLXVIII [CLXXII]

SUMMARY.—The Saracens were not aware of the extent of this loss, and failed to take advantage of it. The siege continued, but the Genoese, it was said, would gladly have made a treaty with the Saracens and left the rest in the lurch.

CHAPTER CLXIX [CLXXIII]

SUMMARY.—Jousts were held in London after the feast of Saint Michael in this year, and sixty knights challenged all comers. William of Ostrevant was distinguished in this tourney, and accepted the order of the Garter, by which he gave offence to the French king.

CHAPTER CLXX [CLXXIV]

SUMMARY.—The siege of Afrique was raised, partly because of the approach of winter and partly because it was thought that the Genoese could not be trusted. The Saracens after this were much more proud, and kept the sea and especially the straits of Marocco, so that ships could not pass to England or Flanders without paying tribute. The king of France, who was disposed to make a new journey against the Saracens, was advised that he ought first to go to Rome and remove the antipope Boniface.

CHAPTER CLXXI [CLXXV]

SUMMARY.—English ambassadors arrived at Paris to propose a meeting between the kings of France and England with a view to peace.

CHAPTERS CLXXII, CLXXIII [CLXXVI, CLXXVII]

SUMMARY.—King John of Castile died, and Henry his son, married to the duke of Lancaster's daughter, was crowned king.

The young earl of Armagnac went into Lombardy to help his brother-in-law Barnabo Visconti against Galeazzo Visconti, duke of Milan. He laid siege to Alessandria, where he was taken prisoner and died by misadventure. So his companies returned in great distress.

CHAPTER CLXXIV [CLXXVIII]

How sir Peter of Craon fell in the French king's displeasure and in the duke of Touraine's, and after he was received by the duke of Bretayne.

IN this said season there was a knight of France of the country of Anjou, a gentle knight and of noble extraction, called sir Pier of Craon, marvellously well beloved, and specially with the duke of Touraine, for about the duke nothing was done but by him. Also this knight held a great estate about the duke of Anjou, who was called king of Naples, Sicily and Jerusalem, and also he was rich. A slander was brought upon him through the realm of France, how he had robbed the young king of Sicily, duke of Anjou; for the which bruit the said sir Peter absented himself from the young king and from his mother, who had been wife to the old duke of Anjou. Howbeit, he dealt so that he was well beloved with the French king and with his brother the duke of Touraine: also the same season sir Oliver of Clisson, as then constable of France, was greatly in favour with the king and with the duke of Touraine, which favour he had got by reason of the good service that he had done in arms, as well in France as elsewhere, in the king's days and in his father's days, king Charles; and sir Oliver of Clisson's daughter had wedded John of Bretayne, brother-german to the queen of Jerusalem. And this sir Oliver Clisson, by reason of the alliance that he had by the marriage of John of Bretayne, was greatly in the duke of Bretayne's indignation, insomuch that the duke held him for his mortal enemy and John of Bretayne in like wise, and the duke of Bretayne repented him that he had not slain sir Oliver of Clisson when he had him in prison in his castle of Ermine. This sir Peter of Craon was in such favour with the duke of Bretayne, that he might do with him what he list; he was his cousin: and while he was in favour with the French king and with the duke of Touraine, he would gladly have brought out of the king's favour sir Oliver of Clisson the constable, if he could have brought it about. Thus the envious, which covertly always hath reigned in France, dissimuling their matters till they come to an evil conclusion.[1]

The constable of France had always been so true in all his deeds to the crown of France, that every man loved him except the duke of Burgoyne, who loved him nothing. The hatred came by the duchess of Burgoyne, who was a lady of high courage; for she could not love the constable, for the duke of Bretayne was near of blood to her, and all that her father the earl of Flanders loved, she loved, and such as he hated, she did the same; she was of that condition. This sir Peter of Craon, while he was in the French court and great with the duke of Touraine, he wrote oftentimes to the duke of Bretayne secretly everything that he knew, and the duke wrote again to him. The effect of their writings I could not know: howbeit, I, John Froissart, author of this history, on a time when I was at Paris, on a night when a great mischief was likely to have fallen upon sir Oliver Clisson, constable of France, by a marvellous enterprise of sir Peter of Craon, as I shall hereafter more plainly declare, when time shall require; and because I saw the matter dark and obscure and likely to be great trouble and danger, I did all the pain I could to know the ground and occasion of the matter, why sir Peter of Craon was so suddenly banished from the French king's love and the duke of Touraine's. Such search I made and such enquiry of them that knew the matter, that some of them informed me of the truth, as the fame and renown ran. First the duke of Touraine was displeased with this sir Peter of Craon through his own fault, for he disclosed the secretness that was between the duke of Touraine and another lady. If he did so, he did evil.

1 'Thus the envies, which always covertly have reigned in France, were covered and dissembled, till they came at last to an evil conclusion.'

The duke of Touraine as then had such favour to sir Peter of Craon, that he took him as his companion and ware ever like apparel and had him always with him, whereseever he went, and shewed him all his secrets. This duke of Touraine as then was young and amorous and gladly would company with ladies and damosels and sport him among them; and specially, as it was shewed me, he loved entirely a fair lady of Paris, young and fresh. His love and secrets were known in such wise that it turned to great displeasure to the duke, and he wist not whom to blame but sir Peter of Craon, for the duke had shewed him all his secrets in that matter and had taken him in his company when he would secretly speak with the said young lady. The duke on a time promised the said lady a thousand crowns of gold, so that he might have his pleasure of her, but the lady as then refused it and said how she loved him not for his gold nor silver, but pure love inclined her to bear him her good will; but as for gold or silver, she would not sell her honour. All these words and promises were known by the duchess of Touraine, who incontinent sent for the said young lady into her chamber. Then she called her by her name and in great displeasure said: 'Wilt thou do me wrong with my lord my husband?' The young lady was abashed, and all weeping said: 'Nay, madam, by the grace of God I never did think it, nor never will.' Then the duchess said: 'Thus it is: I am informed that my lord my husband loveth you and you him, and the matter so far gone between you, that in such a place and at such a time he promised you a thousand crowns of gold to have his pleasure of you: howbeit, ye did refuse it as then, wherein ye did wisely, and therefore as at this time I pardon you; but I charge you as dearly as ye love your life, that ye commune nor talk no more with him, but suffer him to pass and hearken not to his communing.' Then when the young lady saw herself accused of truth, she answered and said: 'Madam, I shall deliver me from him as soon as I can, and shall so deal that ye shall have no cause of displeasure in this matter.' Therewith the duchess gave her leave to depart, and so she returned to her lodging.

The duke of Touraine, who knew nothing of this matter, and as he that entirely loved this young lady, fortuned on a day to come whereas she was. When she saw him, she eschewed his company and made him no manner of semblant of love, but did clean contrary to that she had used before; for she durst not, and also she had sworn and promised to the duchess. When the duke saw her countenance, he was pensive and thought he would know why she dealt so strangely, and demanded of her the cause of her strangeness. The young lady all weeping said: 'Sir, ye have bewrayed your love and the secret promise and offer that ye made me, to my lady your wife or else some other. Remember you well to whom ye have shewed your secretness, for, sir, I was in great danger by my lady your wife and by none other, and I have sworn and promised her that after this time I will never company nor talk with you, whereby she should have any jealousy.' When the duke heard that, they were sore words to him and greatly to his displeasure, and said: 'Ah, my fair lady, I swear to you by my faith that rather than this matter should have been shewed to my wife, [I would] that I had lost a hundred thousand franks. Sith ye have sworn, keep your promise, for whatsoever it cost me, I will know the truth, who hath bewrayed our secrets.'

Thus the duke departed from the young lady and made no semblant as then, but patiently suffered. Howbeit, he thought the more, and at night came to his wife to supper and shewed her more token of love than ever he did before; and he did so much with fair words that the duchess shewed him all the matter and how that she knew it by sir Peter of Craon. Then the duke spake no more at that time. That night passed, and the next day about nine of the clock he took his horse and rode from the house of Saint-Pol to the castle of Louvre, where he found the king his brother hearing of mass. The king sweetly received him, for he loved him entirely, and the king saw well by the duke's manner that he had some displeasure in his mind and said: 'Ah, fair brother, what is the matter? It seemeth ye be troubled.' 'Sir,' quoth he, 'good cause why.' 'Wherefore?' quoth the

king: 'I pray you shew me.' The duke, who would hide nothing from the king, shewed him all the whole matter, and complained greatly against sir Peter of Craon and said: 'Sir, by the faith that I owe to God and to you, if it were not for your honour, I would slay him.' 'We shall do well enough,' quoth the king: 'he shall be warned by our council to avoid our house and service, and in like wise cause him to avoid your house and company.' 'I am well content with this,' quoth the duke.

The same day the lord de la Riviere and sir John Mercier said unto sir Peter of Craon on the king's behalf that he should avoid the king's court and service and go where he list. In like wise sir John of Bueil and the lord of Herbault, seneschal of Touraine, gave him like commandment on the duke of Touraine's behalf. When sir Peter of Craon saw this, he was abashed and took it in great despite, and could not imagine why it should be; and true it was, he desired to come into the king's presence and the duke's, to know the cause of their displeasure: but he was answered that nother the king nor the duke would not hear him speak. When he saw none other remedy, he apparelled himself and departed out of Paris in great displeasure in his heart, and so rode into Anjou to a castle of his own called Sablé, and tarried there a season sore troubled in his mind: he saw well he was chased out of the French court and out of the house of Touraine and also out of the house of the queen of Naples and Jerusalem. Then when he perceived these three houses closed from him, he thought to go to the duke of Bretayne his cousin and to shew him all his adventures: so he did, and rode into Bretayne and found the duke at Vannes, who made him good cheer and knew somewhat before of his trouble, and then this sir Peter shewed him all the case. When the duke of Bretayne had well heard all the matter, he said: 'Fair cousin, recomfort yourself: all this is surely brought about by sir Oliver of Clisson.'

This root and foundation of hatred multiplied greatly after, as ye shall hear in this history. Sir Peter of Craon tarried so long with the duke of Bretayne, that he forgat France,[1] for the constable, sir Oliver of Clisson, and the king's council were against him: and also they were not content with the duke of Bretayne in that he kept sir Peter Craon in his house. As for the duke of Bretayne, he cared not greatly neither for the good will nor evil will of the French king: he provided sufficiently for his cities, towns and castles in such wise that he loved as well war as peace, and all that ever he did was well known in France and with the king's council. And such as were next about the king reputed the duke of Bretayne proud and presumptuous, and threatened him greatly, but the duke did set little thereby, and said that he would make war against the earl of Penthievre in a just quarrel; 'for the earl of Penthievre our cousin writeth and nameth himself John of Bretayne, as though he were heritor of this country: I will he be called John, for that is his name, and earl of Penthievre, and I will he put out of his arms the ermines and write himself John of Blois or of Chatillon, and none other; and if he will not do this, I shall cause him to do it and take from him his land, for he holdeth it by faith and homage of us: as for the heritage of Bretayne, he hath nothing to do therewith, so that it should return to him, for I have both sons and daughters, that shall be mine heirs. Let him purchase him lands in some other place, for as of this he hath failed.' Thus oftentimes the duke of Bretayne would devise with sir Peter of Craon, who would not reply against his pleasure, but rather did further it, and all for the evil will that he bare to the constable, sir Oliver of Clisson, and to the council of France.

Now let us leave speaking of this matter and treat a little of another piteous matter concerning the earl Guy of Blois, of whom mention is made herebefore in this history.

[1] 'He was forgotten in France.'

CHAPTERS CLXXV-CLXXIX [CLXXIX-CLXXXIII]

SUMMARY.—Louis of Chatillon, son to the earl of Blois and son-in-law to the duke of Berry, died of a fever.

In the same season also died the earl of Foix, and the county of Foix was claimed by the French king, who however resigned

his claim and allowed the viscount of Castelbon to inherit both Béarn and Foix.

A treaty was made between the king of France and the duke of Brittany, with marriages agreed to of the son and daughter of the duke of Brittany to the daughter of the king of France and the son of John of Brittany.

The earl of Blois and his wife sold the county of Blois to the duke of Touraine, much to their discredit.

CHAPTER CLXXX [CLXXXIV]

SUMMARY.—The dukes of Lancaster, York and Gloucester came without the king of England to meet the French king at Amiens. The treaty failed, because the Englishmen dared not consent to give up Calais, for fear of the commons of England, and an embassy sent to England to see the king and his council was also without effect.

The French king was sick of a fever and remained at Beauvais till Ascension-tide.

CHAPTER CLXXXI [CLXXXV]

How sir Peter of Craon through evil will by subtle craft beat down sir Oliver of Clisson, wherewith the king and his council were sore displeased.

Ye have well heard herebefore how sir Peter of Craon, who was a knight of great lineage, but he was far out of the French king's grace and the duke of Touraine's: if he did so much to cause them to be displeased with him, he did evil.[1] Ye have heard also how he was gone into Bretayne to the duke, who shewed him that the evil will that the king bare him was by the means of sir Oliver of Clisson. It may well be that he was so informed, in that he had so great hate to the constable, sir Oliver of Clisson, for he studied ever after how to destroy him. Thus while sir Peter of Craon was with the duke of Bretayne, they would oftentimes commune together and devise how they might bring sir Oliver of Clisson to death, for they said that an he were once dead, there was none that would greatly revenge his death. The duke repented him that he had not slain him when he had him in prison, and would as then that it had cost him a hundred thousand franks that he had him again at his will. When sir Peter of Craon saw that the duke had such hatred to sir Oliver of Clisson, he purposed a marvellous imagination in himself; for by appearance men should give judgment. This knight thought, howsoever it were, that he would slay the constable, and thought to intend to nothing else till he had slain him with his own hands or caused him to be slain, and afterward entreat for peace. He doubted nothing John of Blois nor the son of the viscount of Rohan, who had wedded two of the constable's daughters; he thought to do well enough with them, as long as the duke was on his part; for he saw well the strength and puissance of Blois was greatly feeblished, for the earl Guy of Blois had sold the heritage of Blois to the duke of Touraine, which should have run by succession to the earl of Penthievre, John of Blois, whereby he thought that the duke of Touraine shewed him but small love nor alliance of lineage, to buy away his inheritance: wherefore this sir Peter thought, if sir Oliver of Clisson were dead, soon to appease the king's evil will and the duke of Touraine's, and thereby soon to overcome the lord de la Riviere and sir John Mercier, Montague and the Begue of Villaines and sir John of Bueil and other of the king's chamber, such as sustained the constable, for he knew well that the duke of Berry and the duke of Burgoyne loved them nothing inwardly, whatsoever they shewed outwardly. Thus sir Peter of Craon persevered still in his opinion and devised in his imagination by the enticing of the devil, who never sleepeth, but waketh and embraseth their hearts to do evil that inclineth to his exhortation. Thus the devil daily laid the matter before this knight's eyen, or he put the matter to execution; but if he had justly imagined the doubts and perils and mischievousness that might fall by his evil deed, reason and wise attemperance should have caused him to have done otherwise. But it is oftentimes

[1] The translator is responsible for the form of this sentence. Froissart says: 'Ye have heard before this how sir Peter of Craon . . . fell out of favour with the king,' etc.

said that the great desire that a man hath to have the execution of that thing or it be fallen,[1] oftentimes quencheth reason and wisdom: therefore oftentimes vices are masters, and virtues violate and corrupted. And for because that specially this sir Peter of Craon had so great affection to the destruction of the constable, therefore he lightly inclined to the temptation to do outrage and folly, and thought that if he might slay the constable and return again safely into Bretayne, that no man would seek him there: if they did, he trusted that the duke would excuse him, and that if the worst fell, that the French king came thither with a great puissance, then in a night to enter into a ship and so to go to Bordeaux, to Bayonne or into England, and there he thought well he should not be pursued: for he knew well that the Englishmen hated the constable because of the cruelties that he had done and consented to be done sith he was turned French; howbeit, before that he had done many notable services to the Englishmen, as it hath been rehearsed herebefore in this history.

Sir Peter of Craon, for to accomplish his desire had long studied in his mind how to bring his purpose to pass, and kept his purpose close and secret. I know not if he shewed it to the duke of Bretayne or not: some thought yes, because after the deed done by him and his company he took the next way he could into Bretayne, and took for his safe-guard the duke of Bretayne, and also before the deed done he sold his castles and heritage that he had in Anjou to the duke of Bretayne and renied his homage to the French king, and said how he would go over the sea. Of all these matters I pass briefly, but I shall declare the deed; for I, sir John Froissart, author of this history, when this unhappy deed was done by sir Peter of Craon against sir Oliver of Clisson, I was the same time at Paris, wherefore I ought to be well informed of the matter according to the enquiry that I made therein to know the truth. The same time this sir Peter had in the town of Paris a fair house standing in the churchyard of Saint John's, as divers other lords had in the city for their pleasure. In this house there was a keeper. Sir Peter of Craon had sent of his servants to Paris, and they provided largely in the house with wine, corn, flesh, salt and other provisions: also he had written to the keeper that he should buy certain armour, as coats of steel, gauntlets, stoles and other harness for forty men, and that done to send him word thereof to the intent that he would send for them, and secretly all this to be done. The keeper, who thought none evil, and to obey his master's commandment, bought all this merchandise; and all this season he was in a castle of his own in Anjou, called Sablé, and he sent one week three or four servants to his house in Paris, and so weekly, till he had there a forty, and shewed them nothing for what cause he sent them thither, but he charged them to keep themselves close in his house in any wise, and whatsoever they lacked, the keeper of his house should provide for it; 'and on a day I shall shew you the cause why I send you thither before, and ye shall have good wages.' They did as he commanded them, and came privily to Paris and entered into the house by night and in the mornings, for as then the gates of Paris night and day stood open. There assembled in that house so many together, that they were a forty companions, hardy men and outrageous; howbeit, there were some that if they had known wherefore they came thither, they would not have come there; yet they kept themselves secret.[1]

Then at the feast of Pentecost sir Peter of Craon came to Paris secretly and entered into his house disguised like a servant: then he called for the porter that kept the gate and said: 'I command thee on pain of thy life let no man, woman nor child enter into this house, nor none to go out without my commandment.' The porter obeyed, as it was reason, and so did the keeper, and he commanded the keeper's wife and her children to keep her chamber and not to issue out thereof; wherein he did wisely, for if the woman and children had gone abroad in the streets, the coming thither of sir Peter Craon had been known, for children and women naturally are hard to keep counsel of that thing a man would

[1] 'The great desire that a man hath to things before they come to pass.'

[1] 'But he took good care not to disclose his secret.'

have kept secret. Thus sir Peter and his company were secretly in his house till the day of the Holy Sacrament,[1] and every day sir Peter had abroad his spies that brought him word of the state of sir Oliver Clisson; and till that day he could find no time to execute his enterprise, wherewith he was sore displeased in himself. The said day the French king kept a feast with open court with all the lords that were there; also the queen and the duchess of Touraine were there in great joy and solace. The same day after dinner the young lusty knights were armed and jousted valiantly in the presence of the king and of the queen and other ladies and damosels, and continued till it was near night; and by the judgment of the ladies and heralds the prize was given to sir Guilliam of Flanders, earl of Namur. And the king made all the lords and ladies a great supper, and after supper danced till it was one of the clock after midnight: then every man departed to their lodgings, some to one place and some to another without fear or doubt of anything. Sir Oliver of Clisson, who as then was constable of France, departed from the king's palace last of all other, and had taken his leave of the king and then went through the duke of Touraine's chamber and said to him: 'Sir, will ye tarry here all night, or else go to your lodging of Poulain?'[2] This Poulain was the duke's treasurer and dwelt a little beside the sign of the Lion of Silver.[3] Then the duke said: 'Constable, I cannot tell as yet whether I do tarry here or else go thither. Go ye your way to your lodging, for it is time.' Then sir Oliver took his leave of the duke and said: 'Sir, God send you good night'; and so departed, and in the street he found his servants and his horse, an eight persons and two torches: then he rode forth to enter into the high street of Saint Katherine's.

Sir Peter of Craon had the same night laid good spial on sir Oliver of Clisson, and knew well that he was bidden behind his company with the king and that his horse tarried at the king's gate for him. Then he mounted on his horse, and all his company well armed covertly, and there passed not six of his company that knew his intent. And when he came into Saint Katherine's street, there he tarried and abode privily for the constable's coming: and as soon as the constable was issued out of the street of Saint-Pol and came into the high street, and his torches beside him, and came riding, talking with a squire of his, saying: 'To-morrow I must have at dinner with me the duke of Touraine, the lord Coucy, sir John of Vienne, sir Charles d'Angers, the baron of Ivry and divers other, wherefore speak to my steward that they lack nothing': and saying of those words, sir Peter Craon and his company came on him, and at the first they strake out the torches. And when the constable heard the rushing of the horses behind him, he thought it had been the duke of Touraine, that had followed and sported with him, and said: 'Ah, sir, it is evil done: but I pardon you; ye are young and full of play and sport.' With those words sir Peter of Craon drew out his sword and said: 'Slay the constable, slay him, for he shall die.' 'What art thou,' quoth Clisson, 'that speakest those words?' 'I am Peter of Craon, thine enemy: thou hast so oftentimes displeased me, that now thou shalt make amends': and therewith strake at the constable, and sir Peter's men drew out their swords and strake at the constable, who had no weapon but a short knife of two foot of length and defended himself as well as he might, and his men were without armour and soon put abroad from their master. Then sir Peter's men said: 'Shall we slay them all?' 'Yea,' quoth sir Peter, 'all such as make any defence.' Their defence was but small, for they were but eight persons and without armour. Sir Peter demanded nothing but the death of the constable. Some that were there, when they knew it was the constable, they gave him but faint strokes, for a thing done by treason is done cowardly without any hardiness. The constable defended himself valiantly with that weapon that he had: howbeit, his defence had vailed him but little, an the great grace of God had not been. Still he sat on his horse till he had a full stroke on the head, with which stroke he fell from his horse right against a

[1] That is, Corpus Christi, which in that year fell on 13th June. [2] 'Chez Poullain.'

[3] The French text adds, 'in the Croix-du-Tiroir,' but the translator probably was not acquainted with that celebrated carrefour, situated at the crossing of the rue Saint-Honoré and the rue de l'Arbre-Sec.

baker's door, who was up and busy to bake bread, and had left his door half open, which was happy for the constable; for as he fell from his horse, he fell against the door, and the door opened and he fell in at the door, and they that were a-horseback could not enter after him, the door was too low and too little. God shewed great grace to the constable; for if he had fallen in the street, as he did in at the door, or if the door had been shut, he had been slain without remedy. But they that were a-horseback durst not alight, and also they thought, and so did sir Peter, that on the stroke that he had on the head, that at last[1] it should be his death's wound. Then sir Peter said: 'Go we hence; we have done enough: for if he be not dead, he will die on the stroke that he hath on the head, for it was a great stroke.' Therewith they departed and rode away a good pace to the gate of Saint Antony and rode out thereat; for as then the gate was open and had been ten year, sith the French king returned from the battle of Rosebeque, and that the said constable put down the malles of Paris and punished them for their rebellions.

Thus sir Oliver de Clisson was left in this case, as a man half dead and more, in the baker's house, who was sore abashed when he knew it was the constable: as for his men, had little hurt, for sir Peter and his men looked for nothing but to have slain the constable. Then sir Oliver's men assembled together and entered into the baker's house and there found their master sore hurt on the head and the blood running down by his visage, wherewith they were sore abashed, and good cause why: there they made great complaints; first they feared he had been dead.

Anon tidings hereof came to the king's lodging and it was said to the king as he was going to his bed: 'Ah, sir, we cannot hide from you the great mischief that is now suddenly fallen in Paris.' 'What mischief is that?' quoth the king. 'Sir,' quoth they, 'your constable, sir Oliver of Clisson, is slain.' 'Slain,' quoth the king, 'and how so, and who hath done that deed?' 'Sir,' quoth they, 'we cannot tell; but this mischief is fallen on him hereby in the street of Saint Katherine.' 'Well,' quoth the king, 'light up your torches; I will go and see him.' Torches anon were lighted up. The king put on a cloak and his slippers on his feet: then such as kept watch the same night went forth with the king, and such as were abed and heard of these tidings rose up in haste and followed the king, who was gone forth with a small company; for the king tarried for no man, but went forth with them of his chamber with torches before him and behind him, and had no more chamberlains with him but sir William Martel and sir Helion of Neilhac. Thus the king came to the baker's house and entered, and certain torches tarried without. Then the king found his constable near dead, as it was shewed him, but not fully dead, and his men had taken off all his gear to see his wounds, how he was hurt; and the first word that the king said was: 'Constable, how is it with you?' 'Dear sir,' quoth he, 'right feebly.' 'Who hath brought you in this case?' quoth the king. 'Sir,' quoth he, 'Peter of Craon and his company traitorously and without defence.'[1] 'Constable,' quoth the king, 'there was never deed so dearly bought as this shall be.' Then physicians and surgeons were sent for on all parts, and when they came, the king said to his own surgeons: 'Sirs, look what case my constable is in and shew me the truth, for I am sorry of his hurt.' Then they searched his wounds in every part. Then the king demanded of them and said: 'Sirs, how say you? Is he in any peril of death?' They all answered and said: 'Sir, surely there is no jeopardy of death in him, but that within these fifteen days he shall be able to ride.' With that answer the king was right joyous and said: 'Thanked be God: these be good tidings': and then said: 'Constable, be of good cheer and care nothing, for there was never trespass sorer punished than this shall be upon the traitors that have done this deed; for I take this matter as mine own.' The constable with a feeble voice answered: 'Sir, God reward your grace for your noble visitation.' Then the king took his leave and departed and returned to his lodging and incontinent sent for the provost of

[1] Perhaps a misprint for 'at least': the French has 'du moins.'

[1] A better reading is 'without defiance.'

Paris, and by that time that he came it was clear daylight. Then the king commanded him and said: 'Provost, get you men together well horsed and pursue that traitor sir Peter of Craon, who thus traitorously hath hurt nigh to the death our constable. Ye cannot do to us a more acceptable service than to pursue and take him and bring him to us.' Then the provost answered and said: 'Sir, I shall do all that lieth in my puissance to do. Sir, can your grace know which way he is gone?' 'Enquire,' quoth the king, 'and do your diligence.'

CHAPTERS CLXXXII, CLXXXIII [CLXXXVI, CLXXXVII]

SUMMARY.—Sir Peter of Craon was pursued, but escaped to Sablé and then to Brittany, where he was reproached by the duke for not having killed the constable.

The French king sent to the duke of Brittany to demand that Peter de Craon should be given up, and he denied all knowledge of him.

The French king therefore prepared an army to go into Brittany.

CHAPTER CLXXXIV [CLXXXVII]

How the duke of Touraine, brother to the king, resigned the duchy of Touraine into the king's hands, and how by exchange the king gave him the duchy of Orleans, and so ever after he was called duke of Orleans.[1]

In the same season that the king was thus nigh ready to depart out of Paris to shew that he took that business as to himself, there was an exchange made of lands, greatly to the profit of the duke of Touraine: for he resigned into the king's hands the duchy of Touraine, and the king gave him the duchy of Orleans, in like manner as anciently duke Philip of Orleans held it, which was four times better in value than the other was. So thus from henceforth in this history I shall name him that was duke of Touraine duke of Orleans.

When sir Oliver of Clisson was all whole and that he might ride, the French king was right joyful and said how he would tarry no longer, and so on an evening he took leave of the queen Isabel his wife and of the new duchess of Orleans and of all other ladies and damosels, and so did the duke of Orleans in like wise. Then they departed and rode to supper to Montague,[1] and the duke of Bourbon, the earl of Namur and the lord of Coucy with him. There the king lay and dined there, and after dinner they departed and lay all night at Saint-Germain's, and there lay a seven days. And as then the king was somewhat diseased, and his physicians would have had him to have rested himself; but the king was so willing in his journey, that he said how he was much better at his ease than he was indeed, which he did to give courage to his men to set forward, for as then his two uncles the dukes of Berry and Burgoyne were behind and shewed well by their manner that the same journey grieved them, nor they would not have gone by their good wills. Howbeit, they had made their assembly and to save their honour they obeyed and followed.

When the French king had rested him a fifteen days at Saint-Germain's, and that his army was assembled, then he departed and passed the river of Seine and took his way to Chartres and so to Auneau, a good town and a castle pertaining to the lord de la Riviere as heritage of his wife's. With the king was his brother the duke of Orleans and the duke of Bourbon. The lord de la Riviere received the king honourably, and there tarried three days and then rode to Chartres, whereas Montague was bishop. The king was lodged in the bishop's palace, and the two dukes, and the second day after thither came the duke of Berry and the earl of March in his company, and the fourth day thither came the duke of Burgoyne, whereof the king was right joyful. And people came daily, and the king said he would not return to Paris till he had brought the duke of Bretayne to reason, who so oftentimes had put him to pain and trouble. The king's council had so set him on that war, that the dukes of Berry and of Burgoyne would gladly have modered the matter, but they could

[1] The title has reference only to the first few lines of the chapter.

[1] 'Chez Montagu.' This is Jean Montaigu, councillor of Charles VI.

not be heard; wherewith they were sore displeased, and so were such as were of their councils, and they said each to other that surely the matter could not long endure in that state, for it is full likely that the king and the realm shall have some business to do, sith the king refuseth the counsel of his uncles and leaneth to other at his pleasure, who be nothing like to them.

When the king had tarried at Chartres a seven days, then he departed and took the way to Mans, and his men followed, some from far parts, as out of Artois, Beauvais, Vermandois and Picardy; and some said one to another: 'Ah, this duke of Bretayne maketh us to have much to do and putteth us to great pain and travail. He hath been always hard and high-hearted against the crown of France, nor he never loved nor honoured it: an his cousin the earl of Flanders, and the duchess of Burgoyne, who have always borne him and as yet do, had not been, he had been destroyed long ago; for ever sith the lord Clisson turned French, he never loved him. Surely by all likelihood he is culpable of this deed, for he hath always sustained sir Peter of Craon against the king and against the constable.' Then other said: 'Let the king alone; for as at this time he hath the matter so at his heart, that he will bring the duke to reason, or he return.' 'That is true,' quoth other, 'if there be no treason: but we fear that all such as go with the king be not enemies to the duke, as it may be well seen, if we durst speak it, by some tokens; for there be some that night and day do what they can to counsel the king to break his voyage; which so troubleth the king, that he can scant get himself any health or recovery of his last sickness.' Thus knights and squires devised among themselves, as they rode in their countries.[1]

Still the king approached to the city of Mans; and there the king lodged in the castle and his lords in the city and his men of war abroad in the country. There the king tarried a three weeks, for he was sore vexed with the fever, and his physicians said to his brother and to his uncles: 'My lords, we ensure you ye do evil to travail the king, for he is in no good state to ride. Rest were far better for him, for sith he came from the city of Amiens, he hath not been in so good health as he was before.' They shewed this to the king, but he had so great affection to go in this journey, that he would nother believe them nor yet his physicians, but said how he found more ease in travelling than in resting: 'therefore whosoever counsel me to the contrary shall not please me, nor he loveth me not.' Other answer they could not have of the king. Every day the king would sit in the midst of his council till it was noon, to the intent that none should lay any let of his journey.

Thus the king being at Mans, and somewhat to accomplish the desires of his uncles, he sent four notable knights to the duke of Bretayne, as sir Raynold de Roye, the lord of Garencieres, the lord of Chateaumorand and sir Taupin of Chantemerle, chatelain of Gisors; and they were charged to shew the duke how the king and his council reputed that he did great offence to sustain the king's enemy and the realm's, and to make amends that he should send sir Peter of Craon to Mans to the king, whereby means should be found that he should take no damage nor his country, for all the king's voyage. Thus they departed from Mans with a forty spears and passed through the city of Angers and at last came before the city of Nantes, and entered and there found the duke, who made them good cheer and on a day made them a dinner and then they did their message and declared the king's intent and his council's. Whereunto the duke answered wisely and sagely, and said how it should be hard for him to deliver sir Peter of Craon, and said, as God might help him in all his business, he knew not where he was. Wherefore he desired them in that case to hold him excused; but he said he had well heard of him a year past, that he loved not sir Oliver of Clisson, but would make him mortal war to his power, whatsoever end came thereof. 'And at that time I demanded of him if he had given sir Oliver knowledge thereof, and he said he had utterly defied, and would slay him if he could either by day or by night, wheresoever he could find him. Of his deeds I know no further; wherefore I have marvel that the king will make war against me for his cause; for as to the covenants of marriage between our children,

[1] 'Conversed as they rode over the country.'

by the grace of God shall not be broken on my part: wherefore I have done nothing to him nor to his council, that he should make war against me.'

This was the answer that the duke made to the French king's messengers; and so when they had tarried a day at Nantes, then they took their leave and departed and returned to Mans to the king, who thought long till he heard their answer; and as ye have heard before, they declared it to the king and his council. The dukes of Berry and of Burgoyne were well content with the answer and said it was reasonable; but the king, by reason of such information as he had, said the contrary, and said, sith he was so forward in his journey, he would not return again into France nor to Paris, till he had brought the duke of Bretayne to reason. Gladly the two dukes of Berry and of Burgoyne would have modered that voyage; but they might not be heard, for the king had taken such displeasure with the duke of Bretayne, because he sustained sir Peter of Craon, that no excusation could be taken.

The same time a bruit ran in France that the queen of Aragon, my lady Yolande of Bar, cousin-german to the French king, had in prison in the city of Barcelona a knight that no man knew his name: men supposed it had been sir Peter of Craon. This queen had written right amiably to the king, signifying him that the fifth day of the month of July a knight in good estate and array came to Barcelona to have passed the sea, and had hired for his money a ship, as he said to have sailed into Naples; 'and because we keep our passages that no stranger shall pass, without he be known what he is, and this knight will not shew his name, therefore we keep him in prison; and by the abashment we see in him we think surely it be the same person ye would so fain have. Therefore we write to you thereof, that ye should send some person hither, such as knoweth sir Peter of Craon, to see if it be he or not; for whatsoever he be, he shall not be delivered till we have answer from you. And I would that these tidings might be agreeable to you and to your council, as knoweth the Holy Ghost, who preserve you. Written at Perpignan the ninth day of July by Yolande of Bar, queen of Aragon and of Mallorca and lady of Sardinia.' And on the superscription, 'To the redoubted king of France.'

These tidings somewhat modered divers men's hearts, so that they were near at the point to have broken their voyage: howbeit, such as were sir Oliver of Clisson's friends said that those tidings were but feigned tales, made and devised to break the king's voyage, saying that sir Peter of Craon was in none other prison but with the duke of Bretayne, who hath sustained him and doth. Of the queen of Aragon's letter the king made but light, saying it was but treason and fables. Then the duke of Burgoyne said: 'Sir, yet at least to appease my niece the queen of Aragon, and for the deliverance of the knight that is there in prison, who peradventure is nothing guilty of this trespass, send unto her, that she may be content with you and with us.' 'I am content therewith,' quoth the king, 'to please you; but I believe surely the traitor sir Peter of Craon is in none other Barcelona nor prison, but about the duke of Bretayne, and by my faith that I owe to Saint Denis he shall once make account thereof.' There could no man turn the king from the opinion but that sir Peter of Craon was with the duke of Bretayne.

The duke of Bretayne, who was well informed of all this business, thought himself not well assured; for he saw well the dukes of Berry and Burgoyne could not bring their purpose about, for sir Oliver of Clisson's friends led the king as they list. Then the duke provided for to keep his towns and garrisons: howbeit, he durst keep no town except Vannes, Quimperlé, Dol, Quimper-Corentin, l'Ermine and Sucinis; and he wrote to such knights and squires as he thought should aid him, but they all dissimuled with him, because they knew that the French king was so sore displeased with him, and also they thought it was not a thing convenable for the duke to sustain sir Peter of Craon against the constable of France, as he did. The duke in a manner repented him that he had done so much: howbeit, his courage and heart was so high, that he disdained to speak it, but said, if the king came into Bretayne, as it seemed he would do, at the beginning he would let him alone, 'and then shall I see who be my friends or foes. I will not be too hasty to make him war;

and when he weeneth to be at most rest, then will I awake him, if I cannot be agreed with him by love.' Thus the duke devised sometime with his council, and thought surely he should have war. Howbeit, he had not; for the matters turned otherwise to his great advantage: therefore it is an old proverb: 'He is not poor that is happy.' This duke was fortunate by reason of a piteous incident that fell suddenly on the French king; for otherwise the duke was not likely to have scaped all dangers and to have lived in peace, as he did.

When the French king had tarried the space of three weeks in the city of Mans, and the knights returned that he had sent into Bretayne, then he said, sith he had heard the duke's answer, he would no longer tarry there, for he said the tarrying there greatly displeased him, and would pass forth into Bretayne to see his enemies, that was the duke of Bretayne, who sustained the traitor sir Peter of Craon. The intention of the king was, that if any knights and squires came against him, or that he found any towns closed, he would put down the duke for ever and set a governour in the country till the duke's children were of lawful age, and then render to them the heritage, and the duke never to have any part thereof. This opinion the king held still and no man could put him therefrom, and thus on a fair day about ten of the clock the king departed from the city of Mans and had commanded his marshals the night before to cause all his army both before and behind to dislodge and to draw to Angers, and said that he would not return till he had been in Bretayne and destroyed the traitors that had put him to so much pain and trouble. The marshals did the king's commandment.

The day that the king departed was marvellous hot, for the sun as then naturally was in his chief force, and to the intent to declare the truth of everything, the same season that the king lay at Mans he was sore travailed with daily sitting in council, and also he was not perfectly whole, nor had not been all that season; he was feeble in his brain and head and did eat or drink but little, and nigh daily was in a hot fever, so that he was greatly annoyed and pained, and also for the displeasure that he had for the constable's hurt he was full of melancholy and his spirits sore troubled and travailed; and that his physicians spied well and so did his uncles, but they could not remedy it, for no man durst counsel him to break his voyage into Bretayne. And as it was informed me, as he rode forward in the forest of Mans, a great signification fell to him, by the which, if he had done well, he should have called his council about him and well advised himself, or he had gone any further. Suddenly there came to the king a poor man, bare-headed, bare-legged and barefooted, and on his body a poor white coat. He seemed rather to be a fool than wise, and boldly suddenly he took the bridle of the king's horse in his hands and stopped the horse and said: 'Sir king, ride no further forward, for thou art betrayed.' Those words entered into the king's head, whereby he was worse disposed in his health than he was before, so that his heart and his blood was moved. Then the king's servants strake so the poor man, that he let the king's horse go, and made no more of his words than of a fool's speaking; which was folly, as divers men said: for at the least they should have better examined the man and to have seen if he had been a natural fool or no, and to have known from whence he came; but they did not so, but left him behind, and he was never seen after to any man's knowledge; but such as were near to the king heard him speak these words.

The king passed forth, and about twelve of the clock the king passed out of the forest and came into a great plain all sandy. The sun also was in his height and shone bright, whose rays were marvellously hot, whereby the horses were sore chafed and all such persons as were armed were sore oppressed with heat. The knights rode together by companies, some here and some there, and the king rode somewhat apart because of the dust: and the duke of Berry and the duke of Burgoyne rode on his left hand talking together, an acre breadth of land off from the king. Other lords, as the earl of March, sir Jaques of Bourbon, sir Charles d'Albret, sir Philip d'Artois, sir Henry and sir Philip of Bar, sir Peter of Navarre and other knights rode

by companies: the duke of Bourbon, the lord Coucy, sir Charles de Hangest, the baron d'Ivry and divers other rode on before the king and not in his company, and they devised and talked together and took no heed of that fell suddenly on the chief personage of the company, which was on the king's own person. Therefore the works of God are marvellous and his scourges are cruel and are to be doubted of all creatures. There hath been seen in the Old Testament and also in the New many figures and examples thereof: we read how Nabugodonosor, king of Assyrians, who reigned a season in such triumphant glory that there was none like him, and suddenly in his greatest force and glory the sovereign King our Lord God, King of heaven and of earth, Former and Ordainer of all things, apparelled this said king in such wise that he lost his wit and reign, and was seven year in that estate, and lived by acorns and mast that fell from the oaks and other wild apples and fruits, and had taste but as a boar or a swine; and after he had endured this penance, God restored him again to his memory and wit, and then he said to Daniel the prophet that there was none other God but the God of Israel. Now the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, three persons in one God, hath been, is and ever shall be as puissant to shew his works as ever he was; wherefore no man should marvel of anything that he doth.

Now to the purpose why I speak all these words. A great influence from heaven fell the said day upon the French king, and as divers said, it was his own fault, for according to the disposition of his body and the state that he was in and the warning that his physicians did give him, he should not have ridden in such a hot day at that hour, but rather in the morning and in the evening in the fresh air: wherefore it was a shame to them that were near about him to suffer or to counsel him to do as he did. Thus as the French king rode upon a fair plain in the heat of the sun, which was as then of a marvellous height, and the king had on a jack covered with black velvet, which sore chafed him, and on his head a single bonnet[1] of scarlet and a chaplet of great pearls, which the queen had given him at his departure, and he had a page that rode behind him bearing on his head a chapew of Montauban, bright and clear shining against the sun, and behind that page rode another bearing the king's spear, painted red and fringed with silk, with a sharp head of steel: the lord de la Riviere had brought a dozen of them with him from Toulouse, and that was one of them: he had given the whole dozen to the king, and the king had given three of them to his brother the duke of Orleans and three to the duke of Bourbon. And as they rode thus forth, the page that bare the spear, whether it were by negligence or that he fell asleep, he let the spear fall on the other page's head that rode before him, and the head of the spear made a great clash on the bright chapew of steel. The king, who rode but afore them, with the noise suddenly started, and his heart trembled and into his imagination ran the impression of the words of the man that stopped his horse in the forest of Mans, and it ran into his thought that his enemies ran after him to slay and destroy him; and with that abusion he fell out of his wit by feebleness of his head, and dashed his spurs to his horse and drew out the sword and turned to his pages, having no knowledge of any man, weening in himself to be in a battle enclosed with his enemies, and lift up his sword to strike, he cared not where, and cried and said: 'On, on, upon these traitors!' When the pages saw the king so inflamed with ire, they took good heed to themselves, as it was time; they thought the king had been displeased because the spear fell down: then they stepped away from the king.[1]

The duke of Orleans was not as then far off from the king. The king came to him with his naked sword in his hand: the king was as then in such a frenzy and his heart so feeble, that he nother knew brother nor uncle. When the duke of Orleans saw the king coming on him with his sword naked in his hand, he was abashed and would not abide him: he wist not what he meant: he dashed his spurs to his horse and rode away, and the king after him. The duke of Burgoyne,

[1] 'A jacket of black velvet, which sore heated him, and on his head a simple bonnet,' etc.

[1] 'They set spurs to their horses, one this way and another that': 'stepte' is probably a misprint.

who rode a little way off from the king, when he heard the rushing of the horses and heard the pages cry, he regarded that way and saw how the king with his naked sword chased his brother the duke of Orleans. He was sore abashed and said: 'Out, harrow! what mischief is this? The king is not in his right mind, God help him: fly away, nephew, fly away, for the king would slay you.' The duke of Orleans was not well assured of himself and fled away as fast as his horse might bear him, and knights and squires followed after, every man began to draw thither. Such as were far off thought they had chased an hare or a wolf, till at last they heard that the king was not well in his mind. The duke of Orleans saved himself. Then men of arms came all about the king and suffered him to weary himself, and the more that he travailed the feebler he was, and when he strake at any man, they would fall down before the stroke: at this matter there was no hurt, but many overthrown, for there was none that made any defence. Finally, when the king was well wearied and his horse sore chafed with sweat and great heat, a knight of Normandy, one of the king's chamberlains, whom the king loved very well, called Guilliam Martel, he came behind the king suddenly and took him in his arms and held him still. Then all other approached and took the sword out of his hands and took him down from his horse and did off his jack to refresh him: then came his brother and his three uncles, but he had clean lost the knowledge of them and rolled his eyen in his head marvellously and spake to no man. The lords of his blood were sore abashed and wist not what to say or do. Then the dukes of Berry and of Burgoyne said: 'It behoveth us to return to Mans: this voyage is done for this time.' They said not as much as they thought, but they shewed it right well after, when they came to Paris, to such as they loved not, as ye shall hear after.

Reasonably to consider all things according to the truth, it was great pity that the French king, who as at that time was reputed for the most noble and puissant king in all Christendom, fell so suddenly out of his mind without remedy but as God would. Then the king was laid in a horse-litter and so brought back again to the city of Mans. Then the marshals gave knowledge to all the army that they should return and how that the voyage was broken as at that time: some had knowledge why, and some not. The night that the king came to Mans, the physicians had much ado with him, and the lords of the blood royal had great trouble. Every man spake then in divers manners: some said that such as had the rule about the king had poisoned him, to bring the realm of France into shame and trouble. These words multiplied in such wise, that the duke of Orleans and his uncles and other lords of the blood royal noted them, and spake together and said: 'How say you, sirs? have ye not heard these words and how men do murmur in divers places upon them that hath had the governance of the king? Some saith he should be poisoned. Let us search how this may be known.' Then some of them said how it should be best known by the physicians: 'they ought to know it, for they are acquainted with his complexion.' The physicians were sent for and examined. They answered how the king of long time had engendered the same malady; 'for we knew well the weakness of his brain would sore trouble him and at last shew itself; we have said as much before this time.' Then the duke of Burgoyne said: 'Sirs, it is true, and therein ye did well acquit yourselves; but he would neither believe you nor us, his affection was so sore set upon this voyage. It was devised in an evil time: this voyage hath dishonoured us all: it had been better that Clisson and all those of his affinity had been dead many a day agone, rather than the king to have taken this malady. These tidings shall spread abroad in many places, and seeing that he is but a young man, the blame shall be laid in us that be his uncles and of his blood. Men will say that we should otherwise have counselled him: thus we shall be laid in the fault without cause. But, sirs,' quoth the duke, 'yesterday[1] when he went to dinner, were ye with him?' The physicians answered and said, 'Yes.' 'Did he eat his meat well?' quoth the duke. 'No, certainly,'

[1] 'Huy matin,' 'this morning.'

quoth they, 'he did eat and drink but little, but sat and mused.' 'And who gave him drink last?' quoth the duke. 'Sir,' quoth they, 'we cannot tell you that, for as soon as the table was taken up, we departed and made us ready to ride, but his chamberlains or butlers can tell that best.' Then Robert de Tanques, a squire of Picardy, was sent for and demanded who gave the king drink last. 'Sirs,' quoth he, 'sir Helion of Neilhac.' Then he was sent for. Then he was enquired where he had the wine that the king drank last of in his chamber when he went to his horse. 'Sir,' quoth he, 'here is Robert of Tanques and I, we took the say in the presence of the king.' 'That is true,' quoth Robert of Tanques; 'ye need not doubt therein nor have any suspiciousness, for as yet there is of the same wine in the flagons, whereof we will drink and assay before you.' Then the duke of Berry said: 'This need not, for surely the king is not poisoned. His malady proceedeth of evil counsel: it is no time to speak of this matter now; let all alone till another season.'

Thus after this manner these lords departed each from other that night and went to their lodging. Then the king's uncles had ordained four knights of honour to wait about the king, as sir Raynold of Roye, sir Raynold of Trie, the lord of Garancieres and sir Guilliam of Martel, and the king's uncles sent commandment to the lord de la Riviere and to sir John Mercier, to Montague, to the Begue of Villaines, to sir William of Bordes and to sir Helion of Neilhac, that they should in no wise come about the king, till he were in better estate. The next day the king's uncles came to see the king and found him right feeble. Then they demanded what rest he had taken that night: they were answered, 'But small rest.' 'That is poor news,' quoth the duke of Burgoyne. And then to them came the duke of Orleans, and so went all together to the king and demanded of him how he did. He gave none answer and looked strangely on them and had lost clean the knowledge of them. These lords were sore abashed and communed together and said: 'We have no more here to do. The king is in an hard case: we do him more trouble than aid or good: let us recommend him to his chamberlains and physicians; they can best take heed to him: let us go study how the realm may be governed, or else things will go amiss. Then the duke of Burgoyne said to the duke of Berry: 'Fair brother, it is best we draw to Paris and ordain to have the king easily brought thither, for better we shall take heed on him there than here in these parts: and when we be there, let us assemble all the council of France and ordain who shall have the governance of the realm, the duke of Orleans or we.' 'That is well said,' quoth the duke of Berry; 'it were good we studied where were best to have the king to lie, that he might the sooner recover his health.' Then it was devised that he should be brought to the castle of Creil, where is good air and a fair country on the river of Oise.

When this was ordained, then all the men of war had leave to depart and were commanded by the marshals every man to return peaceably into his own country without doing of any violence or damage to the countries as they should pass through, and if any did, their lords and captains to make amends. And the king's two uncles and the chancellor of France sent anon sundry messengers to the good cities and towns of France, that they should take good heed to keep well their towns, considering that the king was not well disposed in his health. Their commandments were fulfilled. The people of the realm of France were sore abashed when they knew how the king was fallen sick and in a frenzy, and men spake largely against them that counselled the king to go into Bretayne; and some other said how the king was betrayed by them that bare the duke of Bretayne and sir Peter Craon against the king. Men could not be let, but that they would speak: the matter was so high that words ran thereof diversely.

Thus finally the king was brought to Creil and there left in the keeping of his physicians and of the said four knights: then every man departed. And it was commanded to hide and to keep secret the king's malady from the knowledge of the queen for a season, for as then she was great with child, and all her court were commanded to keep it secret on pain of

great punishment. Thus the king was at Creil in the marches of Senlis and of Compiegne on the river of Oise, and kept by the said knights and physicians, who gave him medicines, but for all that he recovered but little health.

CHAPTERS CLXXXV, CLXXXVI [CLXXXIX, CXC]

SUMMARY.—A wise physician, master William of Harcigny, was entrusted with the cure of the king, which he at length effected.

In the mean time the dukes of Burgoyne and Berry took the government of the realm and resolved to proceed against the king's late counsellors. Oliver de Clisson and Montague made their escape, but Le Mercier and the lord de la Riviere were arrested and would have been executed but for the influence of the young duchess of Berry with her husband in favour of the lord de la Riviere. Oliver de Clisson was condemned in his absence to be deprived of his office and banished the realm of France.

CHAPTER CLXXXVII [CXCI]

How the truce which was accorded between England and France for three years was renewed.

As ye have heard heretofore in the books of this high and excellent history, at the request of the right high and mighty prince my dear lord and master Guy of Chatillon, earl of Blois, lord of Avesnes, of Chimay, of Beaumont, of Sconnehove and of the Goude, I, John Froissart, priest and chaplain to my said lord, and at that time treasurer and canon of Chimay and of Lille in Flanders, have enterprised this noble matter,[1] treating of the adventures and wars of France and England and other countries conjoined and allied to them, as it may appear clearly by the treaties thereof made unto the date of this present day; the which excellent matter, as long as I live, by the help of God I shall continue; for the more I follow and labour it, the more it pleaseth me. As the noble knight or squire loving the feats of arms do persevere in the same and be thereby expert and made perfect, so in labouring of this noble matter I delight and take pleasure.

[1] 'Me mets en la forge pour ouvrer à forger en la haute et noble matière,' 'enter into my smithy to work at the forging of this high and noble matter.' This is the preface to the fourth book of the Chronicles.

SUMMARY.— The question of peace between France and England was considered in the parliament held in England at Michaelmas, the duke of Lancaster being much in favour of peace, and a truce was taken till the next summer.

Sir Yvain of Foix was retained at the French king's court as a knight of his chamber.

CHAPTER CLXXXVIII [CXCII]

Of the adventure of a dance that was made at Paris in likeness of wodehouses, wherein the French king was in peril of death.

It fortuned that soon after the retaining of this foresaid knight a marriage was made in the king's house between a young knight of Vermandois and one of the queen's gentlewomen; and because they were both of the king's house, the king's uncles and other lords, ladies and damosels made great triumph. There was the dukes of Orleans, Berry and Burgoyne and their wives, dancing and making great joy. The king made a great supper to the lords and ladies, and the queen kept her estate, desiring every man to be merry. And there was a squire of Normandy called Hugonin of Guisay, he advised to make some pastime. The day of the marriage, which was on a Tuesday before Candlemas, he provided for a mummery against night: he devised six coats made of linen cloth covered with pitch and thereon flax like hair, and had them ready in a chamber: the king put on one of them, and the earl of Joigny, a young lusty knight, another, and sir Charles of Poitiers the third, who was son to the earl of Valentinois, and to sir Yvain of Foix another, and the son of the lord Nantouillet had on the fifth, and the squire himself had on the sixth: and when they were thus arrayed in these said coats and sewed fast in them, they seemed like wild wodehouses full of hair from the top of the head to the sole of

the foot. This devise pleased well the French king, and was well content with the squire for it. They were apparelled in these coats secretly in a chamber, that no man knew thereof but such as holp them. When sir Yvain of Foix had well advised these coats, he said to the king: 'Sir, command straitly that no man approach near us with any torches or fire; for if the fire fasten in any of these coats, we shall all be brent without remedy.' The king answered and said: 'Yvain, ye speak well and wisely: it shall be done as ye have devised': and incontinent sent for an usher of his chamber, commanding him to go into the chamber where the ladies danced and to command all the varlets holding torches to stand up by the walls, and none of them to approach near to the wodehouses that should come thither to dance. The usher did the king's commandment, which was fulfilled. Soon after the duke of Orleans entered into the hall, accompanied with four knights and six torches, and knew nothing of the king's commandment for the torches nor of the mummery that was coming thither, but thought to behold the dancing and began himself to dance. Therewith the king with the five other came in: they were so disguised in flax, that no man knew them: five of them were fastened one to another; the king was loose and went before and led the device.

When they entered into the hall, every man took so great heed to them that they forgat the torches. The king departed from his company and went to the ladies to sport with them, as youth required, and so passed by the queen and came to the duchess of Berry, who took and held him by the arm to know what he was, but the king would not shew his name. Then the duchess said: 'Ye shall not escape me till I know your name.' In this mean season great mischief fell on the other, and by reason of the duke of Orleans; howbeit, it was by ignorance and against his will, for if he had considered before the mischief that fell, he would not have done as he did for all the good in the world: but he was so desirous to know what personages the five were that danced, he put one of the torches that his servants held so near, that the heat of the fire entered into the flax (wherein if fire take there is no remedy) and suddenly was on a bright flame, and so each of them set fire on other. The pitch was so fastened to the linen cloth, and their shirts so dry and fine and so joining to their flesh, that they began to bren and to cry for help. None durst come near them; they that did, brent their hands by reason of the heat of the pitch. One of them, called Nantouillet, advised him how the buttery was thereby: he fled thither and cast himself into a vessel full of water, wherein they rinsed pots, which saved him, or else he had been dead as the other were, yet he was sore hurt with the fire.

When the queen heard the cry that they made, she doubted her of the king, for she knew well that he should be one of the six, wherewith she fell in a swoon, and knights and ladies came and comforted her. A piteous noise there was in the hall. The duchess of Berry delivered the king from that peril, for she did cast over him the train of her gown and covered him from the fire. The king would have gone from her. 'Whither will ye go?' quoth she. 'Ye see well how your company brens. What are ye?' 'I am the king,' quoth he. 'Haste you,' quoth she, 'and get you into other apparel, that the queen may see you, for she is in great fear of you.' Therewith the king departed out of the hall and in all haste changed his apparel and came to the queen; and the duchess of Berry had somewhat comforted her and had shewed her how she should see the king shortly: therewith the king came to the queen, and as soon as she saw him, for joy she embraced him and fell in a swoon: then she was borne into her chamber and the king went with her. And the bastard of Foix, who was all on a fire, cried ever with a loud voice: 'Save the king, save the king!' Thus was the king saved: it was happy for him that he went from his company, for else he had been dead without remedy.

This great mischief fell thus about midnight in the hall of Saint-Pol in Paris, where there was two brent to death in the place, and other two, the bastard of Foix and the earl of Joigny, borne to their lodgings and died within two days after in great misery and pain. Thus the feast of this marriage brake up in heaviness; howbeit,

there was no remedy: the fault was only in the duke of Orleans, and yet he thought none evil when he put down the torch. Then the duke said: 'Sirs, let every man know there is no man to blame for this cause, but all only myself: I am sorry thereof: if I had thought as much before, it should not have happened.' Then the duke of Orleans went to the king to excuse him, and the king took his excuse. This case fell in the year of our Lord God a thousand three hundred fourscore and twelve, the Tuesday before the feast of Candlemas; of which fortune great bruit spread abroad in the realm of France and in other countries. The dukes of Burgoyne and of Berry were not there present at that season: they had taken their leave before of the king and were gone to their lodgings.

The next day these news spread abroad in the city, and every man had marvel thereof; and some said how God had sent that token for an ensample, and that it was wisdom for the king to regard it and to withdraw himself from such young idle wantonness, which he had used overmuch, being a king. The commons of the city of Paris murmured and said: 'Behold the great mishap and mischief that was likely to have fallen on the king: he might as well have been brent, as other were. What should have fallen then of the king's uncles and of his brother? They might have been sure none of them should have scaped the death; yea, and all the knights that might have been found in Paris.'

As soon as the dukes of Berry and of Burgoyne heard of that adventure, they were abashed and marvelled greatly. They leapt on their horses and rode to the king and comforted and counselled him; which was necessary, for he was sore troubled, and the peril that he was in was still in his imagination. He shewed his uncles how his aunt of Berry had saved him; but he said he was very sorry for the death of the earl of Joigny, of sir Yvain of Foix and of sir Charles of Poitiers. His uncles recomforted him and said: 'Sir, that is lost cannot be recovered: ye must forget the death of them and thank God of the fair adventure that is fallen to your own person; for all the realm of France by this incident might have been in great danger of losing: for ye may think well that these people of Paris will never be still; for God knoweth, if the misfortune had fallen on you, they would have slain us all. Therefore, sir, apparel you in estate royal and leap on your horse and ride to Our Lady[1] in pilgrimage, and we shall accompany you, and shew yourself to the people, for they desire sore to see you.' The king said he would do so. Then the king's uncles took apart the duke of Orleans and in courteous manner somewhat blamed him of his young deed that he had done. He answered and said how he thought to have done none evil. Then anon after the king and his company leapt on their horses and rode through the city to appease the people, and came to Our Lady church and there heard mass and offered, and then returned again to the house of Saint-Pol; and little by little this matter was forgotten, and the obsequies done for the dead bodies.

Ah, earl Gaston of Foix, if this had fortuned in thy life days, thou shouldest have had great displeasure and it had been hard to have peased thee, for thou lovedst him entirely. All lords and ladies through the realm of France and elsewhere, that heard of this chance, had great marvel thereof.

CHAPTERS CLXXXIX, CXC [CXCIII, CXCIV]

SUMMARY. — The pope at Rome said that this adventure was a warning sent to the king because he supported the pope at Avignon, and despatched a friar as legate to the king.

The dukes of Berry and Burgundy continued to proceed against the former counsellors of the king, and appointed Philip d'Artois, earl of Eu, to be constable of France, who also married the lady Mary, daughter of the duke of Berry.

In the mean time Oliver de Clisson carried on war with the duke of Brittany.

CHAPTER CXCI [CXCV]

SUMMARY.—The dukes of Berry and Burgundy met the dukes of Lancaster and

[1] That is, to the church of Notre-Dame.

Gloucester, and at length peace was made between France and England.

The king fell ill again of his former malady.

CHAPTER CXCII [CXCVI]

Of the death of pope Clement at Avignon, and of the election of pope Benedict.

IN that time in the month of September passed out of the world at Avignon Robert of Geneva, named pope Clement; and it came by him as he had always said before, when any man spake of the peace and union of the Church, he would say always how he would die pope; and so he did, in manner as ye have heard herebefore, wrongfully or rightfully I will not determine. Then the cardinals there were sore abashed, and studied whom they might choose to be pope. The same time the French king returned again to his health, whereof all such as loved him had great joy, and specially the good queen, who had given much alms and done many pilgrimages for the king and caused general processions to be made in Paris. As I was informed, the cardinals at Avignon did elect and choose to be pope the cardinal de Luna. To speak truly, this cardinal was an holy man and of good life. This election was made conditionally that if the French king and his council were content therewith, or else not. Now regard and consider the great subjection that the Church was in, in that where the Church should be free, they submitted them to be under such as should have been ordered by them. Thus this cardinal de Luna was chosen pope and named Benedict: he gave general graces to all clerks that would come to Avignon, and by the counsel of his brethren the cardinals he wrote of the creation of his papality to the French king: but, as I was informed, the king took little regard thereto; for as then he was not determined whether he should take him for very pope or not, and thereupon the king sent for the greatest clerks of the university of Paris, to have their advice and counsel. Then master John of Quignicourt and master Pier Plaoul, who were in prudence and learning the greatest clerks in Paris, said to the king in the name of the whole university, how that the schism of the Church corrupted the Christian faith, and how that it might not long endure in that estate, without all Christendom should repent it and run in great danger, and specially the prelates and priests of the Church. They of the university were determined to send no rolls to Avignon, for any clerks to have any graces of this pope Benedict. The French king saw well their opinions were reasonable and would have none of his clerks enrolled to seek for the pope's graces, till the matter were better determined. Thus that matter abode still in that estate: howbeit the duke of Berry exalted greatly this pope Benedict and sent his roll, whereby much people were purveyed of graces of this Benedict. The duke of Burgoyne and the duchess dissimuled the matter with the king, and so did the duke of Orleans with many other great lords of France; and some for favour held them to this pope Benedict, who denied no man his graces to the intent that his court at Avignon should be full, and to have the more reputation. The duke of Bretayne followed the French king's opinion, for he was beforetime so abused by the information of his cousin the earl of Flanders, that his heart would never incline to believe on pope Clement, though the clerks of Bretayne believed and held him for pope. So when any promotion was void in France, the king promoted his clerks without giving any knowledge thereof to this pope Benedict, wherewith he and his cardinals at Avignon were sore abashed and doubted lest the French king would restrain such rents and profits as they were wont to have of the benefices given in the realm of France. Then they determined to send a legate into France, to speak with the king and his council, to know how he would order him against the Church, and to shew him how that he that is chosen pope is under this condition, that if he be pleased, then he to abide still as pope, or else they to put him out of his papality and the cardinals to enter again into conclave and choose one after the king's pleasure.

At this time was come to Paris and was about the king the friar minor, a meek man, who was sent into France by pope

Boniface of Rome: the French king heard gladly this friar's preaching. Then came into France the legate from Avignon, who was a great and a subtle clerk, and well languaged. Then the whole university counselled the king and said how it were well done that either Boniface or else Benedict to be put out of their papality, and all his cardinals to be put out of their cardinalities, and instead of them to be chosen good clerks, wise men and of good conscience, as well of Almaine and France as of other nations, and they to be set together by good deliberation and counsel, without favour or evil will, to set the Church thereby at one point with one pope. They said they saw well there was none other way to bring it to a good conclusion, because pride and envy so reigned in the world, that the princes and lords each held their own party. This proposition that the university had made before the king pleased right well the king and the dukes of Orleans and of Burgoyne, and the king said he would write and send messengers to the king of Almaine and of Boeme and of Hungary and to the king of England, and he thought himself sure enough of the kings of Castile, of Navarre, of Aragon, of Sicily, of Naples and of Scotland, that they would obey to such a pope as he and his realm obeyed unto: and upon this the French king sent his letters and messengers to these said kings. There was good leisure in doing of this, both in going and coming again with answer. And in the mean time there passed out of this world at Paris the noble clerk, master John of Quignicourt, of whose death the king and the lords and the whole university were right sorry, for he left not his fellow behind him, and he had in his days taken great pain to reform the Church and to have brought it into a perfect unity.

CHAPTERS CXCIII-CXCV [CXCVII-CXCIX]

SUMMARY.—Master John of Varennes resigned his rich benefices and retired to Saint-Lié near Rheims, where he led a holy life and was by some reputed a saint.

The king of England gave to the duke of Lancaster and his heirs the duchy of Aquitaine: he himself prepared for a voyage to Ireland.

At this season the queen of England, the lady Anne of Bohemia, fell sick and died. By this the voyage to Ireland was delayed, but at length the king and his army passed over, and lodged in and about the city of Dublin.

CHAPTER CXCVI [CC]

How sir John Froissart arrived in England, and of the gift of a book that he gave to the king.

TRUE it was that I, sir John Froissart, as at that time treasurer and canon of Chimay in the earldom of Hainault, in the diocese of Liege, had great affection to go and see the realm of England, when I had been in Abbeville and saw that truce was taken between the realms of England and France and other countries to them conjoined and their adherents, to endure four years by sea and by land. Many reasons moved me to make that voyage: one was because in my youth I had been brought up in the court of the noble king Edward the third and of queen Philippa his wife, and among their children and other barons of England that as then were alive, in whom I found all nobleness, honour, largess and courtesy. Therefore I desired to see the country, thinking thereby I should live much the longer; for I had not been there twenty-seven year before, and I thought, though I saw not those lords that I left alive there, yet at the least I should see their heirs, the which should do me much good to see, and also to justify the histories and matters that I had written of them: and or I took my journey, I spake with duke Aubert of Bavier and with the earl of Hainault,[1] Holland, Zealand and lord of Frise, and with my lord William earl of Ostrevant, and with my right honourable lady Jane, duchess of Brabant and of Luxembourg, and with the lord Enguerrand, lord Coucy, and with the gentle knight the lord of Gommegnies, who in his youth and mine had been together in England in the king's

[1] Is it possible that the translator was not yet aware that duke Aubert of Bavaria was the earl of Hainault, Holland, etc.? If not, the original text here ought to have informed him.

court: in like wise so had I seen there the lord of Coucy and divers other nobles of France holding great households in London,[1] when they lay there in hostage for the redemption of king John, as then French king, as it hath been shewed herebefore in this history. These said lords and the duchess of Brabant counselled me to take this journey, and gave me letters of recommendation to the king of England and to his uncles, saving the lord Coucy: he would not write to the king, because he was a Frenchman, therefore he durst not, but to his daughter, who as then was called duchess of Ireland. And I had engrossed in a fair book well enlumined all the matters of amours and moralities that in four and twenty years before I had made and compiled, which greatly quickened my desire to go into England to see king Richard, who was son to the noble prince of Wales and of Acquitaine, for I had not seen this king Richard sith he was christened in the cathedral church of Bordeaux, at which time I was there and thought to have gone with the prince the journey into Galicia in Spain, and when we were in the city of Dax, the prince sent me back into England to the queen his mother.

For these causes and other I had great desire to go into England to see the king and his uncles. Also I had this said fair book well covered with velvet garnished with clasps of silver and gilt, thereof to make a present to the king at my first coming to his presence. I had such desire to go this voyage, that the pain and travail grieved me nothing. Thus provided of horses and other necessaries, I passed the sea at Calais and came to Dover the twelfth day of the month of July. When I came there, I found no man of my knowledge, it was so long sith I had been in England, and the houses were all newly changed, and young children were become men, and the women knew me not, nor I them.[2] So I abode half a day and all a night at Dover: it was on a Tuesday, and the next day by nine of the clock I came to Canterbury to Saint Thomas' shrine and to the tomb of the noble prince of Wales, who is there interred right richly. There I heard mass and made mine offering to the holy saint, and then dined at my lodging, and there I was informed how king Richard should be there the next day on pilgrimage, which was after his return out of Ireland, where he had been the space of nine months or thereabout. The king had a devotion to visit Saint Thomas' shrine, and also because the prince his father was there buried. Then I thought to abide the king there, and so I did; and the next day the king came thither with a noble company of lords, ladies and damosels: and when I was among them, they seemed to me all new folks, I knew no person; the time was sore changed in twenty-eight year, and with the king as then was none of his uncles. The duke of Lancaster was in Acquitaine, and the dukes of York and Gloucester were in other businesses, so that I was at the first all abashed, for if I had seen any ancient knight that had been with king Edward or with the prince, I had been well recomforted and would have gone to him, but I could see none such. Then I demanded for a knight called sir Richard Stury, whether he were alive or not, and it was shewed me, yes, but he was at London. Then I thought to go to the lord Thomas Percy, great seneschal of England, who was there with the king; so I acquainted me with him and I found him right honourable and gracious, and he offered to present me and my letters to the king, whereof I was right joyful, for it behoved me to have some means to bring me to the presence of such a prince as the king of England was. He went to the king's chamber, at which time the king was gone to sleep, and so he shewed me and bade me return to my lodging and come again, and so I did. And when I came to the bishop's palace, I found the lord Thomas Percy ready to ride to Ospringe, and he counselled me to make as then no knowledge of my being there, but to follow the court, and said he would cause me ever to be well lodged till the king should be at the fair castle of Leeds in Kent. I ordered me after his counsel and rode before to Ospringe, and by adventure I was lodged

[1] 'Qui à Londres avoient tenu hostagerie,' 'who had been hostages in London.' The words 'when they lay there in hostage' are inserted by the translator to supply the place of the above, which he misunderstood.

[2] 'And the young children were become men and women, who knew me not, nor I them.'

in an house where was lodged a gentle knight of England called sir William Lisle. He was tarried there behind the king, because he had pain in his head all the night before: he was one of the king's privy chamber, and when he saw that I was a stranger and, as he thought, of the marches of France, because of my language, we fell in acquaintance together; for gentlemen of England are courteous, treatable and glad of acquaintance. Then he demanded what I was and what business I had to do in those parts: I shewed him a great part of my coming thither and all that the lord Thomas Percy had said to me and ordered me to do. He then answered and said how I could not have a better mean, and that on the Friday the king should be at the castle of Leeds; and he shewed me that when I came there, I should find there the duke of York, the king's uncle, whereof I was right glad, because I had letters directed to him, and also that in his youth he had seen me in the court of the noble king Edward his father and with the queen his mother.

Then on the Friday in the morning sir William Lisle and I rode together, and on the way I demanded of him if he had been with the king in the voyage into Ireland. He answered me, yes. Then I demanded of him the manner of the hole that is in Ireland, called Saint Patrick's purgatory, if it were true that was said of it or not. Then he said that of a surety such a hole there was, and that he himself and another knight of England had been there, while the king lay at Dublin, and said how they entered into the hole and were closed in at the sun going down and abode there all night, and the next morning issued out again at the sun-rising. Then I demanded if he had any such strange sights or visions as were spoken of. Then he said how that when he and his fellow were entered and past the gate that was called the purgatory of Saint Patrick, and that they were descended and gone down three or four paces, descending down as into a cellar, a certain hot vapour rose against them and strake so into their heads, that they were fain to sit down on the stairs, which are of stone. And after they had sat there a season, they had great desire to sleep, and so fell asleep and slept there all night. Then I demanded that if in their sleep they knew where they were, or what visions they had. He answered me that in sleeping they entered into great imaginations and in marvellous dreams, otherwise than they were wont to have in their chambers, and in the morning they issued out and within a short season clean forgat their dreams and visions; wherefore he said he thought all that matter was but a fantasy. Then I left speaking any further of that matter, because I would fain have known of him what was done in the voyage in Ireland, and I thought as then to have demanded what the king had done in that journey; but then company of other knights came and fell in communication with him, so that I left my purpose for that time.

Thus we rode to Leeds, and thither came the king and all his company, and there I found the lord Edmund duke of York. Then I went to him and delivered my letters from the earl of Hainault his cousin and from the earl of Ostrevant. The duke knew me well and made me good cheer and said: 'Sir John, hold you always near to us and we shall shew you love and courtesy: we are bound thereto for the love of time past and for love of my lady the old queen my mother, in whose court ye were, we have good remembrance thereof.' Then I thanked him, as reason required; so I was advanced by reason of him and sir Thomas Percy and sir William Lisle; by their means I was brought into the king's chamber, and into his presence by means of his uncle the duke of York. Then I delivered my letters to the king, and he took and read them at good leisure. Then he said to me that I was welcome, as he that had been and is of the English court. As on that day I shewed not the king the book that I had brought for him; he was so sore occupied with great affairs, that I had as then no leisure to present my book. The king was sore busied there in council for two great and mighty matters: first was in determining to send sufficient messengers, as the earl of Rutland, his cousin-german, and the earl marshal,[1] the archbishop of Dublin, the bishop of Ely, the lord Louis Clifford, the lord Henry

[1] Thomas Mowbray, earl of Nottingham, afterwards (1397) duke of Norfolk.

Beaumont, the lord Hugh Spencer and many other, over the sea to Charles the French king to treat with him for a marriage to be had between the king of England and the French king's eldest daughter, named Isabel, of the age of eight years. The second cause was, the lord de la Barthe, the lord of Terride, the lord of Puycornet, the lord of Castelnau, the lord of Lesque, the lord of Caupene, and the councillors of Bordeaux, Bayonne and of Dax were come into England and had quickly pursued their matter sith the king's return out of Ireland, to have an answer of the requests and process that they had put forth to the king on the gift that the king had given to his uncle the duke of Lancaster of the lands, seignories, lordships and baronies in Acquitaine, which they verified to pertain to the king and realm of England. They had alleged to the king and his council that his gift might not pass so, because it was unprofitable and inutile: for they said all those lands held of right and of the demain of the crown of England; wherefore they said they would not disjoin nor dissever them from the crown. They alleged furthermore many other reasonable causes, as ye shall hear after in this process: but thus to have counsel of those two great matters, the king had sent for the most part of the prelates and lords of England to be at the feast of Maudlintide at a manor of the king's called Eltham, a seven English miles from London. And when they had tarried at Leeds a four days, the king returned to Rochester and so to Eltham, and so I rode forth in the king's company.

CHAPTER CXCVII [CCI]

SUMMARY. — In riding to Eltham, Froissart was informed by sir John de Grailly of the state of things in Acquitaine, and how the people there refused to accept the duke of Lancaster as their sovereign lord. Also of the king's proposed marriage.

THE chapter thus continues:—

Thus this gentle knight sir John of Grailly and I devised together, as we rode between Rochester and Dartford. This knight was captain of Bouteville, bastard son sometime to the captal of Buch, and I heard his words gladly and did put them in memory; and all the way between Leeds and Eltham I rode most part in his company and with sir William Lisle. Thus the king came to Eltham on a Tuesday, and on the Wednesday the lords of all coasts began to assemble. Thither came the duke of Gloucester and the earls of Derby, Arundel, Northumberland, Kent, Rutland, and the earl marshal and the archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the bishops of London and Winchester. And on the Thursday about the hour of three they assembled together in the king's chamber in the king's presence. Then the knights of Gascoyne were sent for and the councillors of the good towns, and also the duke of Lancaster's counsel was sent for. I was not present, nor might not be suffered: there were none but the lords of the council, who debated the matter more than four hours. And after dinner I fell in acquaintance with an ancient knight, whom I knew in king Edward's days, and he was as then of king Richard's privy council; he was called sir Richard Stury. He knew me anon, and yet in twenty-four years he had not seen me before, which was at Codenberg and at Brussels[1] in the house of duke Wenceslas of Brabant and of the duchess Jane of Brabant. This knight sir Richard Stury made me good cheer and demanded of me many things, and I answered him as I knew; and as I walked up and down with him in a gallery before the king's chamber, I demanded him questions of that council and desired him to tell me, if he might, what conclusion was taken. He heard me well and paused a little, and afterward said: 'Sir John, I shall shew you, for it is no matter to be hidden and kept secret; for shortly ye shall hear them published all openly. Ye know well,' quoth he, 'and I am sure ye have heard rehearsed how the duke of Lancaster is gone into Acquitaine to rejoice the gift[2] that the king my sovereign lord hath given him for the love that he hath to him; for he hath done the king right good service and the crown of England, therefore in reward the king hath

[1] 'At Codenberg in Brussels,' the palace of the duke of Brabant.

[2] 'Is gone into Acquitaine, and of the gift,' etc.

clearly given to him and to his heirs for ever the whole duchy of Acquitaine, so as it extendeth in metes and limitations, seneschallies, bailiages, seignories and vassalages, and clean quitteth all them that hold of him by faith or oath and in all homage, the resort reserved;[1] more the king hath [not] reserved to the crown of England in time to come: and this gift is so sufficiently confirmed, that all the king's other uncles and all the council of England hath accorded thereto, and the king hath given special commandment to all his subjects in the said limitations of Acquitaine to obey in all points without any other mean his dear and well beloved uncle duke John of Lancaster, and after the sight of his letters to hold and to take him to their sovereign lord and to swear to him faith and homage and to hold of him truly, as they have anciently done and held at the date of those letters given by the king of England or his deputies or commissioners, and whosoever that rebelleth or speaketh against this the king's grant, of what condition soever he be, to answer thereto within three days. The king gave to his uncle of Lancaster and to his commissioners full power and puissance to correct them and to put them out of all hope to have any other return or resort; yet notwithstanding all these letters and strait commandment of the king, the good towns and cities of Gascoyne under the king of England's obeisance and all other lords, knights and gentlemen of the country are conjoined together to keep their towns close against the duke,[2] and will not nor are not in mind to obey the duke in this case: for they say and have said and yet sustain at this hour that the gift that the king hath given to his uncle of Lancaster is not sufficient nor profitable,[3] and out of the order of reason; and the duke, who would not win them but by gentleness, heard patiently their defences. And that no further inconveniences should ensue, therefore his counsel and their counsels are come hither to debate and to declare the cause why they do not obey the king's commandment. And surely as this day they have right wisely shewed their answer and laid forth certain articles of reason, and they have been well heard: and they have laid such reasons that in a manner the king and his council think they have cause to abide by their quarrel. I shall shew you how, but I would ye keep it secret till it be known further abroad.' And I answered I would so do.

'Well,' quoth the knight, 'one (as methought was official of Bordeaux) spake for all his party, and first shewed forth his procuration and authority to the intent he might the better [be] believed, and then began and said that the city of Bordeaux and the cities of Bayonne and Dax, and all the seignories and lordships that be appendant to the limits of the said countries and cities, are of so noble condition, that no king of England by no manner of action or deed may put away or dissever them from the demains of the crown of England, nor to give or alienate them to child, uncle nor brother by reason of marriage or otherwise: "and to verify this we say that the above named towns, cities and seignories are sufficiently privileged by kings of England, who have sworn faithfully to hold and to keep us so without revocation; for as soon as any king of England entereth into the possession of the heritage of the crown of England, he sweareth sufficiently on the Evangelists to hold this firm and stable without breaking: and ye, right dear sir, as king of England, have made like oath. And, sir, to verify this to be of truth, behold here these writings." And therewith he shewed forth letters and charters under the signs of notaries imperials[1] and sealed with the great seal of England, given by the same king Richard there being present; and there openly he read it from clause to clause. The charter was well heard and understanded, for it was both in Latin and in French; and it named in the end many witnesses of prelates and great lords of England, who were for the more surety tests of that deed, at the least to the number of eleven. When the king's council heard this, they beheld each other and looked on the king: there was no man spake a word nor made no

[1] That is, the right of appeal to the crown of England reserved.

[2] 'Have joined and formed an alliance together against the duke' ('se sont conjoints et adhers ensemble et clos,' etc.). The translator mistook the meaning of 'clos.'

[3] 'Inutille'; that is, 'null and void.'

[1] 'Tabellionnées,' 'drawn up in form.'

replication. When he had read it over, he folded it and put it up and spake further, addressing his words to the king, and said: "Right dear sir and redoubted sovereign lord, and you my right dear lords and other, at my departing out of the country I was charged to shew you by the councillors of the good cities and towns of Gascoyne, being under the obeisance of the crown of England, who hath well overseen the form and manner of your commandment sent unto them under your seal, which they knew right well, yet they think and say that this commandment may not be obeyed;[1] for if so were that the cities and good towns of Guyenne would incline to receive the duke of Lancaster to their lord and acquit for ever the homage and obeisance that they owe to you, it should be greatly to the prejudice of the crown of England: for though it were so, that at this time present the duke of Lancaster is the king's uncle and subject and well beloved, and would hold and keep all points and articles belonging to the crown of England, yet it may so hap that such love and tenure may lightly be lost by change of heirs by reason of marriages that are made between lords and ladies in changing from one to another,[2] though they be near of lineage, by dispensation of the pope. For sometime it is of necessity that marriages be made of high princes or of their children one with another, to hold their lands and seignories in love and amity; and so it might fall that such heirs as might descend of the duke of Lancaster should conjoin them by marriage to the children of some king in France, or of dukes of Berry, Bretayne, or earls of Foix or Armagnac, or kings of Navarre, or dukes of Anjou or of Maine; and then they, being beyond the sea peradventure in the parts of France, should claim their inheritance and thereby put the country of Guyenne in discord and to bring it to be against the crown of England; whereby the king of England then reigning and the realm also should have peradventure overmuch pain to recover it again, and so the right to be put far off from thence, whereunto it should return and be, as of the demain of the crown of England. Wherefore, right dear sir and redoubted lords and noble councillors, please it you to consider all these points and articles which I have proposed in your presence, and determine it as ye shall seem best; for, sir, the full opinion of all the country is, they say they will abide still in the obeisance of you, right redoubted lord and king, and in the demain of the noble crown of England."

'Therewith this official held his peace, and the prelates and lords each of them regarded other. Then they drew together and approached to the king, first his two uncles and the earls of Derby and Arundel. Then they of Acquitaine were commanded to depart till they were called again: they departed, and also the two knights that were come thither from the duke of Lancaster. Then the king demanded counsel what should be done and what answer should be made. The prelates turned the answer to the king's uncles, because the matter touched them rather than any other. At the first they excused them, saying they might not well answer, for the matter was common and ought to be debated by common counsel and not by lineage nor favour. Thus they bode a good space, but finally the answer was laid on the duke of Gloucester and he was prayed and required to say his advice. Then he answered and said how it was a hard thing to take away or to disannul the gift of a king, confirmed and sealed by the accord of all his subjects and by deliberation of his special council; wherefore, he said, his subjects should be rebel that would not obey,[1] for in that they would make that the king should not be lord of his own inheritance, if that he might not do with his own what it pleased him. Some glosed those words, and some thought in their courage that the answer was not reasonable, but they durst not say against it, the duke of Gloucester was so sore dread; and the earl of Derby, son to the duke of

[1] This is partly corrupt and partly mistranslated: the speaker said in effect: 'I was charged also to shew you another consideration, which the councillors of the good towns have had on the form of your mandate, granting that this thing may be, which cannot be; and the consideration is this: that if,' etc. But the French text gave 'posé qu'il soit et qu'il ne peut estre,' for 'posé qu'il soit ce qu'il ne peut estre.'

[2] 'Between lords and ladies one with another.'

[1] We ought to read, 'although his subjects should rebel against it,' but the translator was puzzled by finding 'que' instead of 'quoyque.'

Lancaster, was there present, who furthered those words and said: "Fair uncle, ye have well said: I am of your opinion." Therewith the council began to break, and some murmured one with another, and they of Guyenne nor yet the duke of Lancaster's knights were not called again at that time. When the king saw all the matter, he dissimuled a little, and it was his intention that they should assemble together again in council after dinner, to see if any other proper way might be taken for the honour of the crown of England. Then the king caused the bishop of Canterbury to speak of that he had given him in charge in the morning to speak of; that was upon the state of his marriage, and to send into France. The lords were of accord and named them that should go, which were the archbishop of Dublin, the earl of Rutland, the earl marshal, the lord Beaumont, the lord Hugh Spenser, the lord Louis Clifford and twenty knights and forty squires.'

These were sent into France to treat for the marriage of the French king's daughter Isabel of eight year of age, and yet she was already promised to the duke of Bretayne's son by a treaty that was made in Tours in Touraine. Now behold how this might be broken, for the French king and his uncles had sealed[1] with the duke of Bretayne. Yet for all that the English ambassadors had their charge given unto them, and so they departed out of England and arrived at Calais, and there tarried a five days and then departed in great array and took the way to Amiens; and they sent before March the herald, who had brought to them safe-conduct going and coming, and beside that the lord Montcavrel was set to be their guide and to see them served of all things necessary.

Now we shall leave to speak of them and return to our first purpose.

Now, as I have shewed you before, the councillors of the cities and good towns of Acquitaine prayed the king and his council, to whom they were bound, to maintain their liberties and franchises as in the demain of the crown of England, as he was sworn to do, affirming that surely they would keep their ancient liberties and will not break it for no manner of cause or condition: and in holding thus their opinion four parts of the council and the common voice of the country reputed them for valiant and worthy men. But the duke of Gloucester was of another opinion; for he would that his brother the duke of Lancaster should have bidden still in Acquitaine, for he thought he was over great in England and too near the king. As for his brother the duke of York, he cared not, for the duke of York was a prince that loved his ease and little business: also he had a fair lady to his wife, daughter to the earl of Kent, on whom was all his pleasure. But the duke of Gloucester was subtle and ever demanded somewhat of his nephew king Richard; yet he was but poor, for all that he was a great lord and constable of England and earl of Hereford and of Exeter and of Buckingham, and also he had yearly out of the king's coffers four thousand nobles, and never rode on the king's business nor for the realm one day, without he knew why and wherefore. For these causes he was not indifferent for the matters of Acquitaine, for he would have had his brother of Lancaster to have bidden still in Acquitaine for ever, for then he thought he would have shifted well enough in England. As soon as he had said his sentence, as ye have heard before, and that he saw some murmured in the king's chamber, and that the prelates and lords talked together two and two, he issued out of the chamber, and the earl of Derby with him, and came into the hall at Eltham and made a cloth to be laid on a table, and so sat down to dinner and left all other still talking together. When the duke of York knew that he was at dinner, he went to keep him company, and after dinner, which he made short, the duke of Gloucester dissimuled the matter and took his leave of the king sitting at the table, and so departed and took his horse and rode to London; and the earl of Derby abode still with the lords that day and the next day. Thus they of Acquitaine could have none expedition nor deliverance.

I have delight to write this matter at length because to inform you of the truth: for I, that am author of this history, was present in all these matters, and this valiant

[1] 'Consider how this may be broken, for the French king and his uncles have sealed,' etc. He is speaking of the matter as not yet concluded, though the embassy has been sent into France.

knight sir Richard Stury shewed me everything.[1] And so it was, that on the Sunday following all such as had been there were departed, and all these councillors, except the duke of York, who abode still about the king; and the lord Thomes Percy and sir Richard Stury shewed my business to the king.[2] Then the king desired to see my book that I had brought for him; so he saw it in his chamber, for I had laid it there ready on his bed. When the king opened it, it pleased him well, for it was fair enlumined and written, and covered with crimson velvet, with ten buttons of silver and gilt, and roses of gold in the midst, with two great clasps gilt, richly wrought. Then the king demanded me whereof it treated, and I shewed him how it treated matters of love; whereof the king was glad and looked in it and read it in many places, for he could speak and read French very well. And he took it to[3] a knight of his chamber named sir Richard Credon, to bear it into his secret chamber. And the same Sunday I fell in acquaintance with a squire of England called Henry Christead,[4] an honest man and a wise, and could well speak French. He companied with me, because he saw the king and other lords make me good cheer, and also he had seen the book that I gave to the king; also sir Richard Stury had shewed him how I was a maker of histories. Then he said to me as hereafter followeth.

CHAPTER CXCVIII [CCII]

The device and of the conquest[5] that king Richard had made in Ireland, and how he brought into his obeisance four kings of that country.

'SIR JOHN,' quoth he, 'have ye not found in the king's court sith ye came hither no man that hath told you of the voyage that the king made but late into Ireland, and in what manner the four kings of Ireland are come into the obeisance of the king of England?' And I answered, 'No.' 'Then shall I shew you,' quoth the squire, 'to the intent that ye may put it in perpetual memory, when ye return into your own country and have leisure thereto.' I was rejoiced of his words and thanked him: then he began thus and said: 'Sir John, it is not in memory that either any king of England made such apparel and provision for any journey to make war against the Irishmen, nor such a number of men of arms nor archers. The king was nine months in the marches of Ireland to his great cost and charge to the realm, for they bare all his expenses; and the merchants, cities and good towns of the realm thought it well bestowed, when they saw the king return home again with honour. The number that he had thither, gentlemen and archers, were four thousand knights and thirty thousand archers, well paid weekly, that every man was well pleased. But I shew you, because ye should know the truth, Ireland is one of the evil countries of the world to make war upon or to bring under subjection, for it is closed strongly and widely with high forests and great waters and marishes and places inhabitable: it is hard to enter to do them of the country any damage, nor ye shall find no town nor person to speak withal; for the men draw to the woods and dwell in caves and small cottages under trees and among bushes and hedges like wild savage beasts, and when they know that any man maketh war against them and is entered into their countries, then they draw together to the straits and passages and defend it, so that no man can enter into them, and when they see their time, they will soon take their advantage on their enemies, for they know the country and are light people: for a man of arms being never so well horsed and run as fast as he can, the Irishmen will run afoot as fast as he and overtake him, yea, and leap up upon his horse behind him and draw him from his horse; for they are strong men in the arms and have sharp weapons with large blades with two edges after the manner of dart heads, wherewith they will slay their enemy; and

[1] In the fuller text we read also: 'while walking in the galleries at Eltham, where it was very pleasant and shady, for those galleries (*or* alleys) were then covered with vines.'

[2] 'Except the duke of York, who abode with the king, and sir Richard Stury; and these two with sir Thomas Percy shewed my business to the king.'

[3] 'He caused it to be taken by.'

[4] Perhaps the name was Chrystead or Chrystal. The French text here has 'Castide,' but afterwards 'Christall.' Another reading is Cristède.

[5] 'La devise du voyage,' 'the account of the voyage.'

they repute not a man dead till they have cut his throat and open his belly and taken out his heart and carry it away with them. Some say, such as know their nature, that they do eat it and have great delight therein. They take no man to ransom, and when they see at any encounter that they be overmatched, then they will depart asunder and go and hide themselves in bushes, woods, hedges and caves, so that no man shall find them. Also sir William of Windsor, who hath most used the wars in those parts of any other Englishman, yet he could never learn the manner of the country nor know their conditions. They be hard people and of rude engine and wit and of divers frequentations and usage: they set nothing by jollity nor fresh apparel, nor by nobleness; for though their realm be sovereignly governed by kings, whereof they have plenty, yet they will take no knowledge of gentleness, but will continue in their rudeness, according as they are brought up. Truth it is that four of the principal kings and most puissant after the manner of the country are come to the obeisance of the king of England by love and fairness, and not by battle nor constraint. The earl of Ormond, who marcheth upon them, hath taken great pain and hath so treated with them that they came to Dublin to the king and submitted them to him, to be under the obeisance of the crown of England; wherefore the king and all the realm reputeth this for a great and honourable deed and thinketh this voyage well bestowed, for king Edward of good memory did never so much upon them as king Richard did in this voyage: the honour is great, but the profit is but little, for though they be kings, yet no man can devise nor speak of ruder personages.

'I shall shew you somewhat of their rudeness to the intent it may be ensample again people of other nations.[1] I know it well, for I have proved it by themselves: for when they were at Dublin, I had the governance of them about a month by the king's commandment and his council, to the intent that I should learn them to use themselves according to the usage of England, and because I could speak their language as well as French or English, for in my youth I was brought up among them. I was with the earl of Ormond, father to the earl that now is, who loved me right well, because I could as then ride and handle an horse meetly well; and it fortuned one time that the said earl, who as then was my master, was sent with three hundred spears and a thousand archers into the marches of Ireland to make war with the Irishmen, for always the Englishmen have had war with them, to subdue and put them under. And on a day, as the said earl went against them, I rode on a goodly horse of his, light and swift: thus I rode and followed my master, and the same day the Irishmen were laid in a bushment, and when we came near them they opened their bushment; then the English archers began to shoot so eagerly that the Irishmen could not suffer it, for they are but simply armed, therefore they reculed and went back. Then the earl my master followed in the chase, and I that was well horsed followed him as near as I could; and it fortuned so that my horse was affrayed and took his bridle in his teeth and ran away with me, and whether I would or not, he bare me so far forth among the Irishmen, that one of them by lightness of running leapt up behind me and embraced me in his arms, and did me none other hurt, but so led me out of the way and so rode still behind me the space of two hours, and at the last brought me into a secret place, thick of bushes, and there he found his company, who were come thither and scaped all dangers, for the Englishmen pursued not so far. Then, as he shewed me, he had great joy of me and led me into a town and a strong house among the woods, waters and mires. The town was called Herpelepin,[1] and the gentleman that took me was called Brien Costerec: he was a goodly man, and, as it hath been shewed me, he is as yet alive; howbeit, he is very aged. This Brien Costerec kept me seven year with him and gave me his daughter in marriage, of whom I had two daughters. I shall shew you how I was delivered.

'It happened at the seven years' end one of their kings, named Arthur Mackemur, king of Leinster, made an army against

[1] That is, 'that you may be able to compare their manners with those of other nations.'

[1] This has been supposed to be Elphin, but the geography is far from exact.

duke Lyon of Clarence, son to king Edward of England, and against sir William of Windsor, and not far from the city of Leinster[1] the Englishmen and Irishmen met together, and many were slain and taken on both parties, but the Englishmen obtained the victory and the Irishmen fled, and the king Arthur saved himself; but Brien Costerec, my wife's father, was taken prisoner under the duke of Clarence' banner. He was taken on the same courser that he took me on, the horse was well known among the earl of Ormond's folks; and then he shewed how I was alive and was at his manor of Herpelepin, and how I had wedded his daughter, whereof the duke of Clarence, sir William Windsor and the Englishmen were right glad. Then it was shewed him that, if he would be delivered out of prison, that he should deliver me into the Englishmen's hands, and my wife and children. With great pain he made that bargain, for he loved me well and my wife his daughter and our children: when he saw he could make his finance none otherwise, he accorded thereto, but he retained mine eldest daughter still with him. So I and my wife and our second daughter returned into England, and so I went and dwelt beside Bristow on the river of Severn. My two daughters are married, and she in Ireland hath three sons and two daughters, and she that I brought with me hath four sons and two daughters. And because the language of Irish is as ready to me as the English tongue, for I have always continued with my wife and taught my children the same speech, therefore the king my sovereign lord and his council commanded me to give attendance on these four kings and to govern and bring them to reason and to the usage and customs of England, seeing they had yielded them to be under his obeisance and of the crown of England, and they were sworn to hold it for ever. And yet I ensure you, for all that I did my power to ensign and to learn them good manner, yet for all that they be right rude and of gross engine. Much pain I had to make them to speak anything in fair manner: somewhat I altered them, but not much; for in many cases they drew to their natural rudeness. The king my sovereign lord's intent was, that in manner, countenance and apparel of clothing they should use according to the manner of England, for the king thought to make them all four knights. They had a fair house to lodge in in Dublin, and I was charged to abide still with them and not to depart, and so two or three days I suffered them to do as they list and said nothing to them, but followed their own appetites: they would sit at the table and make countenance nother good nor fair; then I thought I should cause them to change that manner. They would cause their minstrels, their servants and varlets to sit with them and to eat in their own dish and to drink of their cups, and they shewed me that the usage of their country was good, for they said in all things (except their beds) they were and lived as common. So the fourth day I ordained other tables to be covered in the hall after the usage of England, and I made these four kings to sit at the high table, and their minstrels at another board, and their servants and varlets at another beneath them, whereof by seeming they were displeased and beheld each other and would not eat, and said how I would take from them their good usage, wherein they had been nourished. Then I answered them, smiling to appease them, that it was not honourable for their estates to do as they did before and that they must leave it and use the custom of England, and that it was the king's pleasure they should so do, and how he was charged so to order them. When they heard that, they suffered it, because they had put themselves under the obeisance of the king of England, and persevered in the same as long as I was with them. Yet they had one use, which I knew well was used in their country, and that was they did wear no breeches. I caused breeches of linen cloth to be made for them. While I was with them, I caused them to leave many rude things, as well in clothing as in other causes. Much ado I had at the first to cause them to wear gowns of silk furred with minever and gray, for before these kings thought themselves well apparelled when they had on a mantle. They rode always without saddles and stirrups, and with great pain I made them to ride after our usage. And on a time I demanded them of their belief, wherewith

[1] Or by another reading, 'Dulnestre.'

they were not content and said how they believed on God and on the Trinity, as well as we. Then I demanded on what pope was their affection. They answered me, on him of Rome. Then I demanded if they would not gladly receive the order of knighthood, and that the king of England should make them knights according to the usage of France and England and other countries. They answered how they were knights already and that sufficed for them. I asked where they were made knights, and how, and when. They answered that in the age of seven year they were made knights in Ireland, and that a king maketh his son a knight, and if the son have no father alive, then the next of his blood may make him knight; and then this young knight shall begin to joust with small spears, such as they may bear with their ease, and run against a shield set on a stake in the field, and the more spears that he breaketh, the more he shall be honoured. I knew their manner well enough, though I did demand it. But then I said that the knighthood that they had taken in their youth sufficed not to the king of England, but I said he should give them after another manner. They demanded how. I answered that it should be in the holy church, which was the most worthiest place. Then they inclined somewhat to my words.

'Within two days after the earl of Ormond came to them, who could right well speak the language, for some of his lands lay in those parts: he was sent to them by the king and his council. They all honoured him and he them: then he fell in sweet communication with them, and he demanded of them how they liked me. They answered and said: "Well; for he hath well shewed us the usage of this country; wherefore we ought to thank him and so we do." This answer pleased well the earl of Ormond. Then he entered little and little to speak of the order of chivalry, which the king would they should receive: he shewed it them from point to point, how they should behave themselves and what pertained to knighthood. The earl's words pleased much these four kings, whose names were these: first, the great O'Neal, king of Meath; the second Brian of Thomond, king of Thomond; the third Arthur of Mackemur, king of Leinster; the fourth Connor, king of Connor and Erpe: they were made knights by king Richard of England in the cathedral church of Dublin dedicate of Saint John Baptist: it was done on our Lady day in March; as then it fell on a Thursday. These four kings watched all the night before in the church, and the next day at high mass time with great solemnity they were made knights, and with them sir Thomas Ourghem, sir Jonathan Pado and sir John Pado his cousin. These kings sate that day at the table with king Richard: they were regarded of many folks, because their behaving was strange to the manner of England and other countries, and ever naturally men desire to see neweltics.'

Then I, sir John Froissart, said: 'Henry, I believe you well, and I would it had cost me largely that I had been there; and surely this year past I had come hither, an it had not been for that I heard of the death of queen Anne of England, which did let me. But one thing I would desire of you to know, how these four kings of Ireland came so soon to the king of England's obeisance, when king Edward, the king's grandfather, who was so valiant a prince and so redoubted over all, could never subdue them nor put them under, and yet he had always war with them; and in that they are subdued now, ye said it was by treaty and by the grace of God. Indeed the grace of God is good; whoso can have it, it is much worth: but it is seen nowadays that earthly princes getteth little without it be by puissance. I desire to know this, for when I shall come into Hainault, of which country I am of, I shall be examined of this and many other things, both by duke Aubert of Bavier, earl of Hainault, of Holland and of Zealand, and also by his son William of Bavier, who writeth himself lord of Frise, which is a great country and a puissant, which country the said duke and his son claimeth to have by right succession, and so did their predecessors before them, but the Frisons would never fall to any reason nor come under obeisance, nor as yet do not unto this day.' Then answered Henry Christead and said: 'Sir John, to shew you the very truth I cannot, but as many a one saith, and it is to suppose, that the great

puissance that the king had over with him, and tarried there in their country nine months, and every man well paid, abashed the Irishmen: also the sea was closed from them on all parts, whereby their livenges and merchandises might not enter into their countries, though they that dwell far within the realm cared little for it, for they know not what merchandise meaneth, nor they live but grossly and rudely like unto beasts, yet such as liveth on the marches of England and by the sea coast use feat of merchandise with us and into other places. King Edward of noble memory in his time had to answer so many wars, what in France, Bretayne, Gascoyne and Scotland, so that his people were divided in divers places and sore occupied, wherefore he could not send no great number into Ireland. But when the Irishmen saw the great number of men of war that king Richard had in Ireland this last journey, the Irishmen advised themselves and came to obeisance. And indeed of old time there was a king in England named Edward, who is a saint and canonised and honoured through all this realm, in his time he subdued the Danes and discomfited them by battle on the sea three times; and this Saint Edward king of England, lord of Ireland and of Acquitaine, the Irishmen loved and dred him much more than any other king of England that had been before: and therefore our sovereign lord king Richard this year past, when he was in Ireland, in all his armories and devices he left bearing of the arms of England, as the libbards and flower-de-luces quarterly, and bare the arms of this Saint Edward, that is a cross potent gold and gules with four white martinets in the field;[1] whereof it was said the Irishmen were well pleased and the sooner they inclined to him: for of truth the predecessors of these four kings obeyed with faith and homage to the said king Edward, and they repute king Richard a good man and of good conscience, and so they have done to him faith and homage, as they ought to do, and in like manner as their predecessors sometime did to Saint Edward. Thus I have shewed you the manner how the king our sovereign lord hath this year accomplished and furnished his voyage in Ireland. Put it in your memorial to the intent that, when ye shall return into your own country, ye may write it in your chronicle with many other histories that depend to the same matter.' Then I thanked him and said it should be done. So I took leave of him. Then I met with March the herald and I demanded of him what arms this Henry Christead bare, and I shewed the herald how this sir Henry had shewed me the manner of the king's journey in Ireland, and the state of the four kings, who had been, as he said, in his governing more than fifteen days at Dublin. The herald answered me and said: 'Sir, he beareth in his arms silver, a chevron gules, three besants gules.' All these things I did put in writing, because I would not forget them.

Thus I tarried in the king of England's court as long as it pleased me, not always in one place, for the king oftentimes removed to Eltham, to Leeds, to Kingston, to Sheen, to Chertsey or to Windsor, about the marches of London. And I was informed of a truth that the king wrote to his uncle the duke of Lancaster, for they of Acquitaine sped so in their business, that their country abode still to the crown of England. Then it was concluded by general council of England that the gift that the king had given to the duke of Lancaster must needs abide still as his own. Howbeit, the duke of Gloucester would that his brother might have enjoyed the king's gift, but his saying could not be heard in that case: for they of the realm of England (because of doubts and casualties in time to come) heard well the words of them of Bordeaux and of Bayonne, and considered well that if the heritage of Acquitaine were put from the crown of England, it should be in time to come a great prejudice to the realm, which they would in no wise should fortune: for always Bordeaux and Bayonne and the frontiers and marches of Gascoyne had kept and augmented greatly the honour of the realm of England. These things were well considered of the wise men of the king's council, the duke of Gloucester absent, for before him no man durst speak. So the matter abode in this case.

We shall leave of this matter and speak of the king of England's ambassadors, as

[1] That is, a cross potent (potencée) or, and four white doves (coulons) in a field gules.

the earl of Rutland and the earl marshal and other, that were sent into France to treat of the marriage between king Richard their lord and the daughter of Charles, French king, who was but eight years of age; and I shall shew you how they sped.

CHAPTERS CXCIX, CC [CCIII, CCIV]

SUMMARY.—The English ambassadors were well received in France and saw the young lady Isabel. They returned with a hopeful answer, though many in France were against the marriage.

One Robert le Meneust, called Robert l'Ermite, who had had a miraculous vision in returning from the East, had laboured hard for peace both with the French king and also with the English lords at Lelinghen, and afterwards in England with the duke of Gloucester and others.

CHAPTERS CCI, CCII [CCV, CCVI]

SUMMARY.—The lord de la Rivière and sir John le Mercier were delivered out of prison, but commanded to leave Paris.

Peace was made between the duke of Brittany and Oliver de Clisson.

Peter de Craon, under the protection of the duke of Burgundy, returned secretly to Paris.

CHAPTER CCIII [CCVI]

SUMMARY.—The king of Hungary sent letters to the French king asking for help against the Turks, who threatened his country. It was resolved that an army should go with John earl of Nevers, son of the duke of Burgundy, as its leader, and with him the lord of Coucy and Philip d Artois, constable of France.

CHAPTERS CCIV, CCV [CCVII, CCIX]

SUMMARY.—The earl of Ostrevant prepared to go into Friesland, and the earl of Nevers set forth to Hungary.

The duchess of Anjou, queen of Naples, had a suit in the parliament chamber of Paris against Peter de Craon for a hundred thousand franks, and obtained his pardon from other charges that he might answer it. Judgment was given against him, and he was put in prison till the sum should be paid.

CHAPTER CCVI [CCX]

SUMMARY. — The marriage was arranged between the king of England and the daughter of the French king. The duke of Lancaster married his mistress Catherine de Roët (widow of Hugh Swinford), which caused indignation among many great ladies, as the duchess of Gloucester, the countess of Derby and the countess of Arundel, who said that they would never come into any place where she should be present.

THE history thus continues:—

Now let us a little speak of the journey of the earl of Nevers and the lords of France and what they did the same summer in Hungary; and after we shall speak of the going into Frise of the earl of Hainault and the earl of Ostrevant. The earl of Nevers and his company with many valiant men that he had of France and of other countries, when they were come into Hungary into a great city called Bude, the king of Hungary made them good cheer and well they deserved it, for they were come far off to see him. The intention of the king was that, or he set forward with his puissance and with the aid of France to enter into the field, to hear first some news from the great Turk, called Amurath-baquin,[1] who had sent him word in the month of February that surely he would be in Hungary or the end of the month of May, and that he would pass the water of Dunoe;[2] of which message many had great marvel. And some said that there is in a manner nothing but that man may do it, considering that the Turk

[1] This is Bajazet, or, as Froissart calls him, 'Basach dit l'Amourath-baquin.' He was called Amurath (or Murad) from his father, and the addition 'baquin' is a title, like 'beg' in 'Scander-beg.'

[2] The Danube.

is valiant and puissant and desireth much deeds of arms: 'therefore sith he hath said it, by all likelihood he will do it, and if he pass not the Dunoe to come hither to this side, then let us pass over and enter into Turkey with puissance: for the king of Hungary with such aid as he hath of strangers shall well make an hundred thousand men, and such a number of such men are well able to conquer all Turkey and to go into the empire of Perse; and if we may have one journey of victory upon the great Turk, we shall do after what we list, and shall conquer Syria and all the holy land of Jerusalem, and shall deliver it from the hands of the soudan and the enemies of God. For at the summer next coming the French king and the king of England, who will conjoin together, shall raise up a great number of men of arms and of archers and shall find the passages open to receive them. Then nothing shall abide before us, but all shall be conquered and put in our obeisance, when we shall go all together.' Thus devised the Frenchmen that were in the realm of Hungary.

When the month of May was come, trusting to hear tidings of Amurath-baquin the great Turk, the king of Hungary sent to the passages of the river of Dunoe and sent throughout his realm to assemble his puissance together, and the lords of the Rhodes[1] came to him strongly, and all the month of May they tarried for the coming of the Saracens, but no tidings could be heard of them. Then the king of Hungary sent such as knew the country beyond the river of Dunoe, to search to have some tidings of the great Turk. Such as went searched all the country beyond the bras of Saint George[2] and to the marches of Alexandria, of Damascus and Antioch, but they could hear no news of Amurath-baquin nor of none army toward. Then they returned and shewed the king what they had heard and seen. Then the king assembled his council and called the lords of France, who desired to do deeds of arms. The king shewed them how he had sent men into Turkey to have knowledge what his enemies did, and how they could hear no tidings of Amurath-baquin nor no likelihood of his approaching, for all the promise he had made to pass the Dunoe and to enter into Hungary to fight with the Christian men, or mid May should pass; wherefore the king demanded what counsel they would give him to do. Then the lord of Coucy for all the other said: 'Sir, though Amurath-baquin come not forward according to his promise and maketh but a jape thereof, yet that ought not to let us to do deeds of arms and to pursue our enemies, seeing we be assembled to that purpose.' Thus all the Frenchmen, Almains and other strangers shewed well how they had great desire to seek out Amurath-baquin to fight with him; which was to their great honour. The lord of Coucy's words were affirmed by all the strangers: it was all their opinions how they could employ their season and time no better.

Then it was ordained by the king and by his marshals that every man should prepare himself to be ready to set forward at a day assigned, which was the octave of Saint John the Baptist. Then officers and other servants apparelled for their masters all things necessary, and the Frenchmen, thinking to be fresh and gay, spared neither gold nor silver. Their departure from Bude, the sovereign city of Hungary, was goodly to regard. The constable of Hungary had the vaward with a great number of Hungarians and Almains with him, because he knew the countries; and next after him rode the Frenchmen, with the constable of France, the earl de la Marche, the lord of Coucy, sir Henry and sir Philip of Bar and divers other; and with the king rode the great lords of his country, as reason was, and beside the king rode John of Burgoyne and oftentimes devised with the king. They were in the field a threescore thousand horse, they had but few afoot, saving such as were followers. The company of the Christian men were noble and well ordered, and of Hungary there were many cross-bows a-horseback. The army journeyed so long that they came to the river of Dunoe, and passed over in ships and barges and such bridges as they had ordained for that purpose. It was eight days or they were all passed over, and as they passed they lodged them, every company tarrying for other. This river of

[1] The knights of Saint John: so afterwards the grand prior of the Hospital is called the 'great master of Rhodes.'

[2] That is, the Dardanelles.

Dunoe departeth the realms of Hungary and Turkey asunder.

When the Christian men were all over and nothing tarried behind, and were in the frontiers of Turkey, they greatly rejoiced and desired greatly to do deeds of arms. There they took counsel and determined to go and lay siege to a town in Turkey called Comette; and as they ordained so they did, and besieged it, as they might well do, for it stood in a plain country and a river joining to it with ships thereon, called Mette,[1] the head coming out of Turkey and falling into the sea at the river of Dunoe. The river of Dunoe is a great river of three hundred miles in length[2] from the beginning till it enter into the sea, which were the most profitable river in all the world for the realm of Hungary, if the ships that be thereon might issue out thereof into the sea; but they cannot, for in the mouth thereof, when they should issue into the sea, there is in the river a mountain, which departeth the river in two parts, and maketh such bruit and noise, that it may well be heard seven mile off; and for that cause there is no ship that dare approach near to it. Along by this river side[3] there be fair meadows and pastures, whereby all the country is well served, and divers vines which in season make good wines, which the Turks do make and put into goat-skins and selleth it unto Christian men; for according to their law they dare drink no wine, to be known; it is defended them on pain of life; but they eat the raisins and they have other good fruits and spices, whereof they make drink, and use greatly to drink goat's milk, which refresheth them in the hot season.

Thus the king of Hungary and his host lodged before the city of Comette at their ease and pleasure, for no man troubled their siege. And when they came before the city, they found the fruits ripe, the which was great pleasure to them. They made to this city divers assaults, and they within defended themselves, trusting daily to have aid and succour of Amurath-baquin their lord, to raise the siege with puissance; but he did not, whereby the city was taken by force of assault and destroyed with great slaughter of men, women and children; for the Christian men that entered had no mercy nor pity. When this city was thus won, the king of Hungary dislodged and went forward into Turkey, and was determined to go and lay siege to a great city called Nicopoly; and as they rode, they found in their way the town of Quaire,[1] and laid siege to it fifteen days or it was won, but finally it was won by assault and clean destroyed, and so passed forth. And in their way they found another town and a strong castle called Brehappe,[2] and a knight of Turkey was lord thereof and was within the castle to defend it. The king and his army were lodged within a mile, where was a fair river, and about the town there was none. There the earl of Nevers was made knight and raised his banner, and with him were made more than three hundred knights, and all they and their companies went before Brehappe and besieged it and won the town perforce within four days, but not the castle, it was so strong. The lord of Brehappe saved much of his people by force of the castle, who was called Corbadas, a right valiant knight, and he had other three brethren, one named Maladius, another Balachius and the third Ruffin. After this town was won, the Christian men were before the castle seven days and made divers assaults, but they lost more than they won. The four knights brethren that were within shewed well by their defence that they were valiant men. When the Frenchmen had considered well the force of the castle and the valiant ordering of the Turks within and the defence that they made, they saw well then they lost their pain, and so dislodged; for they had knowledge how the king of Hungary would go and lay siege to the strong town of Nicopoly. Thus the siege before Brehappe brake up, and they within the castle were in peace, but the town was clean brent. Then the earl of Nevers and all the lords of France resorted to the king's army, ordering themselves to go to Nicopoly.

When Corbadas of Brehappe saw the siege broken up, he was right joyful and said to his company: 'We need no more to fear this season; though my town be

[1] This is the Timok.
[2] Froissart says, 'four hundred leagues.'
[3] 'Along by this river of Mette.'

[1] Kaara. [2] Belgraltchi.

brent and exiled, I shall right well recover it again: but of one thing I marvel greatly, and that is that I can hear no news from my lord the king Basach, called Amurath-baquin; for the last time that I saw him in the city of Nicopoly, he said unto me that this May time he would be in this country, and had intention to pass with a great puissance the bras of Saint George and to go into Hungary to fight with the Christian men, and so he sent word to the king of Hungary. And yet he hath done nothing, and thereupon they of Hungary be fortified, and have as now great succour out of France, and have passed the river of Dunoe and are entered into Turkey, and have and do destroy the country, for there is no resistance made against them, and they think surely to go and lay siege before Nicopoly. The city is strong enough to resist the siege a long season, if it be well defended and kept: we are here four brethren and knights of the lineage of king Basach: we ought and are bound to defend his right, therefore let us order ourselves as I shall shew you. I and my brother Maladius we shall go to the city of Nicopoly, to aid to help and defend it, and my brother Balachius shall abide here to keep this castle of Brehappe, and my brother Ruffin shall pass the bras of Saint George and go seek out Amurath-baquin and shew him everything that is passed and done, and advise him for his honour to intend to defend his heritage and to come with such puissance that may resist the Christian men and to break their purpose, or else he shall lose the realm of Armeny, which he hath conquered, and his own country also; for by all imagination the king of Hungary and the Christian men are gathered to the intent to do some great enterprise.' His three brethren agreed to his saying. On this appointment they prepared themselves to depart.

So in this season siege was laid before Nicopoly, and Corbadas of Brehappe and Maladius his brother came and entered into Nicopoly, whereof they of the city were right joyful, and Balachius abode still at Brehappe to keep the castle, and Ruffin, when he saw time, by night he passed the Christian army, for he knew well the country, and passed over the bras Saint George and searched for Amurath-baquin. And the same season he was at Quayre with the soudan of Babylon, to have aid of men of him. Ruffin found this Turk there; and when king Basach saw him, he had marvel and thought surely he should hear some news out of Turkey. Then he demanded what tidings. 'Sir,' quoth Ruffin, 'all the country desireth sore to see you there, for the king of Hungary with puissance hath passed the river of Dunoe and is entered into Turkey, and hath done great damage and hath brent and assailed a five or six of your closed towns. And when I departed from Brehappe, he was in purpose to go and lay siege to Nicopoly. Corbadas and Maladius my brothers with such men of war as they have are entered into Nicopoly to help to defend the town, and my brother Balachius is still at Brehappe to keep the castle there: and, sir, of a surety there is in the company with the king of Hungary the goodliest army and best appointed come out of France, that ever was seen. Wherefore, sir, it behoveth you to assemble your host and friends and return into Turkey, to cause your enemies to return again over the river of Dunoe. An ye do it not with great puissance, it will be hard to bring it about.' 'What number be they?' quoth Amurath-baquin. 'Sir,' quoth he, 'they be more than hundred thousand, and the goodliest men of the world and best armed, and all on horseback.' Amurath-baquin gave none answer, but entered into the soudan's chamber and shewed the soudan all the whole matter, as his knight had shewed him. Then the soudan said: 'We must provide for it: ye shall have men enow to resist them. Needs we must defend our law and our heritage.' 'That is true, sir,' quoth Amurath-baquin. 'Now my desires are come to pass; for I have always desired none other thing but that the king of Hungary with his puissance might once come over the river of Dunoe and enter into Turkey. In the beginning I will suffer a season, but at the end they shall pay for the scot. Of all this I had knowledge four months past by my great friend the lord of Milan, who sent me goshawks, gerfalcons and falcons to the number of twelve, which were the best and fairest that ever I saw, and with this present he wrote to me

by name all the heads and chief captains of the barons of France, such as should come to make me war. In the which letters was also contained, that if I might get them in my danger, they should be worth to me a million of florins, and also how there should be in their company of the limitees[1] of France more than five hundred knights, valiant men of arms; also the duke of Milan wrote that surely they will give me battle. Wherefore I will prepare to meet with them by art, advice and good ordinance, for they are men of great feat, and so valiant in arms that they will not fly nor recule. They are worthy of thank to issue out of their own nation by valiantness to find deeds of arms, and I trust to accomplish their desires within three months, so that they shall have enough to do.'

To consider these words, one ought greatly to marvel that the lord Galeas, earl of Vertus and duke of Milan, who was reputed to be a Christian man, baptized and regenerate after the Christian law, would seek or require love or alliance with a king miscreant, out of our law and faith, or to send him gifts and presents, as he did every year, as dogs, hawks and fine linen clothes, which are right pleasant to the Saracens, for they have none but that cometh from our parts: also the great Turk sent to him again other presents of rich cloth of gold and precious stones, whereof the Saracens have great plenty. But in those days the earl of Vertus, duke of Milan, and sir Galeas his father reigned as tyrants and so held their seignories.

SUMMARY.—Here is related the history of the lords of Milan, how they obtained their power and how Galeas earl of Vertus slew his uncle and reigned alone.

The author continues:—

This Galeas put in prison all his uncle's children, such as he could get, and took possession of all his uncle's seignories and joined them to his own, and so reigned in great puissance and riches: for he raised up such matters whereby he gathered together great riches, as impositions, gabels, subsidies, dimes, and all other extortions, whereby he was much more dread than beloved. He held the error and opinion of his father that was, how one should nother honour nor worship God. He took from abbeys and priories much of their revenues and took them to himself: he said the monks were too deliciously nourished with good wines and delicious meats, by which superfluities (he said) they could not rise at midnight nor do their service as they should do. He said Saint Benet held not the order of his religion after that manner, and so (he said) he would make them to live with eggs and small wine, to clear their voices to sing the higher. These lords in their days lived like popes: they did great despites in their time to men of holy Church: they set nothing by the pope's curse, and specially after the schism began and that there was two popes; that the one cursed, the other assoiled. The lords of Milan did but mock at their doings, and so did many other lords through the world.

The daughter of this lord Galeas duke of Milan was duchess of Orleans, whose conditions were like to her father's and not to her mother's, who was daughter to king John of France. This lady was of high mind, envious and covetous on the delights and state of this world. Gladly she would have seen the duke her husband to have attained to the crown of France, she had not cared how. A general fame and slander ran upon her, that all the infirmities the king had, which no physician could remedy, came all by her sorts and arts; and the chief discovering of her works, whereby she was had in great suspect, was this. This duchess of Orleans, named Valentine, had a son by the duke her husband, a fair child of the age of the Dolphin, son to the king. On a time these two children were playing together in the duchess of Orleans' chamber, and suddenly there was cast down an apple full of poison on the pavement on the same side that the Dolphin was on, to the intent that he should have taken and eaten it; but, as grace was, he did not, for the duchess' son ran after the apple and took it and ate thereof, wherewith he was poisoned and died, nothing could save him; and such as had Charles the young Dolphin to keep took him thence, and he never came after in the duchess' chamber. Of

[1] 'Du royaulme ou des limites de France.'

this adventure great bruit and murmuration ran through all the city of Paris and in other places. Thus it was said by her of all the people, so that the duke her husband perceived it well; for bruit ran through Paris that, if her husband did not put her away out of the king's court, they would fetch her away by force and cause her to die: for the people said she would empoison the king and his children, and that she had enchanted the king; for the king in all his infirmities would not see the queen nor none other woman, but all only this duchess of Orleans. Upon which saying and for doubt thereof her husband had her away and put her out of the house of Saint-Pol in Paris and sent her to a castle beside Paris upon the way of Beauvais, called Asnieres, and there she was kept a long season and never went out of the castle; and at last she was sent from thence to Chateauneuf on the river of Loire, and the duke of Orleans had great displeasure to her because of the adventure of the death of his son, but by reason that he had other children by her somewhat it brake his displeasure.

These tidings came to Milan, and the lord Galeas was informed how his daughter was in trouble and in great danger, whereof he was sore displeased with the French king and his council. Then he sent a sufficient messenger, as sir Jaques of Verme and other, to Paris to the king and his council in excusing his daughter, saying that if any person would accuse her of treason, he should be fought withal at utterance in that quarrel. When these messengers came to Paris, the king was in good health, but he took no heed of those messengers nor of their excuse, and so they were shortly answered, nothing to their pleasure; so they returned into Lombardy and declared to the duke of Milan all that they had seen and done. Then the duke was in greater displeasure than he was before and reputed it a great injury, and then sent his defiance to the French king and to all the whole realm of France. And when his defiances were brought to Paris, the lords and knights with the French army were as then in Hungary and entered into Turkey; and for the despite and hate that the duke of Milan had to the French king and to some of his council, therefore he held in amity and alliance the great Turk and shewed him of the secrets of France.

Now we shall leave speaking of the duke and speak of the great Turk and of the barons of France and of other Christian knights, that were as then in Turkey.

CHAPTER CCVII [CCXI]

How the great Turk desired the soudan and many other kings Saracens to aid him with men of war to resist against the Christian men, and how many valiant Saracens came to him out of far countries.

It was not long after but that the great Turk departed from Quayre from the soudan, who promised to send him shortly great aid of the best men of arms of all his seignories, to resist against the puissance of the king of Hungary and the Frenchmen; and the great Turk sent into all realms and countries, whereas he thought to have any aid and succour: for he considered and said that if the Frenchmen conquered Turkey, all other realms adjoining should tremble for fear of them, and thereby their faith and belief should decay and become under the subjection of the Christian men, which they had rather die. And thus at the desires of the soudan and the great Turk many kings Saracens inclined unto their desires, as in Perse, in Mede and in Tarse, and also out of the septentrion and out of the realm of Lecto and to the bounds of Pruce. And forasmuch as they were informed that their enemies the Christians were flower of chivalry, these kings Saracens and other lords of their law did choose out among them the best travailing and expert men of arms in all their countries. This assembly could not be suddenly done, nor their purveyances so soon done. The great Turk set himself forwards into the field, always abiding for his people that came to him from far countries, and specially out of Tartary, Mede and Perse. There assembled many valiant Saracens out of all countries: they were desirous to prove their strengths against the Christian men.

Now let us speak of the Christian men being before Nicopoly.

CHAPTER CCVIII [CCXII]

How the lord of Coucy and other lords of the Christian men about a five hundred spears, discomfited a fifteen thousand Turks during the siege before Nicopoly.

THEY that were besieged within the strong town of Nicopoly defended themselves right valiantly: howbeit, they were sore abashed that they heard no tidings from the great Turk. The emperor of Constantinople[1] had written unto them that he was in the parts of Alexandria and was not as then passed the bras Saint George; so the Christian men held their siege still before Nicopoly: they had victuals plenty and good cheap, that came out of Hungary and other marches near adjoining. And on a day the lord Coucy and other Frenchmen took pleasure to ride forth at adventure, to go see the country further in: so they departed from the siege, about the number of five hundred spears and as many cross-bows and archers, all horsemen. The lord Coucy was captain of that journey, and the lord Raynold of Roye and the lord of Sempy in his company, and the chatelain of Beauvais, the lord of Montcavrel and the borgne of Montquel, with divers other, and they had guides with them, such as knew the country, and they had certain forerіders well mounted to discover the country before them. The same week there was an army of the Turks assembled together to the number of twenty thousand men, for they were informed how the Christian men were abroad destroying their country. In resistance thereof they assembled together and came to a strait which the Christian men must pass, an they would enter into the plain of Turkey, and they could not well enter no [other] way; and there the Turks tarried a two days and could hear no tidings of the Christian men, and so the third day they thought to have returned. Then the Christian men's forerіders came to Brechault[2] near where the Turks were; and when the Turks saw them approach, they stood still close together to see the dealing of the Christian men, and made no token nor sign to scrimmish with them. These Christian men approached near to the Turks and saw well they were a great number, and yet they could not advise them all; and when they had well aviewed them, they reculed back and came to the lord Coucy and shewed him what they had seen; of which news the Christian men were right joyful, and the lord Coucy said: 'It is meet that we go and see them more nearer. Sith we be come so far forward, we shall not depart without fighting with them: if we should, it shall be to our blame and great rebuke.' 'That is true,' quoth all the other knights that heard him. Thus every man prepared himself and his horse, and rode toward the place where the Turks were.

And between them and the Turks there was a little wood. When the Christian men came to the wood side, the lord of Coucy said to the lord Raynold of Roye and to the lord of Sempy: 'Sirs, mine advice is (to the intent to draw the Turks out of their strength) that ye two shall take two hundred[1] of our spears, and I with the rest will abide here in this wood: and ride ye so near them, that ye may cause them to come out, and then return you and suffer them to chase you till ye be past us in this wood, and then suddenly turn upon them, and we shall close them in behind, and so we shall have them at our will.' To this advice all the knights inclined. Then two hundred of them that were best horsed rode forth, and the rest, who were an eight hundred, embushed themselves covertly in the wood and there tarried. The other rode forth and came to the place were the Turks were.

When they saw the Christian men come, they were right joyous, weening there had been no more, and so came out of their holds into the plain fields. And when the Christian men saw time, they turned and fled and made the Turks to chase them. They were so well horsed that the Turks could not overtake them, and they chased so long that they passed the wood whereas the embushment was. When the Turks were passed, the Christian men issued out and cried, 'Our Lady be with the lord of

[1] The translator writes 'Constantine the noble' for 'Constantinople.'

[2] The French is 'à brechault,' a corruption of 'à brochant,' 'spurring their horses.'

[1] 'A hundred.'

Coucy!' and so dashed in behind them and made great occision. The Turks held them close together, when they saw how they were beset before and behind, and did put themselves to defence as well as they might; but they kept none order, for they were not ware of the rearguard, and when they saw themselves so suddenly set on, they were abashed. The Frenchmen did quit themselves like valiant men of arms and slew the Turks at their pleasure in their flying: there were many slain, the Christian men took none to mercy; happy were they that could escape and return from thence as they came. And then the Christian men that had done that deed returned again to their host before Nicopoly.

Then tidings ran over all the host how the lord of Coucy by his wisdom and valiantness had discomfited more than fifteen thousand Turks. Many spake well thereof, but the earl of Eu praised nothing his deed, saying how it was done but by pride, and how that he had put the Christian men, and specially his band, in great adventure and peril, saying that with an handful of men he fought foolishly with the rout of twenty thousand Turks. He should rather, seeing he was in will to do deeds of arms and that the Turks were on the field, have given knowledge, before he assailed his enemies, to his head captain, the lord John of Burgoyne, that he might have had the renown and honour of that enterprise. By seeming the earl of Eu spake those words by envy that he had to the lord of Coucy, for all that voyage he had no love to him, because he saw how the lord of Coucy had the love and favour of all his company and of other strangers, which he deserved right well to have,[1] for he was right near of the French king's blood and bare in his arms flower-de-luces, and also he was constable of France. Thus there engendered a great hate and evil will covertly between the earl of Eu and the lord Coucy, which hatred at last appeared clearly, whereby great mischief fell the same season upon the Christian men, as ye shall hear after.

[1] 'Which he (namely the earl of Eu) thought that he himself ought to have, because he was very near of blood to the French king and bare in his arms the flower-de-luces with very small difference.'

Now we shall leave to speak any more at this time of this matter and return to speak of the kings of England and of France.

CHAPTER CCIX [CCXIII]

SUMMARY.—The negotiations for peace between England and France continued, and the king of England met the duke of Burgundy at Calais.

CHAPS. CCX, CCXI [CCXIV, CCXV]

SUMMARY.—The duke Aubert and his son the earl of Ostrevant made their preparations to go into Friesland, and applied for aid both in England and in France. From England there came some men of arms and two hundred archers: from France five hundred spears under the earl of Saint-Pol and sir Charles d'Albret. The army landed in Friesland and gained some victories, but at length retired to Holland for the winter, having conquered but little.

CHAPTER CCXII [CCXVI]

SUMMARY.—The marriage took place between the king of England and Isabel of France.

CHAPTER CCXIII [CCXVII]

How the siege before Nicopoly in Turkey was raised by Amurath-baquin, and how the Frenchmen were discomfited and how the Hungarians fled.

Ye have heard herebefore how the king of Hungary and the lords of France were passed the river of Dunoe and were entered into Turkey, and all the summer after the month of July they had done many enterprises and had brought divers towns to their subjection, for there was none that resisted them, and had besieged the town of Nicopoly, and had near brought it to a small estate nigh ready to yield, for they

could hear no news of Amurath-baquin. Then the king of Hungary said to the lords of France and to other: 'Sirs, thanked be God, we have had a fair season, we have destroyed part of Turkey: I reckon this town of Nicopoly ours when we list; it is so sore overlaid that it cannot long hold: wherefore, all things considered, I counsel (this town once won) that we go no further at this season. We shall draw again over the Dunoe into the realm of Hungary, where I have many cities, towns and castles ready furnished to receive you, as reason is, seeing ye be come so far to aid me to make war against the Turks, whom I have found hard and cruel enemies. And this winter we shall make new provision against the next summer, and send word to the French king what case we be in, so that this next summer he may refresh us with new men, and I believe, when he knoweth what we have done and how everything standeth, he will have great affection to come hither in his own person; for he is young and courageous and loveth deeds of arms: and whether he cometh or not, by the grace of God this next summer we shall win the realm of Armeny, and pass the bras of Saint George and so into Surie, and win the ports of Jaffa and Baruth and conquer Jerusalem and all the Holy Land; and if the soudan come forward, we shall fight with him, for he shall not depart without battle.'

These or like words said the king of Hungary to the lords of France, and reckoned Nicopoly as their own. Howbeit, fortune fell otherwise. All that season the king Basach, called Amurath-baquin, had raised an army of Saracens, some out of far countries, as out of Persc; many great men of the Saracens came to aid Amurath-baquin to destroy Christendom. They were passed the bras Saint George to the number of two hundred thousand men. To say the truth, the Christian men were not ascertained what number they were of. This king Basach and his men approached near to Nicopoly by covert ways: they knew in feats of arms as much as might be, and this king was a valiant man, which shewed well by reason of his policy. He ordered his battles thus: all his host was in a manner as wings, his men comprised well a great mile[1] of ground, and before the host, to shew a face ready, in a band an eight thousand Turks. The two wings of the battle were open a-forefront and narrow behind, and Amurath-baquin was in the heart of the battle. Thus they rode all in covert: these eight thousand Turks were ordained to make a face, and that as soon as they should see the Christian men approach, then they to recule little and little into the heart of the battle, and then the two wings, which were open before, the Christian men being once entered between them, to close together and join into one company and then to fight with their enemies. This was the order of their battle.

Thus in the year of our Lord God a thousand three hundred fourscore and sixteen, the Monday before the feast of Saint Michael, about ten of the clock, as the king of Hungary sat at dinner at the siege of Nicopoly, tidings came to the host how the Turks were coming, and the scouts that came in shewed how they had seen the Turks; but their report was not true, for they had not ridden so forward that they had aviewed the two wings nor the battle behind, they had seen no more but the forerider and vaward, for as soon as they had seen them, they returned. The same season the greatest part of the host were at dinner: then tidings was brought to the earl of Nevers and to all other in general by their scurrers, who said: 'Sirs, arm you quickly that ye be not surprised, for the Turks are coming on you.' These tidings greatly rejoiced the Christian men, such as desired to do deeds of arms. Then every man rose from their dinners and put the tables from them and demanded for their harness and horses, and they were well chafed before with drinking of wine. Then every man drew into the field, banners and standards displayed, every man to his own banner: then the banner of our Lady was displayed, therewith the valiant knight sir John of Vienne, admiral of France. And the Frenchmen were the first that drew into the field freshly apparelled, making small account of the Turks; but they knew not that they were so great a number as they were, nor that Amurath-baquin was there in his own person.

[1] 'Lieue.'

As these lords of France were into the field, there came unto them the king of Hungary's marshal in great haste, who was a valiant knight called Henry of Ensteinschalle, upon a good horse, with a pennon of his arms, of silver a cross sable anchored, called in armoury the iron of a mill-stone.[1] When he came before the banner of our Lady, he stood still and to the most part of the barons of France he said openly: 'Sirs, I am sent hither to you from the king of Hungary, and he desireth you by me that ye set not on your enemies until such time as ye have word again from him; for it ought to be doubted lest our scouts have not brought the certainty of the number of the Turks: but within these two hours ye shall hear other tidings, for we have sent other forerіders forth to aview our enemies more substantially than the first did: and, sirs, ye may be sure the Turks shall not endamage us, if ye tarry till all our whole puissance be together. Sirs, this is the order that the king and his council hath ordered: I must return again to the king.' When he was departed, the French lords assembled them together to know what was best for them to do. Then it was demanded of the lord Coucy what he thought best to be done. He answered and said: 'I would counsel to obey the king of Hungary's commandment, for that order seemeth to be good.' And as it was informed me, sir Philip of Artois, earl of Eu and constable of France, was not contented that the advice had not first have been demanded of him; then he for pride and despite held the contrary opinion and said: 'Yea, sir, yea, the king of Hungary would have the flower and chief honour of this journey. We have the vaward, he hath granted it to us, and now he would take it from us again. Believe him who will,[2] for I do not.' And then he said to the knight that bare his banner: 'In the name of God and Saint George,[3] ye shall see me this day a good knight.'

When the lord Coucy heard the constable speak these words, he took it done of a great presumption. Then he looked on sir John of Vienne, who bare the standard of our Lady, and demanded of him what he thought best to be done. 'Sir,' quoth he, 'whereas wise reason cannot be heard, then pride must reign, and sith that the earl of Eu will needs set on, we must needs follow: howbeit, we should be the stronger an if our puissance were whole together.' Thus as they devised in the field, still the Turks approached, and the two wings, each of sixty thousand men, began to approach and to close, and had the Christian men between them, so that if they would have reculed, they could not, for they were closed in with the Saracens, the wings were so thick. Then divers knights that were well expert in arms saw well the journey should be against them; howbeit, they advanced and followed the banner of our Lady, borne by the valiant knight sir John of Vienne: every knight of France was in his coat armour, that every man seemed to be a king, they were so freshly apparelled. As it was shewed me, when they began first to fight with the Turks, they were not past a seven hundred men. Lo, behold the great folly and outrage, for if they had tarried for the king of Hungary, who were threescore thousand men, they had been likely to have done a great act; and by them and by their pride all was lost, and they received such damage that sith the battle of Roncesvaulx, whereas the twelve peers of France were slain, Christendom received not so great a damage. Howbeit, or they were discomfited, a great number of Turks were slain; for the Frenchmen discomfited the first battle of the Turks and had them in chase till they came into a valley, where Amurathbaquin was with his whole puissance. Then the Frenchmen would have returned to their host, but they could not, for they were closed in on all parts. There was a sore battle: the Frenchmen endured long. Then news came to the king of Hungary how the Frenchmen, Englishmen and Almains were fighting with the Turks, and had broken his commandment and counsel given them by his marshal; wherewith he was sore displeased, and not without good cause. Then he saw well how he was likely to lose that journey: then he said to the great master of the Rhodes, who was by

[1] 'Un fer de moulin': it would be what is called a 'croas moline,' that is a cross with the ends divided and turned outwards both ways like the flukes of an anchor (ancrée).

[2] That is, 'obey him who will.'

[3] The better text gives, 'Advance banner, in the name of God and Saint George.'

him: 'Sir, we shall this day lose the journey by reason of the pride of the Frenchmen, for if they would have believed me, we had been strong enough to have fought with our enemies.' And therewith the king of Hungary looked behind him and saw how his men fled away and were discomfited in themselves: then he saw well there was no recovery; and such as were about him cried and said: 'Save yourself; for if ye be slain, all Hungary is lost. Ye shall lose the field this day by reason of the pride of the Frenchmen: their valiantness turneth to foolish hardiness, for they shall be all slain or taken, none is likely to scape: therefore, sir, if ye believe us, save yourself and scape this danger.'

The king of Hungary was sore displeased when he saw how he had lost the journey by disordering of the Frenchmen, and saw no remedy but to fly or else be taken or slain. Great murder there was, for in flying they were chased and so slain. They of Hungary fled without order, and the Turks chased them: howbeit, God aided the king of Hungary and the great master of the Rhodes, for they came to the river of Dunoe and found there a little barge pertaining to the Rhodes. They entered into it but with seven persons and so went off the shore, or else they had been slain or taken; for the Turks came to the river side and there slew many a Christian man, such as had followed the king to save themselves.

Now let us speak of the Frenchmen and Almains, who fought valiantly. When the lord of Montcavrel, a right valiant knight of Artois, saw that the discomfiture ran upon them, he had by him a son of his, a young man. Then he said to a squire of his: 'Take here my son and lead him away by yonder wing which is open and save him, and I will abide the adventure with other of my fellows.' When the child heard his father say so, he said how he would not depart; but the father did so much, that perforce the squire led him away out of peril and came to the river of Dunoe: but there the child had such care for his father, that he took small regard to himself, so that he fell into the river between two barges and there was drowned without remedy. Also sir William of Tremouille fought in that battle valiantly and there was slain, and his son by him; and sir John of Vienne, bearing the banner of our Lady, was slain, and the banner in his hands. Thus all the lords and knights of France that were there were destroyed by the manner as ye have heard. Sir John of Burgoyne, earl of Nevers, was so richly beseen, and in like wise so was sir Guy de la Riviere and divers other lords and knights of Burgoyne, that they were taken prisoners. And there were two squires of Picardy right valiant men, called Gilliam Beu and the borgne of Montquel, these two by valiantness two times passed through the field and ever returned in again and did marvels, but finally there they were slain. To say the truth, the Frenchmen and other strangers that were there acquitted themselves valiantly, but the Frenchmen's pride lost all. There was a knight of Picardy called sir Jaques of Helly, who had dwelt before in Turkey and had served Amurath-baquin, and could somewhat speak the language of Turkey. When he saw the battle lost, he yielded himself, and the Saracens, who are covetous of gold and silver, took and saved him. Also a squire of Tournesis called Jaques du Fay, who had before served the king of Tartary called Tamburin,[1] as soon as this Jaques knew that the Frenchmen came to make war in Turkey, he took leave of the king of Tartary and departed, and was on the said field and taken prisoner by the king of Tartary's men, who were there in the aid of Amurath-baquin; for king Tamburin of Tartary had sent to him great number of men of war.

The Frenchmen were so richly arrayed, that they seemed like kings; whereby they were taken and their lives saved: for Saracens and Turks are covetous; they trusted to have great ransoms of these that were taken, and reputed them greater lords than they were. Sir John of Burgoyne earl of Nevers was taken prisoner: in like wise were the earls of Eu and de la Marche, the lord Coucy, sir Henry of Bar, sir Guy de la Tremouille, Bouciquaut and divers other; and sir Philip of Bar, sir John of Vienne, William of Tremouille and his son, slain, and divers other. This battle endured three hours fighting, and

[1] That is, Tamerlane.

the king of Hungary lost all his baggage and all his plate and jewels, and was glad to save himself but with seven persons with him in a little barge of the Rhodes, else he had been taken or slain without recovery. There were more men slain in the chase than in the battle, and many drowned: happy was he that might scape by any manner of means.

When this discomfiture was done and past, and that the Turks [and] such as were sent thither by the soudan were withdrawn into their lodgings, which was into tents and pavilions that they had conquered, which they found well replenished with wine and meat ready dressed, wherewith they refreshed them and made joy and revel like such people as had attained victory on their enemies, then Amurath-baquin with a great number of minstrels, according to the usage of their country, came to the king of Hungary's chief tent, which was goodly apparelled and hanged with rich stuff; and there he took great pleasure and glorified in his heart of the winning of that journey and thanked their god according to their law. Then he unarmed him, and to refresh him he sat down on a tapet of silk and caused all his great lords to come to him to jangle and to talk with them. He made as great mirth as might be, and said how he would shortly with great puissance pass into the realm of Hungary and conquer the country and after other countries upon the Christian men, and to bring them to his obeisance: for he said he was content that every man should live after their own laws, he desired nothing but the seignory; but he said he would reign like Alisander of Macedon, who was twelve year king of all the world, of whose lineage he said he was descended. All that heard him agreed to his saying. Then he made three commandments: the first was that whosoever had any prisoner Christian, to bring him forth the second day after into his presence: the second was that all the dead bodies should be visited and searched, and such as were likely to be noblemen to be laid apart by themselves in their raiments till he came thither himself, for he said he would see them: the third was to enquire justly if the king of Hungary were dead or alive. All was done as he commanded.

When Amurath-baquin had well refreshed him, then to pass the time he went to the place where the field was to see the dead bodies; for it was shewed him that he had many of his men slain and that the battle had cost him greatly, of the which he had great marvel and could not believe it. Then he mounted on his horse and a great number with him: he had with him two of his brethren called Ali-Basach and Sour-Basach, as some people said, but he would not be known of them,[1] for he said he had no brethren. When he came to the place where the battle was, he found it of truth that there were many dead and slain: he saw that for one Christian man dead he found thirty Turks slain; wherewith he was marvellously displeased, and openly said: 'Here hath been a cruel battle and marvellously defended of the Christian men, but I shall make them that be alive to buy it dearly.' Then the king went to his lodging and so passed that night in great furour of heart; and in the morning, or he was up, much people came to his tent to know what they should do with the Christian prisoners: the renown ran that they should all be put to death without mercy. Amurath-baquin, for all his displeasure, ordained that such Christian men as were in the battle in great array, and likely to be great men, should be all set together in one part; for it was shewed him that they might well pay great ransoms. Also there were divers Saracens and paynims of Perse, of Tartary, of Araby, and Syrians, that had many prisoners, by whom they thought to have great advantage, as they had indeed: they hid them out of the way, so that they came not to knowledge. Among other sir Jaques of Helly was brought before Amurath-baquin: he that had him durst not hide him no longer. Sir Jaques de Helly was beknown with some of the king's servants, who took him from them that had him, which was happy for him, as ye shall hear after, for many Christian men were afterward cruelly slain and put to death.

King Basach had commanded to enquire which were the greatest of the Christian men, and that they should be set aside to

[1] 'He had with him Ali-Basach and Sour-Basach, who some said were his brethren, but he would not acknowledge them.'

the intent to save their lives. So they were tried out and set apart, first the lord John of Burgoyne, earl of Nevers, who was chief above all other, and then sir Philip of Artois earl of Eu, the earl of Marche, the lord Coucy, sir Henry of Bar, sir Guy of Tremouille, and other to the number of eight persons, and Amurath-baquin went to see and to speak with them, and beheld them a long season, and he conjured these lords by their faith and law to say the truth, if they were the same persons that they named themselves for: and they said, 'Yea.' And yet to know the more certainty he sent to them the French knight sir Jaques of Helly to know them; for he had served Amurath-baquin before, therefore he had his life granted him. He was demanded if he knew the French knights prisoners. He answered and said: 'I think, if I see them, I shall know them.' Then he was commanded to go and aview them and to shew plainly their names. He did as he was commanded; and when he came to them, he shewed them his adventure and how he was sent thither to know surely their names. Then they said: 'Ah, sir Jaques, ye know us all, and ye see well how fortune is against us and how we be in danger of this king: therefore to save our lives make us rather greater than we be indeed, and shew the king that we be such men able to pay great ransoms.' 'Sirs,' quoth he, 'so shall I do, for I am bound thereto.' Then this knight returned to Amurath-baquin and to his council, and said how those knights which he had spoken with were of the greatest men in all France and were of the king's lineage, and said they were able to pay great ransoms. Then Amurath-baquin said how their lives should be saved, and all other prisoners to be slain and hewen all to pieces in example of all other. Then the king shewed himself before all the people that were there assembled, to whom they all made low reverence: they made a lane for him to pass through, every man with his sword naked in his hand, and so came thither, where the said lords of France stood together. Then the king would see the correction of the other,[1] which thing the Saracens were desirous to do.

1 'For the king desired that they should witness the punishment of the rest.'

Then they were all brought before Amurath-baquin naked in their shirts, and he beheld them a little and then turned from them-ward and made a sign that they should be all slain, and so they were brought through the Saracens, that had ready naked swords in their hands, and so slain and hewen all to pieces without mercy. This cruel justice did Amurath-baquin that day, by the which more than three hundred gentlemen of divers nations were tormented and slain for the love of God, on whose souls Jesu have mercy. Among other was slain sir Henry d'Antoing of Hainault. And so it was, the lord Bouciquaut, marshal of France, was one of them that was brought naked before the king, and had been slain with other, an the earl of Nevers had not espied him. As soon as he saw him, he went straight to the king and kneeled down and desired him affectuously to respite from the death that knight sir Bouciquaut, saying how he was a great man in France and able to pay a great ransom. Amurath-baquin condescended to the request of the earl of Nevers, and so sir Bouciquaut was set among them that should be saved. Thus cruel justice was done that day upon the Christian men; and because that Amurath-baquin would that his victory should be known in France, he appointed out three of the French knights to come before him, whereof sir Jaques of Helly was one. Then the king demanded of the earl of Nevers which of the three knights he would choose to send into France to the king and to the duke of Burgoyne his father. Then the earl of Nevers said: 'Sir, an it please you, I would that this knight, sir Jaques of Helly, should go thither from you and from us.' So sir Jaques tarried with Amurath-baquin, and the other two knights delivered to death and so slain, which was pity.

Then Amurath-baquin was well appeased of his furour and understood how the king of Hungary was scaped away alive: then he determined to return into Turkey to a city called Bursa, and so he did, and thither all the prisoners were brought; and then his army departed, and specially such as were of far countries, as Tartary, Perse, Mede, Surie, Alexandre and of Lecto. Then sir Jaques Helly was delivered to return into France, and he was commanded

to return through Lombardy and to recommend Amurath-baquin to the duke of Milan, and also he was straitly commanded that in every place as he passed to manifest and publish the victory that Amurath-baquin had upon the Christian men. The earl of Nevers wrote to the French king for himself and all his company, and to his father the duke of Burgoyne and to the duchess his mother. When this knight had his charge, as well by writing as by credence, he departed and took his way towards France. Or he departed, he was sworn and promised, as soon as he had done his message in France, incontinent to return again thither, which oath and promise he accomplished like a true knight.

Now we will leave speaking at this time of Amurath-baquin and of the lords of France prisoners, and we will speak of other matters that fell the same season.

CHAPTER CCXIV [CCXVIII]

Of the poverty and misery that the Christian knights of France and other nations endured in the coming home to their country.

AFTER this great discomfiture, that the Turks had upon the Christian men, such knights as could save themselves, did. The same Monday there was a three hundred knights and squires that were gone a-foraging and were not at the battle; for when they knew by them that fled that the battle was done, they had no desire to return again to their lodgings, but fled as well as they might and took divers ways to fly from the Turks. There fled both Frenchmen, Englishmen, Almains, Scots, Flemings and of other nations, and they came into a country joining to Hungary, called Blacquie;[1] it was a country replenished with divers people, they were conquered upon the Turks and turned perforce to the Christian faith. The keepers of the ports, towns and castles suffered these Christian men to enter and to lodge; but the next morning at their departure they took from these knights and squires all that they had and gave them poor coats and a little silver to pass therewith one day's journey. This grace they shewed to the gentlemen, and as for other yeomen and varlets, they were spoiled all naked and sore beaten and evil entreated without pity. So they passed through the country of Blacquie in great poverty, and through Hungary: they could scant get bread for God's sake, nor lodging at night. They endured this danger in passing till they came to Vien in Austrich: there they were received more sweetly and refreshed and new clad, and so through the realm of Boeme; for if they had found the Almains so hard, they had never turned again, but rather died for cold and hunger. Every man that heard them tell of that adventure had pity on them. So finally they came into France to Paris and there shewed their adventures. At the beginning they could not be believed: some in Paris said: 'It is pity these unthrifts be unhanged or drowned for telling of such lies.' Howbeit, these tidings daily multiplied with resorting of new men.

When the French king understood that these news daily renewed, they were nothing pleasant to him; for it was a great damage of the loss of the noblemen of his blood and of other good knights and squires of the realm of France. Then he commanded no man to be so hardy to speak any more of that matter, till he were better informed of the certainty, and commanded that all such as were come out of Hungary should be taken and put in prison, till the truth were known. So there were many put into prison, and the king had ordained, that if the news were not true, that they should be all drowned and put to death.

[1] Wallachia.

CHAPTER CCXV [CCXIX]

How the true tidings of the battle in Turkey was known in the French king's house.

So it was, on Christmas day sir Jaques Helly about the hour of noon entered into Paris and so took his lodging, and demanded where the king was; and it was shewed him that he was at Saint-Pol's on the river of Seine: then he went thither. There was with the king the duke of

Orleans his brother, the duke of Berry, the duke of Burgoyne, the duke of Bourbon and the earl of Saint-Pol, and divers other noblemen of the realm of France, as the usage was for such noblemen to be with the king at such high feasts. So sir Jaques of Helly entered into the court booted and spurred: as then he was not beknown, for he had of long time haunted far countries. He did so much that he came to the king's chamber, and said how he came from Amurath-baquin out of Turkey, and had been at the battle before Nicopoly, where the Christian men had lost the journey, and said he had letters from the earl of Nevers and from other lords of France, such as were prisoners. Then he was brought to the king: he kneeled down and wisely declared his message, as well from Amurath-baquin as from the earl of Nevers and other lords of France prisoners in Turkey. The king gave him audience, and was sweetly examined of all the whole matter, and to everything he answered so discreetly, that the king was well content with him, and was right sorrowful for the damage that the king of Hungary and they had sustained. Howbeit, they were glad that the king of Hungary was scaped without death or prisonment; for they said he should recover right well again the loss and damage that he had received at that time: also they were right joyful that the earl of Nevers and the other lords were escaped the death, and were but as prisoners; and they said there was no doubt but they should be ransomed and delivered: for sir Jaques of Helly said there was no doubt but that Amurath-baquin would within the year put them to ransom, for he loved gold and riches, and that sir Jaques said he knew well, because he had long been conversant in Turkey and served Amurath-baquin's father more than three year. Thus the king right well received this knight, and so did all other lords, such as were there; and every man said he was happy in this world to be in such a battle and to have the acquaintance of such a heathen king as Amurath-baquin was, saying it was an honour for him and for all his lineage. Then the king commanded all such as were in prison to be delivered, whereof they were glad.

Thus these news that sir Jaques of Helly had brought spread anon abroad in France and in other places: many were right sorrowful for the loss of their fathers, brethren, husbands and children, and not without good cause, and specially the great ladies of France, as the duchess of Burgoyne for her son the earl of Nevers, and her daughter Margaret of Hainault was sorrowful for the earl her husband: in like wise was dolorous Mary of Berry, countess of Eu, for her husband Philip of Artois, constable of France, and in like wise so was the countess of Marche, the lady of Coucy and her daughter of Bar, the lady of Sully and many other ladies, as well of France as of other places; and when they had wept enough, then they recomforted themselves, in that they were not slain but prisoners: but such as knew their husbands, fathers, brethren, children and friends dead, their lamentations endured long in France.

The duke of Burgoyne made much of this knight sir Jaques of Helly, who had brought him word that his son was alive, and gave him many rich gifts and retained him as one of his knights with two hundred pound of revenues yearly during his life. The French king and all other lords gave largely to this knight. Then he shewed how he must needs return again to Amurath-baquin, for that was his promise at his departing, for he stood but as prisoner, and said how he had not returned but to do this message from Amurath-baquin. The king and other thought it but reasonable that he should keep his promise. Then the king and other wrote to these prisoners, and it was concluded by council that the French king should send a knight of honour to Amurath-baquin, to the intent that he might return again to bring new tidings, in what case the prisoners were in. There was appointed to go in this voyage sir John of Chateau Morant, who was a wise knight and well languaged. Then it was demanded of sir Jaques what jewels or presents the king might best send to Amurath-baquin and that should best please him, to the intent that the prisoners should be the better entreated. The knight answered that Amurath-baquin took great pleasure in cloths of Arras made of old ancient histories, and also, he said, he had great delight in these white falcons called gerfalcons; also he said that fine

linen cloths and fine scarlets were much made of there, for of cloth of gold and silk they had plenty. This pleased well the French king and the duke of Burgoyne, whose minds were set to please Amurath-baquin. Thus a twelve days sir Jaques of Helly tarried at Paris, and every man was glad to hear him report the adventures of Turkey and of the manner of Amurath-baquin.

When he departed to return, the king said to him; 'Sir Jaques, take your way and make but small journeys at your ease: I think ye will return by Lombardy and speak with the duke of Milan, for there is great amity between him and Amurath-baquin: but which way soever ye go, we will that sir John of Chateau Morant abide in Hungary till ye have got him a safe-conduct to go to Amurath-baquin with such presents as we shall send him, to the intent that he should be the more favourable to the prisoners.' 'Sir,' quoth he, 'all this shall be done.' So he departed and took the same way he came. Anon after his departure the king and the duke of Burgoyne did prepare for these presents, and sir John of Chateau Morant despatched and had his charge. He had with him six somers laden with presents, two of them with cloths of Arras of the goodliest that could be got, wrought with the story of Alexander, of his life and conquests, right pleasant to behold; other two somers were charged with fine scarlets, white and red; and also with much pain the king gat of these white gerfalcons. Thus sir John of Chateau Morant departed from Paris with his presents and charge a fifteen days after that sir Jaques of Helly was departed.

In this mean season the king of Hungary returned into his country, whereof all his people were right joyful, for they loved him; and so came and comforted him and said: 'Sir, though ye have had damage at this time, another time ye shall right well recover it.' Thus the king bare his damage as well as he might. On the other part, Amurath-baquin returned into his country and came to a town called Bursa, and thither were all the prisoners brought and there set under sure keeping. They were nothing there at their ease: the heat of the country and diet sore changed them; for they had been used before to sweet and delicate meats and drinks, and had their own cooks and officers that did prepare their meats according to their diets, and there in Turkey they were served all contrary, with gross meats, flesh evil sodden and dressed; they had spices enough and bread made of millet, clean from the nature of France; they had wine, and that was with great danger.[1] Though they were all great lords, they were but smally regarded there: the Turks had as lieve they had been sick as whole and dead as alive; they would they had been all put to execution. So these prisoners comforted each other within themselves, for they saw none other remedy: so some of them their nature changed and fell into sickness; he that made the best cheer and countenance was the earl of Nevers, and that he did to comfort his companions; also sir Bouciquaut and the earl of Marche and sir Henry of Bar were of good comfort and took everything patiently, saying that the honours in arms nor the glory of the world could not be had without pain and sometime with meeting of hard adventures, for they said that there was never so valiant and happy, that had always everything as they wished: they said they were bound to thank God that he had saved their lives, considering the displeasure that Amurath-baquin and his council were in for the loss of their men; 'for it was once determined that we should all generally have been put to death.' Then Bouciquaut said: 'I ought above all other to thank God of my life, for I was at the point to have been hewen all to pieces, as other of my company were; but at the request of my lord here, the earl of Nevers, I was saved. This adventure call I good, and sith God hath delivered us from this peril, he will, an it please him, deliver us from a greater; for we be his soldiers and for his sake we have this pain. For by reason that sir Jaques of Helly is gone into France, I trust within a year we shall have good comfort and be delivered: the matter cannot abide thus: the French king and the duke of Burgoyne will not forget us, but by some means ransomed and delivered.'

Thus sir Bouciquaut recomforted himself and took everything in good patience; but the lord Coucy could take no comfort,

[1] 'With great difficulty,' or 'in great scarcity.'

which was marvel, for before that time he was a lord of great wisdom and of great comfort and never was abashed; but being thus in prison in Bursa in Turkey, he was more discomforted than any other and in more melancholy, and said he was sure he should never return into France. Sir Henry of Bar comforted him as much as he might and blamed him of his discomfort, saying how he ought to give comfort to all other. Howbeit, the same sir Henry was sore abashed in himself and oftentimes remembered his wife and would weep piteously; and in like wise so did sir Philip of Artois, earl of Eu and constable of France: sir Guy of Tremouille was of good comfort and so was the earl of Marche. Amurath-baquin was content sometime that they should have some pastime, and sometime he would go himself and see them and jangle and bourd with them right graciously, and would that they should see part of his estate and puissance. Now let us leave somewhat to speak of them, and speak of sir Jaques of Helly and sir John of Chateau Morant, who were both riding towards Hungary.

Sir Jaques of Helly tarried in the city of Bude in Hungary about a ten or twelve days, abiding for sir John of Chateau Morant; and when he was come, sir Jaques was joyful, for he was desirous to pass forth into Turkey, to acquit him of his faith and promise, and to see the earl of Nevers and the lords of France and to comfort them. When the king of Hungary saw sir John of Chateau Morant, he made him good cheer for the love of the French king, and he understood that the French king had sent by him great presents and jewels to Amurath-baquin, wherewith he was sore displeased in his mind, but he dissimuled the matter and kept it covert till sir Jaques Helly was departed into Turkey-ward; but he said to such of his privy council as he discovered the matter unto, how that the miscreant dog his adversary Amurath-baquin should have no presents out of France nor from no place else, if it lay in his power to let it. Sir Jaques Helly was departed, and promised to get of Amurath-baquin a safe-conduct for sir John Morant to pass into Turkey and repass. So long he travelled with guides, that he came into Turkey to the city of Bursa, but as then Amurath-baquin was in another city called Boli, and wheresoever he went the prisoners were carried with him, except the lord Coucy, who tarried still at Bursa, for he could not endure to ride, he was so sick, and with him tarried a cousin of his of Greece, a right valiant baron descended of the lineage of the dukes of Austrich, who was called Metelin.[1] When sir Jaques was come to Boli, Amurath-baquin was glad to see him, because he was come out of France. Then sir Jaques right humbly said to him: 'Right dear and redoubted sir, behold here your prisoner: to the best of my power I have done your message that ye gave me in charge to do.' Then Amurath-baquin said: 'Thou art welcome, thou hast truly acquitted thyself, and therefore I acquit thee of thy ransom and prison, so that thou mayst go, return and tarry at thy pleasure.' Whereof sir Jaques right humbly thanked him. Then he shewed how the French king and the duke of Burgoyne had sent a knight of honour embassade to him with credence, and had brought with him certain presents of pleasure from the French king. Amurath-baquin demanded what they were and if he had seen them or not. The knight answered: 'Sir, I have not seen them, but the knight that hath the charge to do the message is at Bude in Hungary; and, sir, I am come before to shew you thereof and to have a safe-conduct for the said knight to come and to return safely.' Then Amurath-baquin said: 'We will that he have one, as thou wilt devise': whereof the knight thanked him. So they departed as at that time. Another time sir Jaques spake with Amurath-baquin and kneeled down before him and humbly required that he might see the lords and knights of France, for he had divers things to say to them out of their country. Amurath-baquin studied a little or he answered, and at last said: 'Thou shalt speak with one of them but with no more'; and so sent for the earl of Nevers alone: and when he was come sir Helly kneeled down to him.[2] The earl was glad to see him

[1] 'And for him had remained as hostage a cousin of his of Greece . . . called the lord of Metelin' (that is, Mitylene).

[2] 'S'enclina vers luy.'

and demanded how the French king and the duke his father and the duchess his mother did. The knight shewed him all that he knew and all that he was charged to say to him; howbeit, they had not so good leisure to talk together as they would have had, for Amurath-baquin's men that were there present bade them have done, for they said they had other things to do than to stand there and wait upon them. Then sir Jaques demanded of the earl how all the other lords of France did. The earl said they were all in good case except the lord of Coucy, who was somewhat diseased and was at the city of Bursa. Then sir Jaques shewed him how sir John of Chateau Morant was come out of France from the king and from the duke of Burgoyne in ambassade to Amurath-baquin; 'and to assuage his ire he hath sent him rich jewels and presents; but he is at Bude in Hungary with the king there, and I am come before for a safe-conduct for him to come and go, the which Amurath-baquin hath granted, and I think I shall return to him shortly.' Hereof the earl was right joyous, but he durst make no semblant for fear of the Turks, but said: 'Sir Jaques, I understand by you that ye are quit of your ransom and prison and that ye may return when it pleaseth you into France. When ye come there, I pray you shew the king and my father that we all desire them to treat as shortly as may be for our deliverance by some merchants Genoways or Venetians, and agree at the first word to that Amurath-baquin shall desire for our ransom: for if they should make long treaty with him, we shall be lost for ever: for I understand Amurath-baquin is true of his word, courteous and short in all his matters, so he be taken at the point.'

Thus the earl of Nevers and sir Jaques departed. When the safe-conduct was ready, it was delivered to sir Jaques. Then he took his leave of Amurath-baquin and of other of his court of his acquaintance, and rode so long by his journeys that he arrived at Bude in Hungary. Then he drew to sir John Morant, who thought long for him. Then sir Jaques said: 'Sir, I have brought you a safe-conduct to go into Turkey, and all your company, and to return again at your pleasure.' 'I am glad thereof,' quoth the knight; 'let us go to the king of Hungary and shew him thereof, and then to-morrow betimes let us depart, for I have tarried here long enough.' Then they both together went to the king into his chamber and shewed him all the matter. The king then answered and said: 'Sir John Morant, and ye, Helly, ye be welcome: ye shall go at your pleasure for the love of my cousins of France, to whom I would be glad to do pleasure and to you also. Ye may go and come through my realm at your pleasure, and also into Turkey, if ye please; but as for your presents, that you, sir John, have brought out of France, I will not agree that ye shall convey them to that hell-hound Amurath-baquin; he shall never be enriched therewith: it should turn to our great shame and rebuke, if he should make his avaunt that because he hath had victory on us and hath in danger and prison certain lords of France, that for fear thereof there should be sent to him rich presents. As for the gerfalcons, I care not for, for fowls fly lightly out of one country into another, they are soon given and soon lost: but as for rich hangings of Arras, are things to be seen and to endure for ever. Wherefore, sir John Morant, if ye will pass into Turkey with your gerfalcons, go when it please you, but as for any other thing, ye shall have none with you.'

Then the knight answered and said: 'Certainly, sir, it should not be mine honour, nor pleasant to the French king nor to the lords that have sent me hither, without I might accomplish my voyage as I have in charge.' 'Well,' quoth the king, 'ye shall have none other way of me at this time.' So the king went from them and left the two knights speaking together. They were sore troubled with the abusion on the king of Hungary. Then they counselled together what was best for them to do: then they determined to send hasty messengers to the French king and to the duke of Burgoyne, sith they saw they could have none other remedy. They wrote letters to the king and to the duke of Burgoyne, that they should provide for the matter: they sent their letters by post, to make the more haste, and tarried still themselves at Bude with the king of Hungary abiding the return of their messenger.

This messenger sped so well and made such diligence, that he came to Paris and there found the king and the duke of Burgoyne; and there shewed his letters, and they were read at length, with the which they were nothing pleased and had marvel that the king of Hungary would not suffer his presents to pass through his country into Turkey. The duke of Berry excused the king of Hungary and said how he had good cause to do as he did, 'for it is a thing too humbly done for the king to send such presents to an heathen king.' The duke of Burgoyne, because the matter touched him, he was of the contrary opinion, and said it was a thing reasonable so to do, sith that fortune had been so favourable to him to have the victory in such a battle, and hath had the king of Hungary in chase, and hath taken prisoners all such noblemen as were against him in that journey, 'wherefore the friends of these prisoners may well find the means to comfort them for their deliverance.' This duke's words were upholden with the king and with divers of his council. Then the king demanded of his uncle of Berry saying: 'Fair uncle, if Amurath-baquin, the soudan or any other heathen king send you a ruby or a rich jewel, whether will ye receive it or not?' 'Sir,' quoth he, 'I would take advice.' Then the king said: 'It passeth not yet ten year sith the soudan sent you a ruby which cost twenty thousand franks.' So the king of Hungary's deed was not sustained, but it was said that he had evil done to stop the going of these presents, and that it should rather hinder the prisoners than advance them. Then the king was counselled to write to the king of Hungary amiable letters, desiring him not to stop his knight, but suffer him to pass into Turkey with his presents and message. Then letters were written, sealed and delivered again to the same messenger, and so he departed to return into Hungary.

CHAPTERS CCXVI, CCXVII [CCXX, CCXXI]

SUMMARY. — The duchess of Orleans was charged with causing the king's malady, and the duke of Milan made this a cause of quarrel with the French king. The news of the battle of Nicopoli stopped them from war.

The duke of Burgundy did all he could to redeem his son and the other prisoners.

By the influence of the grand master of Rhodes, sir John de Chateau Morant and sir Jaques de Helly were allowed to take the French king's presents into Turkey.

CHAPTERS CCXVIII–CCXX [CCXXII–CCXXIV]

SUMMARY. — The duke of Gloucester schemed against his nephew king Richard of England and stirred up the people against him.

King Richard by subtlety caused him to be taken.

The lord of Coucy died at Broussa and the earl of Eu at Ephesus. The earl of Nevers and the rest were ransomed and returned by Rhodes and Venice to France.

CHAPTER CCXXI [CCXXV]

How after the return of the lords of France the French king intended what he might to set a concord and peace in the Church.

THE earl of Nevers thus returned into France; he abode about the duke his father and visited his lands and seignories. Then he had desire to go to see the French king and the duke of Orleans, who received him with great joy. The king and the duke of Orleans had great appetite to hear the earl speak, and to hear of the news of Turkey and of all his adventures and of the state of Amurath-baquin. The earl answered wisely and complained nothing of Amurath-baquin, but said he had found him right courteous, and how that he was well entreated; and he forgat not to shew the king and the ladies how at his departing Amurath-baquin said to him that he was born in this world to do deeds of arms and to conquer ever more and more, and how that he would not command them when they were prisoners that they should no more bear arms against him, but said he would rather have them come again the

second, third or fourth time, if need were, if the deeds of arms so required; and also he said how his intent was to see Rome and to make his horse eat oats upon Saint Peter's altar; and also he said how our Christian faith was nothing worth, but corrupted by the heads that ought to govern them, whereat the Turks make but a mock; wherefore he said it should be the destruction of Christendom and that the time was as then come: and divers of the Turks and Saracens said that their king Amurath-baquin was born to be lord of all the world; and this they of Turkey, of Tartary, of Perse, of Alexandre and of other parts of the Saracens' lands said they knew it well that it should be so, by reason that the Christian men were abused upon two popes, whereby the Christian men were not all of one accord,[1] but differed, some believing on the one pope and some upon the other; and the Saracens had great marvel how the heads of Christendom in every realm would suffer it.

These words of the earl of Nevers made the French king and other lords greatly to muse, and some said how the Saracens had good reason to laugh and mock at Christendom, because they suffered the prelates of the Church to meddle so much: therefore some said it was time to abate their pomps and to bring them to reason. The clerks of the university of Paris, who travailed to learn, could not come to any preferment of any benefice by reason of the schism in the Church and of the two popes; wherefore they would gladly that the people should murmur against them, and were right glad that the earl of Nevers said that the Turks made a great derision thereof; and said that, without the French king and the king of Almaine found some remedy, everything should be worse and worse: and to say the truth, such as held them as neuter they thought had taken the best way, and so every man ought to do, if they would bring the Church into good case. Also it was secretly shewed the French king by such as he loved and such as loved his health, how that it was the common opinion in the realm of France that he should never have perfectly his health unto the time that the Church were brought in another estate. And also they shewed the king how that king Charles his father, when he lay in his death-bed, charged his council in conscience,[1] and had great doubt that he was sore abused in those two popes. Then the French king answered them and said: 'When the king my father died, I was but young, and I have believed hitherto such as have counselled me. If there be folly, it is in them and not in me: but sith we be now thus informed in the matter, we shall provide for the remedy, and that shall be well seen.'

The French king marked the matter more profoundly than ever he did before, and said to them of his council how he would provide for the matter, and spake thereof to his brother the duke of Orleans, earl of Blois and of Valois, who agreed anon to the king's will. In like wise so did the duke of Burgoyne; for though he obeyed pope Clement, yet he had never firm belief on him, but the prelates of the realm of France, and specially Guy of Roye, archbishop of Rheims, the archbishops of Sens and of Rouen, and the bishop of Autun, they had brought the duke to believe on pope Clement. Then it was advised by the king's secret council, that if they purposed to bring the Church to rest and peace, to have the accord of Almaine. Then was there sent sufficient ambassadors and clerks of both laws, as master Philip of Plaoul was one, into Almaine to the king of Boeme and of Almaine, who wrote himself king of the Romans. This matter went so forward, that a day was set that the king of Almaine and his council and the French king and his council should met personally at the city of Rheims. This matter was done secretly, because the prelates, cardinals, archbishops and bishops should not break their purpose that they were about. They made it to be noised that the meeting of these two kings and their councils at Rheims was for none other purpose but to treat for

[1] It should be: 'and by what he had seen and heard, they knew in Turkey, in Tartary, in Persia, in Alexandria, in Cairo and in all parts of the Saracens' land, how the Christians erred through those who wrote themselves popes, as well as they did in France, and how the Christians were not all of one accord,' etc.

[1] 'Had charged his council, and doubted that he were deceived in the matter of these popes, and held his conscience much charged by it.'

a marriage to be had between the son of the marquis of Brandebourg, brother to the king of Almaine, and the daughter of the duke of Orleans, and so by reason and under colour of that matter they would commune of other.

In this same season died at Avesnes in Hainault the lord Guy of Chatillon, earl of Blois, and brought to Valenciennes and buried at Saint Francis in the Friars Minors, in a chapel called the chapel of Artois. He had done much cost in the closing of the said Friars, and when he died he was so in debt,[1] that the countess Mary of Namur forsook all his goods and durst not take on her the administration of his testament, but returned to her dowry of the land of Chimay and of Beaumont, and his other heritages went to the heirs. The duke of Orleans had the county of Blois, for he had paid while the earl Guy lived two hundred thousand crowns of France, and the lands of Holland, Zealand and Hainault went to the duke Aubert of Bavier, earl of Hainault, and the land of Avesnes, of Landrecies and of Nouvion in Thierache, fell to John of Blois, called John of Bretayne, and if the earl had not sold the county of Blois, the said John of Bretayne should have been his heir thereof. Consider what a damage a lord or any other may do to his heir by giving credence to evil counsel. God forgive him.[2]

Now let us return to the business of England.

CHAPTER CCXXII [CCXXVI]

SUMMARY.—The duke of Gloucester was taken to Calais and put to death, and the earl of Arundel was executed in London. The king did what he would in England, and none dared speak against him.

1 'True it is that he was building a very fair and notable chapel in the close of the said minor friars and near by, where he thought to lie. And he died so much in debt,' etc.

2 Here in the fuller text we read also an acknowledgment by Froissart of the liberality with which the said earl of Blois had supported the expenses of his historical work, and an excuse for the dishonourable transactions connected with the sale of the county of Blois, on the ground that he was deceived by the counsel of others who wished him neither honour nor profit.

CHAPTER CCXXIII [CCXXVII]

SUMMARY. — At the meeting of the emperor and the French king at Rheims, it was resolved to send to both popes and demand that they should resign and submit to a new election.

CHAPTERS CCXXIV-CCXXVII [CCXXVIII-CCXXXI]

SUMMARY.—The earl marshal in England appealed the earl of Derby of treason, and a combat was appointed to be between them before the king. The king was counselled not to allow the combat, and gave sentence accordingly that both should be banished. The earl of Derby went into France and came to Paris, where he was well received by the king and all others.

CHAPTER CCXXVIII [CCXXXII]

How the treaty that had been at Rheims between the French king and the king of Almaine concerning the unity of the Church, was followed, and how the bishop of Cambray was sent by the said king to Rome and to Avignon to them that wrote themselves popes, to the intent that they should depose themselves from their papalities and submit them to the order of these two kings.

Ye have heard herebefore how the king of Almaine and the king of France and the lords of the Empire and their councils had been at the city of Rheims, and there they had divers secret counsels; and their intention was to bring the Church into a perfect unity; for to follow the way that the Church held as then, the error was too great. And also ye have heard how master Peter d'Ailly, bishop of Cambray, was sent in legation to Rome to speak with pope Boniface. He sped him so in his journey that he came to Fondes and there found pope Boniface, and to him he delivered his letters of credence directed from the kings of Almaine and of France. The pope received them and the bishop right meekly: the pope knew well part of his message. Then the bishop declared

the cause of his coming. When the pope had well heard him, he said how the answer lay not all only in him, but also in all the cardinals that had chosen him pope; but, he said, when he had spoken with them by deliberate counsel, then he would make such an answer that he trusted to content them. This answer was sufficient for that time. The bishop dined that day in the pope's palace and certain cardinals with him. Then after the pope departed from Fondes and went to Rome, and there the pope assembled a convocation of the cardinals in his palace beside Saint Peter's church. In this consistory there were none but the pope and his cardinals, and there the pope shewed the request that the king of Almaine and the French king had made him by the bishop of Cambray, and there he demanded counsel what answer he should make. There were then many reasons alleged, for it seemed right contrary to the cardinals to put down that they had made: they said it should be greatly to their shame and rebuke. Then they said to the pope: 'Holy father, to cause these kings to be in a good hope that ye will obey to them, ye must somewhat dissimule the matter and say how ye will gladly obey to all thing that the king of Almaine, the king of Hungary and the king of England will counsel you unto; so that he that is in Avignon, who writeth himself pope Benedict, whom the French king and the Frenchmen uphold in his error, that he depose him of the name of papality: and then, wheresoever it shall please the said kings to appoint a conclave, ye will be ready and all your brethren the cardinals.' This counsel pleased well pope Boniface. This was the special and general answer that the bishop of Cambray had.

And when the Romans understood that the kings of Almaine and of France had sent to their pope their ambassade to have him to leave his papality, anon there multiplied great murmuration through the city of Rome, and the Romans doubted greatly to lose the pope's siege, which was yearly to them a great profit; for all pardons that should be two year after, the vantage thereof should grow to the city of Rome, and against that pardon they had made great provision, wherefore they doubted lest it should have been lost, which should greatly have been to their prejudice.[1] Then the most notablest persons in Rome assembled together and came to the pope, and shewed him more sign of love than ever they had done before, and said: 'Holy father, ye are the true pope, therefore lose not your heritage and patrimony of the Church, the which was Saint Peter's: take never counsel to the contrary, but abide still as pope, for whosoever be against you, we shall abide with you and jeopard our bodies and goods to defend you in your right.' The pope answered and said: 'My well beloved children, be of good comfort, and be well assured that I will abide as pope, for any treaty of king or kings to the contrary.' Thus the Romans were contented and appeased and returned to their houses. The pope's answer was always to the bishop of Cambray, that when he perceived clearly that Benedict deposed himself, then he said he would be ordered by the said kings.

So the bishop returned and came into Almaine and found the king at Convalence,[2] and there he shewed the answer that he had at Rome. Then the king of Almaine said: 'Well, shew all this to our brother and cousin the French king, and as he ordereth himself, so shall I order me and all the Empire; but as far as I can see, he must begin first, and when he hath put down his pope, then we shall put down ours.' Then the bishop departed from the king and rode till he came to Paris, where he found the French king; and there the bishop shewed his answer, which was kept secret till the king had assembled together more number of noblemen and prelates of his realm, by whom he would be counselled, how he should proceed further.

[1] The reference is no doubt to the expected profits of the jubilee in the year 1400, that is two years after. It should be 'to lose the pope's see, which was yearly to them a great profit, and also with regard to the general pardons which should be in two years to come,' etc. The general pardon for all pilgrims in the jubilee year would attract large numbers to Rome.

[2] Coblentz.

CHAPTER CCXXIX [CCXXXIII]

How the French king assembled the prelates and other noblemen of his realm with the university of Paris, to take counsel how they should order pope Benedict at Avignon.

WHEN the French king had heard the answer of pope Boniface at Rome, and how the king of Almaine in like wise answered how that first pope Benedict must be put down; that done, then he would make a convocation of prelates and noblemen of his realm and come to Paris.[1] There were certain prelates in France, as the archbishop of Rheims, sir Guy of Roye, and the archbishops of Rouen and Sens, and the bishops of Paris, of Beauvois and of Auxerre, they had sore sustained the opinions of pope Benedict at Avignon, and specially of Clement, because he was advanced by their means:[2] these six prelates were not called to the king in this council, but other prelates and the university of Paris. And when the bishop of Cambray had shewed before them all how he had sped at Rome, and the answer that pope Boniface and his cardinals had made him, and the answer of the king of Almaine, then they entered into council, and it was agreed that the university should have the greatest voice.[3] Then it was determined by the university[4] that the king should send sir Bouciquaut his marshal into the parts of Avignon, and to do so much by treaty or otherwise, that Benedict should leave his papality and to ordain himself in all points by the king and his council, and that the Church in all the limitations in the realm of France should be as neuter, till the Church were brought into perfect unity; and that done, then everything to return to the true right.

This counsel was thought good and was accepted of the king and all other. Then the marshal of France and the bishop of Cambray were ordained to go to Avignon. They departed from Paris and rode till they came to Lyons on the river of Rhone; and there they two departed asunder, for it was ordained that the marshal should tarry there still till he heard tidings from the bishop, who rode forth and so came to Avignon. There were some of the cardinals that knew well wherefore he came, but they dissimuled the matter to know what pope Benedict would say. When the bishop of Cambray had refreshed him at his lodging and had changed his apparel, then he went to the pope's palace; and when he came in the pope's presence, he made his reverence, but not in such wise as he ought to have done, if he had taken him as pope, as other men did; and yet he made him bishop of Cambray, but that promotion he had by the means of the lords of France. Then the bishop of Cambray, who was well languaged both in Latin and in French, spake and shewed how he was sent thither from the French king and from the king of Almaine, and so began his process; and when the bishop came to the utterance of the matter, how the pope should resign and depose himself from the papal dignity, and that he that was at Rome should do likewise, with these words the pope began to change colour, and lift up his voice and said: 'I have endured great pain and travail for the Church, and by good election I was created pope, and now to depose myself, that I shall never do during my life; and I will that the French king know that, for all his ordinance, I will do nothing thereafter, but I will keep my name and papality till I die.' 'Sir,' quoth the bishop of Cambray, 'saving your grace, I took you for more prudent than I now find you: first demand counsel of your brethren the cardinals and then make answer; for you alone cannot make no resistance against them, if they agree to this opinion, nor ye are not able to resist the puissance of the kings of France and Almaine.' Then two cardinals that were there, such as the pope had made before, they perceiving the matter not likely to do well, rose and said to the pope: 'Holy father, the bishop of Cambray speaketh well. Sir, we desire you to do herein after his counsel.' 'Well,' quoth the pope, 'I am content.' So they departed for that time, and the bishop went to his lodging,

[1] Badly translated. It should be: 'When the French king had heard the answer of pope Boniface and how the king of Almaine had said also that first pope Benedict must submit, he made a convocation of the noblest prelates of his realm, and they came all to Paris.'

[2] 'Because he had advanced and benefited them.'

[3] 'And my opinion is that the university had the greatest voice.

[4] The words 'by the university' are inserted by the translator.

and went not to see any cardinals but dissimuled himself.

The next day betimes the bell sowned to the consistory, and then there was a convocation of all the cardinals that were at Avignon: they all assembled at the palace and entered into the consistory, and thither was called the bishop of Cambray, who in Latin shewed at length his message and the cause of his coming thither. When he had said, then he was answered how the pope should take counsel to answer, and in the mean time he to depart out of the house, and so he did. And in the mean season Benedict and his cardinals counselled together and were long debating of the matter, and many thought it hard and a contrary matter to put down that they had created. Then the cardinal of Amiens spake and said: 'Lords, whether we will or not, it must behove us to obey the French king and the king of Almaine, sith they be conjoined together, for without them we cannot live. Howbeit, we should do well enough with the king of Almaine, if the French king would take our part: but it is otherwise, for he commandeth us to obey or else he will stop from us the fruits of our benefices, without the which we cannot live. True it is, holy father, that we have created you as pope on the condition that to your power ye should aid to reform the Church and to bring it into perfect union, and this ye have always said and maintained. Therefore, sir, answer attemperately and in such manner as we may praise you; for, sir, ye ought better to know your own courage than we.' Then divers other of the cardinals said: 'Sir, the cardinal of Amiens sayeth well and wisely; wherefore, sir, we pray you all in general that ye will speak and shew us what ye will do.' Then Benedict answered and said: 'The union of the Church I desire, and I have taken great pain therein; but sith God of his divine grace hath provided for me the papality, and that ye have chosen me thereto, as long as I live I will be pope, and I will not depose myself nother for king, duke, earl nor other treaty, nor by no process nor means, but that I will abide pope.' Then the cardinals rose up all together with great murmuring; some said he had spoken well and some said contrary. Thus they differed and were in discord; the most part departed out of the consistory and took no leave of the pope and returned to their lodgings; some, such as were in this pope's favour, tarried still with him.

When the bishop of Cambray saw how they departed in such manner, he knew well they accorded not well, and therewith advanced himself and entered into the consistory, and so came to the pope while he sat still in his see, and without doing of any great reverence said: 'Sir, give me mine answer: sith ye have had your council about you, ye ought to give me mine answer, that I may return.' This pope Benedict, who was in great displeasure for the words that the cardinal of Amiens had spoken, said: 'Bishop of Cambray, I have counsel of divers of my brethren the cardinals, who hath created me into the dignity papal, and have received all the solemnities thereto belonging, and am written and named pope by all my subjects, and as pope I will abide as long as I live. I will not do the contrary, to die in the pain;[1] for I have done no cause why to lose it. And say to our son of France that hither-unto I have taken him as a good catholic prince, but now by sinister means if he will enter into great error, he will repent it. I pray you to say to him from me, that he be well advised how he inclineth to anything that should trouble his conscience.' Therewith this Benedict rose out of his chair and went into his chamber, and certain cardinals with him; and the bishop Cambray returned to his lodging and dined soberly, and then after took his horse and passed the bridge of Rhone and came to Villeneuve, and at night lay at Bagnols, which pertained to the realm of France; and he understood that sir Bouciquaut, marshal of France, was come to Bourg Saint-Andrew, a nine leagues from Avignon. The next day thither came the bishop of Cambray and shewed him the answer of Benedict.

When the marshal understood that this pope Benedict would not obey the king his master's ordinance, he said to the bishop: 'Sir, ye are best to return into France, ye have no more to do here, and I shall execute that I am commanded to do by the king and his uncles.' The next day the

[1] That is, 'if I should die for it.'

bishop departed and took the way to Aubenas and to Puy, and the marshal set clerks awork to write, and sent for knights, squires and men of war through all the country of Velay, of Viviers and Auvergne, to Montpellier, for he had commission so to do by the king; and also he sent to the seneschal of Beaucaire, that he should close all the passages, as well by the river of Rhone as by land, to the intent that nothing should enter into Avignon. He went himself to the Pont Saint-Esprit and closed there the passage over the river of Rhone, that nothing should enter that way into Avignon. Thus the marshal daily gathered men of war, and many came to serve him, some for obeisance and some to pill and rob them of Avignon. There came to him sir Raymond of Touraine and the lord de la Voulte, the lord of Tournon, the lord of Montclau and the lord d'Uzès, so that the marshal had a great number of men. Then the marshal sent an herald to defy pope Benedict in his palace, and all the cardinals that would take his part. This was hard tidings to the cardinals and to them in the city of Avignon, for they knew well they could not long sustain the war against the puissance of the French king. Then they determined to go and speak with the pope, and so they did, and shewed him how they could not nor would not sustain the war against the French king; for, they said, they must live and have their merchandise to go as well by land as by river. This Benedict answered foolishly[1] and said: 'Sirs, your city is strong and well provided: I will send for men of war from Genes and into other places, and to my son the king of Aragon, that he come and serve me, which I am sure he will do, for he is bound thereto for two causes, he is of my lineage and also he ought to be obeisant to the pope. Sirs, ye are abashed of too little a cause: go your ways and keep and defend your town and I shall keep my palace.' Other answer the cardinals and men of the city could not have of this Benedict; so every man returned home. This Benedict had of long time purveyed his palace with wine, corn, lard, oil, and of all other things pertaining to a fortress, and also he was of his person high and cruel and would not be abashed for a little thing.

[1] The true reading is 'fellement,' 'angrily.'

The marshal of France departed from Pont Saint-Esprit and passed with all his company by the town of Orange, and so entered into the country of Venese,[1] which was land pertaining to the Church, the which anon was overrun. And the men of war passed at the bridge of Sorgues, and so they were lords of all the river, and the marshal tarried in the town of Sorgues with a great number of men of war to keep the town and passage, and also the garrison of Noves, which pertained to the pope.[2] Then the marshal went and lodged at Saint-Verain near to Avignon, and his men thereabout; and daily came thither men of war, so that the city of Avignon was closed in before and behind by land and by the river, so that nothing could enter nor issue without leave. For at Villeneuve without Avignon, which pertained to the realm of France, was the seneschal of Beaucaire with five hundred men and kept the entry on that side, and the marshal of France with two thousand men was on the other side of Avignon; and he sent to them of the city that, without they would obey and open their city, that he would burn all their vines and houses abroad in the country about to the river of Durance. That summoning greatly abashed the men and women within the city, for their heritages lay without Avignon unto the river of Durance. Then they went to council without knowledge of the pope, and they called to their council certain cardinals, as the cardinal of Amiens, of Poitiers, of Neufchatel, of Viviers and divers other. Then such as had most to lose shewed these cardinals how the marshal of France had threatened them to bren their vines and their houses, and all this had caused the French king, against whom they could not resist, for his puissance was so near them: and all things considered, they said they were better to obey to the French king than to hold their perilous opinions, for of Benedict they could have no aid nor comfort; and they demanded of these cardinals if they would join and take their part. The cardinals said they were content to take their ways,

[1] That is, the Venaissin.

[2] 'And the marshal left a great number of men of arms at Sorgues to guard the passage, and for the garrison of Noves, which held for the pope.'

for victuals began to fail them, and also their benefices were in the realm of France, which, they said, they would not willingly lose. So they entered into treaty with the marshal of France, the which took such effect that all the men of war entered into the city of Avignon and it was appointed to besiege the palace. Their covenant was to do no hurt nor displeasure to the cardinals nor to none of their men, nor to the whole body of the town. This to do the marshal promised. So they entered into Avignon and lodged at their ease and liberty, and then all the passages, as well by land as by water, were opened, to the intent that all manner of victual might come to the city.

When he that wrote himself pope Benedict, being closed in his palace, saw that the cardinals and the men of the city had made a treaty with the marshal of France without his counsel or advice, he was therewith sore displeased; howbeit, he said that he would not submit himself, to die in the pain, and so he kept himself close in his palace, which was as strong a place as any in the world and most easiest to be kept, so that it be well victualled. This pope had sent letters to the king of Aragon instantly to succour him in his need and to send him men of war, that he might be able to resist the marshal of France. Also he sent the king word in his letter that if he could get him thence from Avignon, he would go and keep his see apostolic in Aragon, at Perpignan or at Barcelone. The king of Aragon saw well the pope's letters, but he made no force of them, and said to his council that were about him: 'What, weeneth this priest that to sustain him and his arguments I shall enterprise to make war against the French king to aid him? Then I might well be reputed a fool.' 'Sir,' quoth his council, 'ye say truth: ye have no need to meddle in that matter; for, sir, ye may be sure the French king hath such counsel about him that he would make no war against him without a just cause. Let the clergy alone; for if they purpose to live, the prelates must obey the great lords under whom their rents and revenues are: they have long kept them in peace. And also, sir, the French king hath written to you already, desiring you to determine you and your country to be neuter, as he is and will be: and, sir, ye were best so to do, for my lady the queen, who is the French king's cousin-german, is content so to be, and so is the most part of your realm, and the clergy in like wise, and specially Cataloyne and Spain: and, sir, we think it is the best opinion, for if all Christian kings do not the same, the Church shall never come to unity by reason of [the] two popes.' Thus the king of Aragon and his council devised together, and pope Benedict was still in his palace, trusting to have aid of the king of Aragon, but he was deceived. And the marshal of France was within the city of Avignon, and the palace was so kept that none could issue out nor enter in: they lived with that store they had, for of victuals they had sufficient for two or three year, but they lacked wood to make fire withal and to seethe their meat, which made them abashed. Every week the marshal heard news from the French king and the king from him, and the king commanded him that he should not depart thence till he had achieved his enterprise. Thus the pope could not issue out of the palace, there was such watch laid on him.

The conclusion was, when this Benedict saw that he was so straitly kept, and that fire failed him and other provisions daily discreased, and saw no comfort nor aid came to him from no part, at last he yielded at the request of certain of the cardinals, and the treaty was thus, that he should not depart out of Avignon, till there was made an union in the Church. And a certain guard was set about him, and the cardinals and rich men of Avignon bound themselves to keep this Benedict so strait, that they should render account of him again either quick or dead. Such cardinals as had their benefices in France took great pain to make this treaty and composition, for they said all with one accord that they would abide with the French king.

Thus this business ended at that time, and every man departed, and the marshal went to Paris, and anon after he ordained him to go into the realm of Hungary, for the king of Hungary had written to the French king how Amurath-baquin assembled great puissance of men of war, of Turks, Arabs, Tartars and Surians, and of divers other of his sect, to fight with

him. The earl of Derby the same season being at Paris in the house of Clisson near to the Temple, was willing to go into Hungary; which should be the less cost to the French king, for he had every week ready paid him five hundred crowns of gold, and the earl thought himself much bound to the French king for that grace. And when that tidings came from the king of Hungary into France, the earl of Derby intended well to that matter and thought in himself that voyage to be right honourable for him to pass his time there, whereby he should the lightlier forget the time of his trouble; and spake to them of his special council, and they counselled him to go in that voyage, so that he knew first the duke of Lancaster his father's pleasure in that behalf. Then the earl sent one of his knights called Dymoke[1] into England to know his father's pleasure. This knight came into England and found the duke of Lancaster at a castle a twenty mile from London, called Hertford: there he shewed him his son's intent. And when the duke understood the mind of the earl his son and the good will that he had to go into Hungary to pass the time of his banishment, he was right well content, and said to the knight: 'Sir, ye are welcome: your words and my son's letter requireth counsel. Ye shall rest you here with us a season, and in the mean while we shall take advice; and in the while ye may go and see my son's children, for ye must bear tidings of them to their father.' 'Sir,' quoth the knight, 'ye say true.' So this knight, sir Dymoke, tarried a season in England.

Now had the French king good occasion to write to the king of Almaine and to his council, in what case he had brought pope Benedict and the cardinals. The king then sent thither a noble ambassade, as the patriarch of Jerusalem, sir Charles of Hangest and other knights, and they found the king at Strasburg and did their message, wherewith the king and his council were well content, and said how they would determine on that matter. But they said they would gladly that the king of England should take the same way, the which they feared should be hard to do. With this answer the ambassadors returned into France and shewed the king what they had done and seen. The French king then, to the intent to bring his purpose to pass, sent again into England to king Richard, and the messengers shewed the king the cause of their coming. The king gave good hearing to the matter, but as then he had not the prelates of the realm nor the clergy with him, nor were not so pliable to follow his pleasure as they in France to follow the pleasure of their king, and this he shewed to the French king's messengers: howbeit, he said he would do his devoir, and so he did. And so the messengers returned into France. And king Richard on a day at Westminster assembled all his prelates and clergy of England; and when they were there, the king shewed wisely the difference there was in the Church, and how the French king, by deliberation and advice of council and by consent of the university of Paris and other clerks, he was determined to be neuter, and in like wise so are the kings of Spain, of Scotland, of Aragon and of Navarre, and how that all Almaine, Boeme and Italy were of the same opinion. In like wise the king of England desired that his realm should follow the same. When the prelates and the clergy, who knew nothing why they were sent for, heard that matter, they had great marvel and were sore abashed. Some stood still and spake no word, and some began to murmur and said: 'Our king is become French; he intendeth to nothing but to dishonour and destroy us: but he shall not. What, would he bring us out of our belief? He may do so much that he shall have evil thereof. Let us not follow this opinion, sith the French king taketh that way. Let him hold himself neuter, and let us hold still our belief, and let no man put it from us, without there be greater appearance of a surer foundation than we see as yet.' When king Richard saw the difference and murmuring of the clergy, he caused the bishop of London to demand of all the clergy what was best to do. They all answered that the matter was so great, that therein required great counsel and deliberation, and so they departed and every man went to his lodging.

[1] John Dymoke, who married the heiress of the manor of Scrivelsby, and thus acquired the title attached to that fief of Champion of the Crown. He made the challenge at the coronation of Henry IV., and his descendants continued to perform the same ceremony down to the present century.

And when the Londoners knew the cause of that assembly and the request that the king had made, they were then sore troubled against the king (for the people of England were so firmly set on the believing on the pope at Rome, that they would not leave it), and said how Richard of Bordeaux would destroy them all, if he be let alone: 'his heart is so French that he cannot hide it; but a day will come to pay for all, that he shall repent him and all such as give him such counsel.' Whatsoever the king said to have his people neuter, they would in no wise agree thereto. And the French king was not well content with his son king Richard, in that he had not incontinent caused his realm to have been neuter: but to say the truth, the king was not to blame therein; and also such accidents fell soon after, the which were so great and horrible, that the like hath not been seen in all this history upon no king Christian except of noble king Peter of Lusignan, king of Cypre and Jerusalem, whom his own brother and the Cyprians martyred.[1]

CHAPTERS CCXXX–CCXXXII [CCXXXIV–CCXXXVI]

SUMMARY. — The duke of Lancaster wrote advising the earl of Derby not to go to Hungary, and shortly after this he fell sick and died. King Richard rejoiced at his death, and took such part of his lands as pleased him. Then hearing of a treaty of marriage between the earl of Derby and the duke of Berry's daughter, he sent into France and hindered it, accusing the earl of Derby of treason.

CHAPTERS CCXXXIII–CCXXXV [CCXXXVII–CCXXXIX]

SUMMARY. — King Richard went to Bristol, intending to pass over into Ireland. The kingdom was in a very unquiet state, and the Londoners especially murmured against the king. At length they sent the archbishop of Canterbury to speak with the earl of Derby. The earl of Derby accepted the proposal which was made to him, and having taken leave of the French king, he went to get aid from the duke of Brittany.

[1] The better reading is 'murdrirent,' 'murdered.'

CHAPTERS CCXXXVI, CCXXXVII [CCXL, CCXLI]

SUMMARY.—The earl of Derby sailed from Vannes and arrived at Plymouth.[1] *Thence he rode to London and was well received. From London he set forth with an army to Bristol, and was joined by many.*

The king, when he heard of this, left Bristol and came to Flint castle.

CHAPTER CCXXXVIII [CCXLI]

How king Richard yielded himself to the earl of Derby to go to London.

THE earl of Derby and the Londoners had their spies going and coming, who reported to them all the state of the king, and also the earl knew it by such knights and squires as daily came from the king's part to the earl, who had sure knowledge that the king was gone to the castle of Flint, and had no company with him but such as were of his own household, and seemed that he would no war, but to scape that danger by treaty. Then the earl determined to ride thither and to do so much to have the king either by force or by treaty. Then the earl and all his company rode thither, and within two mile of the castle they found a great village. There the earl tarried and drank, and determined in himself to ride to the castle of Flint with two hundred horse and to leave the rest of his company

[1] The account of these events is full of inaccuracies. Henry landed, as is well known, at Ravenspurn (22nd July), and marched to Bristol without going to London. Thence he went by Ludlow to Chester (9th Aug.), and so to Flint. Meanwhile Richard had returned from Ireland and arrived at Milford in the last days of July. Hearing that Henry was at Bristol, he sailed to North Wales, disembarked at Harlech and reached Conway castle by land. Here he was met by the earl of Northumberland, and trusting to his oath of fidelity came to Flint, and was betrayed into the hands of Henry (18th Aug.) Froissart seems to know nothing of the expedition to Ireland or of the treachery of Northumberland, and apparently thinks that Flint castle was in the hands of Richard (Lettenhove, xvi. 326 ff.)

still there: and he said he would do what he could by fair treaty to enter into the castle by love and not perforce, and to bring out the king with fair words and to assure him from all peril except going to London, and to promise him that he shall have no hurt of his body, and to be mean for him to the Londoners, who were not content with him. The earl's device seemed good to them that heard it, and they said to him: 'Sir, beware of dissimulation: this Richard of Bordeaux must be taken other quick or dead, and all the other traitors that be about him and of his council, and so to be brought to London and set in the Tower; the Londoners will not suffer you to do the contrary.' Then the earl said: 'Sirs, fear not but all that is enterprised shall be accomplished: but if I can get him out of the castle with fair words, I will do it; and if I cannot, I shall send you word thereof and then ye shall come and lay siege about the castle, and then we will do so much by force or by assault, that we will have him quick or dead, for the castle is well pregnable.' To those words accorded well the Londoners: so the earl departed from the army and rode with two hundred men to the castle, whereas the king was among his men right sore abashed.

The earl came riding to the castle gate, which was fast closed, as the case required. The earl knocked at the gate: the porters demanded who was there. The earl answered: 'I am Henry of Lancaster: I come to the king to demand mine heritage of the duchy of Lancaster: shew the king this from me.' 'Sir,' quoth they within, 'we shall do it.' Incontinent they went into the hall and into the donjon whereas the king was, and such knights about him as had long time counselled him. Then these news were shewed to the king, and said: 'Sir, your cousin of Derby is at the gate, who demandeth of you to be set in possession of the duchy of Lancaster his inheritance.' The king then regarded such as were about him and demanded what was best to do. They said: 'Sir, in this request is none evil: ye may let him come in to you with twelve persons in his company and hear what he will say: he is your cousin and a great lord of the realm; he may well make your peace an he will, for he is greatly beloved in the realm, and specially with the Londoners, who sent for him into France: they be as now the chief that be against you. Sir, ye must dissimule till the matter be appeased and till the earl of Huntingdon your brother be with you; and it cometh now evil to pass for you that he is at Calais, for there be many now in England that be risen against you, that an they knew that your brother were about you, they would sit still and durst not displease you: and yet he hath to his wife the earl of Derby's sister; by his means we suppose ye should come to peace and concord.' The king agreed to those words and said: 'Go and let him come in with twelve with him and no more.' Two knights went down to the gate, and opened the wicket and issued out and made reverence to the earl and received him with gracious words, for they knew well that they had no force to resist them, and also they knew well the Londoners were sore displeased with them: therefore they spake fair and said to the earl: 'Sir, what is your pleasure? The king is at mass: he hath sent us hither to speak with you.' 'I say,' quoth the earl, 'ye know well I ought to have possession of the duchy of Lancaster: I am come in part for that cause and also for other things that I would speak with the king of.' 'Sir,' quoth they, 'ye be welcome: the king would be glad to see you and to hear you, and hath commanded that ye come to him all only with twelve persons.' The earl answered: 'It pleaseth me well.' So he entered into the castle with twelve persons, and then the gate closed again and the rest of his company tarried without.

Now consider what danger the earl of Derby was in; for the king then might have slain him and such as were with him, as easily as a bird in a cage: but he feared not the matter, but boldly went to the king, who changed colours when he saw the earl. Then the earl spake aloud without making of any great honour or reverence and said: 'Sir, are ye fasting?' The king answered and said: 'Yea: why ask you?' 'It is time,' quoth the earl, 'that ye had dined, for ye have a great journey to ride.' 'Why, whither should I ride?' quoth the king. 'Ye must ride to London,' quoth the earl; 'wherefore I

counsel you eat and drink, that ye may ride with the more mirth.' Then the king, who was sore troubled in his mind and in a manner afraid of those words, said: 'I am not hungry: I have no lust to eat.' Then such as were by, who were as then glad to flatter the earl of Derby, for they saw well the matter was like to go diversely, said to the king: 'Sir, believe your cousin of Lancaster, for he will nothing but good.' Then the king said: 'Well, I am content: cover the tables.' Then the king washed and sat down and was served. Then the earl was demanded if he would sit down. He said, no, for he was not fasting.

In the mean season, while the king sat at dinner, who did eat but little, his heart was so full that he had no lust to eat, all the country about the castle was full of men of war. They within the castle might see them out at the windows, and the king, when he rose from the table, might see them himself. Then he demanded of his cousin what men they were, that appeared so many in the fields. The earl answered and said: 'The most part of them be Londoners.' 'What would they have?' quoth the king. 'They will have you,' quoth the earl, 'and bring you to London and put you into the Tower. There is none other remedy, ye can scape none otherwise.' 'No?' quoth the king, and he was sore afraid of those words, for he knew well the Londoners loved him not, and said: 'Cousin, can you not provide for my surety? I will not gladly put me into their hands, for I know well they hate me and have done long, though I be their king.' Then the earl said: 'Sir, I see none other remedy, but to yield yourself as my prisoner; and when they know that ye be my prisoner, they will do you no hurt: but ye must so ordain you and your company, to ride to London with me and to be as my prisoner in the Tower of London.' The king, who saw himself in a hard case, all his spirits were sore abashed, as he that doubted greatly that the Londoners would slay him. Then he yielded himself prisoner to the earl of Derby, and bound himself and promised to do all that he would have him to do. In like wise all other knights, squires and officers yielded to the earl, to eschew the danger and peril that they were in; and the earl then received them as his prisoners and ordained incontinent horses to be saddled and brought forth into the court and the gates opened. Then many men of arms and archers entered: then the earl of Derby caused a cry to be made, on pain of death no man to be so hardy to take away anything within the castle, nor to lay any hands upon any person, for all were under the earl's safe-guard and protection: which cry was kept, no man durst break it. The earl had the king down into the court talking together, and caused all the king's whole household and estate to go forward, as of custom they had done before, without changing or minishing of anything. While everything was a preparing, the king and the earl communed together in the court and were well regarded by the Londoners. And as it was informed me, king Richard had a greyhound called Math,[1] who always waited upon the king and would know no man else; for whensoever the king did ride, he that kept the greyhound did let him loose and he would straight run to the king and fawn upon him and leap with his fore feet upon the king's shoulders. And as the king and the earl of Derby talked together in the court, the greyhound, who was wont to leap upon the king, left the king and came to the earl of Derby, duke of Lancaster, and made to him the same friendly countenance and cheer as he was wont to do to the king. The duke, who knew not the greyhound, demanded of the king what the greyhound would do. 'Cousin,' quoth the king, 'it is a great good token to you and an evil sign to me.' 'Sir, how know you that?' quoth the duke. 'I know it well,' quoth the king, 'the greyhound maketh you cheer this day as king of England, as ye shall be, and I shall be deposed. The greyhound hath this knowledge naturally: therefore take him to you; he will follow you and forsake me.' The duke understood well those words and cherished the greyhound, who would never after follow king Richard, but followed the duke of Lancaster.

So every man leapt a-horseback and departed from the castle of Flint and entered into the fields. Thus duke Henry of

[1] Or according to another text 'Blemach.' A similar story to this was told about Charles of Blois and the earl of Montfort.

Lancaster, who was no more called earl of Derby but duke of Lancaster, rode by the king, and oftentimes talked together, and men of war before and behind in great number, and all such as were of the king's court rode together in a company. That night they lay about Oxenford. The duke of Lancaster led king Richard by no castles nor good towns, for fear of stirring of the people, but always kept the fields. Then the duke gave licence to a great number of his people to depart, and said: 'Sirs, ye may depart, for we have that we desire: the king cannot fly nor scape from us; we and our own company shall bring him to London and put him in safe-guard in the Tower: he and all his are my prisoners, I may bring them whither I will. Therefore, sirs, go your ways home, till ye hear other news.' They did as the duke commanded them, who took the way to Windsor and came thither; and most part of the Londoners returned to London, and other to their own places. The duke of Lancaster departed from Windsor and would not ride by Colebrook, but took the way by Staines and so came to dinner to Chertsey. The king had desired the duke that he should not bring him London way nor through the city, and therefore they took that way.

As soon as they had the king thus in their hands, they sent notable persons to the young queen, who was at Leeds in Kent, and they came to the lady Courcy, who was second person there next to the queen, and said to her: 'Madam, make you ready, for ye must depart hence: and at your departing make no semblant of displeasure before the queen, but say how your husband hath sent for you and for your daughter also. This that we say, look that you do accomplish on pain of your life, nor axe ye no questions no further, and ye shall be conveyed to Dover and there have a ship that shall bring you to Boulogne.' The lady, who doubted those words, for she knew well Englishmen were cruel and hasty, said: 'Sirs, as God will, I am ready to do as ye will have me.' Anon she made her ready, and horses were provided for her and for her company. So all French men and women departed, and they were conveyed to Dover, and at the next tide they took shipping and had good wind and so arrived at Boulogne.

CHAPTER CCXXXIX [CCXLII]

Of the state of queen Isabel of England, and how she had all new persons appointed to wait upon her, and how king Richard was set in the Tower of London.

As for the state of the queen, was so turned and broken; for there was left nother man, woman nor child of the nation of France, nor yet of England, such as were in any favour with the king.[1] Her house was newly furnished with ladies and damosels and other officers and servants: they were charged all that in no wise they should not speak of the king, not one to another.

Thus the duke of Lancaster departed from Chertsey and rode to Sheen, and from thence in the night time they conveyed the king to the Tower of London, and such other knights and squires as the king would. The next morning when the Londoners knew that the king was in the Tower, they were greatly rejoiced: but there was great murmuring among them, because the king was conveyed thither so secretly; they were angry that the duke had not brought him through London openly, not to have done him honour but shame, they hated him so sore. Behold the opinion of common people, when they be up against their prince or lord, and specially in England. Among them there is no remedy, for they are the periloust people of the world and most outrageoust, if they be up, and specially the Londoners: and indeed they be rich and of a great number; there was well in London a twenty-four thousand men in harness complete and a thirty thousand archers, and they were hardy and high of courage, the more blood they saw shed the less they were abashed.

Now let us somewhat speak of the earl of Rutland, constable of England, son to the duke of York, who was tarried at Bristow and the lord Spenser with him, who had his sister to wife. When they knew that the castle of Flint was given up

[1] 'As for the state of the young queen, it was so broken, that they left with her neither man, woman nor child. All those of the nation of France were put away and also many of the English who were in the king's favour.'

and the king taken and brought to London, then they thought surely the matters went not well for the king. Therefore they thought no longer to tarry there, and gave leave to all their men of war to depart; and the earl of Rutland and the lord Spenser rode together with their own servants to Henley in the marches of Wales, a fair manor of the lord Spenser's, and there they tarried till they heard other tidings. And the duke of York lay still in his castle and meddled with nothing of the business of England: no more he did before; he took ever the time aworth as it came: howbeit, he was sore displeased in his mind to see such difference within the realm and between his nephews and blood.

Now let us return to speak of king Richard. When the duke of Lancaster had set his cousin king Richard in the Tower of London and certain of his councillors, and had set sure keeping on them, the first thing then that the duke did, he sent for the earl of Warwick, who was banished and commanded to lie in the isle of Wight, and discharged him clean thereof: and secondly the duke of Lancaster sent to the earl of Northumberland and to the lord Percy his son, that they should come to him, and so they did. After he enquired and sought out to have the four companions who had strangled his uncle the duke of Gloucester in the castle of Calais: they were so well sought out, that they were all taken: they were set in prison apart in London. Then the duke of Lancaster and his council took advice what should be done with king Richard, being in the Tower of London, whereas king John of France was kept, while king Edward went into the realm of France. Then it was thought that king Richard should be put from all his royalty and joy that he hath lived in; for they said the news of his taking should spread abroad into all realms christened: he had been king twenty-two year: and as then they determined to keep him in prison.[1] Then they regarded what case the realm stood in and did put all his deeds in articles to the number of twenty-eight.. Then the duke of Lancaster and his council went to the Tower of London and entered into the chamber where king Richard was, and without any reverence making to him there was openly read all the said articles; to the which the king made none answer, for he saw well all was true that was laid to his charge, saving he said: 'All that I have done passed by my council.' Then he was demanded what they were that had given counsel and by whom he was most ruled. He named them, in trust thereby to have been delivered himself in accusing of them, as he had done beforetime, trusting thereby to scape and to bring them in the danger and pain; but that was not the mind of them that loved him not. So as at that time they spake no more, but departed; and the duke of Lancaster went to his lodging and suffered the mayor and the men of law to proceed. They went to the Guildhall, whereas all the matters of the city were determined, and then much people assembled there. When they saw the governours of the city go thither, they thought some justice should be done, as there was indeed: I shall shew you how.

First, the articles that were made against the king, the which had been read before him in the Tower, were read again there openly: and it was shewed by him that read them, how the king himself denied none of them, but confessed that he did them by the counsel of four knights of his chamber, and how by their counsel he had put to death the duke of Gloucester and the earl of Arundel, sir Thomas Corbet and other, and how they had long incited the king to do those deeds; which deeds, they said, were not to be forgiven, but demanded punition, for by them and their counsel the justice of right was closed up through all the courts of England, Westminster and other, whereby many evil deeds followed, and companies and routs of thieves and murderers rose and as-

[1] The meaning of the true text is rather the opposite, but the exact rendering is not quite certain. The sense is: 'It was agreed by all that they ought to give this king Richard all indulgence, if he would use it well and duly, for there would be great talk of his taking in all Christian realms, since they had had him as king for two and twenty years; and afterwards they wished to keep him prisoner (*or* degrade him) at all points.' The true reading is no doubt 'royes' for 'joyes' in the phrase 'il convenoit à ce roy Richard donner toutes ses royes.' The text used by the translator gives 'dompter toutes ses joies,' 'stop all his pleasures.'

sembled together in divers parts of the realm, and robbed merchants by the ways and poor men in their houses; by which means the realm was in great peril to have been lost without recovery: and it is to be imagined that finally they would have rendered Calais or Guines or both into the Frenchmen's hands. These words thus shewed to the people made many to be abashed, and many began to murmur and said: 'These causes demand punition, that all other may take ensample thereby, and Richard of Bordeaux to be deposed: for he is not worthy to bear a crown, but ought to be deprived from all honour and to be kept all his life in prison with bread and water.' Though some of the villains murmured, other said on high: 'Sir mayor of London and ye other that have justice in your hands to minister, execute justice: for we will ye spare no man, for ye see well the case that ye have shewed us demandeth justice incontinent; for they are judges upon their own deeds.' Then the mayor and other of the governours of the law went together into the chamber of judgment. Then these four knights were judged to die, and were judged to be had to the foot of the Tower, whereas king Richard was, that he might see them drawn along by the dike with horses each after other through the city into Cheapside, and then their heads stricken off there and set upon London bridge, and their bodies drawn to the gibbet and there hanged.

This judgment given, they were delivered to execution; for the mayor of London and such as were deputed to the matter went from the Guildhall to the Tower and took out the four knights of the king's, whose names were called sir Bernard Brocas, sir Magelars, master John Derby, receiver of Lincoln, and master Sely, the king's steward. Each of them were tied to two horses in the presence of them that were in the Tower, and the king might well see it out at the windows; wherewith he was sore discomforted, for all other that were there with the king looked to be in the same case, they knew them of London so cruel. Thus these four knights were drawn one after another along through the city till they came into Cheap, and there on a fisher's stall their heads were stricken off and set upon London bridge, and their bodies drawn by the shoulders to the gibbet and there hanged up.

This justice thus done, every man went to their lodgings. King Richard, knowing himself taken and in the danger of the Londoners, was in great sorrow in his heart and reckoned his puissance nothing; for he saw how every man was against him, and if there were any that ought him any favour, it lay not in their powers to do him any aid, nor they durst not shew it. Such as were with the king said: 'Sir, we have but small trust in our lives, as it may well appear; for when your cousin of Lancaster came to the castle of Flint and with your own good will ye yielded you to him, and he promised that you and twelve of yours should be his prisoners and have no hurt, and now of those twelve four be executed shamefully, [and] we are like to pass the same way. The cause is, these Londoners, who hath caused the duke of Lancaster your cousin to do this deed, had him so sore bound to them, that he must do as they will have him. God doth much for us if he suffer that we might die here our natural death and not a shameful death: it is great pity to think on this.' With those words king Richard began tenderly to weep and wring his hands, and cursed the hour that ever he was born, rather than to have such an end. Such as were about him had great pity and recomforted him as well as they might. One of his knights said: 'Sir, it behoveth you to take comfort. We see well, and so do you, that this world is nothing: the fortunes thereof are marvellous and sometime turn as well upon kings and princes as upon poor men. The French king, whose daughter ye have married, cannot now aid you; he is too far off. If ye might scape this mischief by dissimulation and save your life and ours, it were a good enterprise: peradventure within a year or two there would be had some recovery.' 'Why,' quoth the king, 'what would ye that I should do? There is nothing but I would be glad to do it to save us thereby.' 'Sir,' quoth the knight, 'we see for truth that these Londoners will crown your cousin of Lancaster as king, and for that intent they sent for him, and so have aided him and do. It is not possible for you to live without ye consent that he be crowned

king: wherefore, sir, we will counsel you, to the intent to save your life and ours, that when your cousin of Lancaster cometh to you to demand anything, then with sweet and treatable words say to him, how that ye will resign to him the crown of England and all the right that ye have in the realm clearly and purely into his hands, and how that ye will that he be king: thereby ye shall greatly appease him and the Londoners also. And desire him affectuously to suffer you to live and us also with you, or else every man apart, as it shall please him, or else to banish us out of the realm for ever; for he that looseth his life, looseth all.' King Richard heard those words well and fixed them surely in his heart, and said he would do as they counselled him, as he that saw himself in great danger. And then he said to them that kept him, how he would gladly speak with his cousin of Lancaster.

CHAPTER CCXL [CCXLIV]

How king Richard of England resigned the crown and the realm into the hands of the earl of Derby, duke of Lancaster.

It was shewed the duke of Lancaster how Richard of Bordeaux desired to speak with him. The duke in an evening took a barge and went to the Tower by water, and went to the king, who received him courteously and humbled himself greatly, as he that saw himself in great danger, and said: 'Cousin of Lancaster, I regard and consider mine estate, which is as now but small, I thank God thereof. As any more to reign or to govern people or to bear a crown, I think it not; and as God help me, I would I were dead by a natural death, and that the French king had again his daughter. We have had as yet no great joy together; nor sith I brought her into England, I could never have the love of my people, as I had before. Cousin, all things considered, I know well I have greatly trespassed against you and against other noblemen of my blood; by divers things I perceive I shall never have pardon nor come to peace. Wherefore with mine own free and liberal will I will resign to you the heritage of the crown of England, and I require you take the gift thereof with the resignation.' When the duke heard that, he said: 'Sir, it is convenient that part of the three estates of the realm be called to these words, and I have sent already for some noblemen, prelates and councillors of the good towns of England, and I trust they will be here within this three days, sufficient of them for you to make a due resignation before them, and by this means ye shall greatly appease many men within the realm. For to withstand such enormities and evils as have been used in the realm for fault of justice, who had no place to reign, I was sent for from beyond the sea; and the people would crown me, for the renown runneth through England that I have more right to the crown than ye have. For when our grandfather king Edward the third did choose and make you king, the same was as then shewed him; but he loved so his son the prince, that none could break his purpose nor opinion, but that you should be king. And if ye would have followed the steps of your father the prince, and have believed his counsel, as a good son ought to have done, ye might have been still king and have continued your estate. But ye have always done the contrary, so that the common renown runneth through England and in other places that ye were never son to the prince of Wales, but rather son to a priest or to a canon; for I have heard of certain knights that were in the prince's house, mine uncle, how that he knew well that his wife had not truly kept her marriage. Your mother was cousin-german to king Edward, and the king began to hate her, because she could have no generation; also she was the king's gossip of two children at the font: and she that could well keep the prince in her bandon by craft and subtlety, she made the prince to be her husband; and because she could have no child, she doubted that the prince should be divorced from her; she did so much that she was with child with you and with another before you. As of the first I cannot tell what to judge, but as for you, because your conditions have been seen contrary from all nobless and prowess of the prince, therefore it is said that ye be rather son to a priest or to a canon; for when ye were gotten and born at Bordeaux, there were

many young priests in the prince's house. This is the bruit in this country, and your works have well followed the same: for ye be always inclined to the pleasure of the Frenchmen and to take with them peace, to the confusion and dishonour of the realm of England. And because mine uncle of Gloucester and the earl of Arundel did counsel you truly and faithfully to keep the honour of the realm and to follow the steps of your ancestors, ye have traitorously caused them to die. As for me, I have taken on me to defend your life as long as I may for pity, and I shall pray the Londoners and the heritors of them that ye have slain and banished, to do the same.' 'Cousin, I thank you,' quoth the king; 'I trust more in you than in any other.' 'It is but right that ye so should do, for if I had not been, ye had been taken by the people and deposed with great confusion and slain, by reason of your evil works.' King Richard heard well all the duke's words and wist not what to say against it; for he saw well that force nor arguments could not avail him, but rather meekness and humility: wherefore he humbled him and prayed the duke to save his life.

When the duke of Lancaster had been at the Tower two hours with king Richard and had shewed him part of his faults, then he returned. And the next day he sent forth more commandments into all parts of the realm to cause noblemen and other to come to London. His uncle the duke of York came to London, and the earl of Rutland his son, the earl of Northumberland and the lord Thomas Percy his brother: the duke of Lancaster made them good cheer. Thither came also great number of prelates and abbots. And on a day the duke of Lancaster, accompanied with lords, dukes, prelates, earls, barons and knights, and of the notablest men of London and of other good towns, rode to the Tower and there alighted. Then king Richard was brought into the hall, apparelled like a king in his robes of estate, his sceptre in his hand and his crown on his head. Then he stood up alone, not holden nor stayed by no man, and said aloud: 'I have been king of England, duke of Acquitaine and lord of Ireland about twenty-two years, which seignory, royalty, sceptre, crown and heritage I clearly resign here to my cousin Henry of Lancaster; and I desire him here in this open presence, in entering of the same possession, to take this sceptre.' And so delivered it to the duke, who took it. Then king Richard took the crown from his head with both his hands and set it before him, and said: 'Fair cousin, Henry duke of Lancaster, I give and deliver you this crown, wherewith I was crowned king of England, and therewith all the right thereto depending.' The duke of Lancaster took it, and the archbishop of Canterbury took it out of the duke's hands. This resignation thus done, the duke of Lancaster called a notary and demanded to have letters and witness of all the prelates and lords there being present. Then Richard of Bordeaux returned again into the chamber from whence he came. Then the duke of Lancaster and all other leapt on their horses, and the crown and sceptre were put in a coffer and conveyed to the abbey of Westminster, and there kept in the treasury. And every man went to their lodgings and abode till the day of parliament and council should be at the palace of Westminster.

CHAPTER CCXLI [CCXLV]

Of the coronation of king Henry duke of Lancaster by the consent of the realm, and the manner of the feast.

In the year of our Lord God a thousand three hundred fourscore and nineteen, the last day of September on a Tuesday, began a parliament at Westminster holden by Henry duke of Lancaster, at which time there was assembled prelates and clergy of the realm of England a great number, and also dukes, earls and barons, and of every town a certain. Thus the people assembled at Westminster, there being present the duke of Lancaster, and there the same duke challenged the realm of England and desired to be king by three reasons: first by conquest, secondly because he was heir, and thirdly because Richard of Bordeaux had resigned the realm into his hands by his free will in the presence of certain dukes, earls, prelates and barons, in the hall within the Tower of London. These three causes shewed, the duke of Lancaster required

all the people there present, as well one as other, to shew their minds and intents in that behalf. Then all the people with one voice said that their wills was to have him king, and how they would have none other but him. Then the duke again said to the people: 'Sirs, is this your minds?' And they all with one voice said, 'Yea, yea.' And then the duke sat down in the siege royal, which seat was raised up in the hall and covered with a cloth of estate, so that every man might well see him sit. And then the people lifted up their hands a-high, promising him their faith and allegiance.

Then the parliament concluded, and the day was taken for his coronation on Saint Edward's day, the Monday the thirteenth day of October; at which time, the Saturday before his coronation, he departed from Westminster and rode to the Tower of London with a great number. And that night all such squires as should be made knights the next day, watched, who were to the number of forty-six, every squire had his own bain by himself; and the next day the duke of Lancaster made them all knights at the mass time. Then had they long coats with strait sleeves furred with minever like prelates, with white laces hanging on their shoulders. And after dinner the duke departed from the Tower to Westminster, and rode all the way bareheaded, and about his neck the livery of France. He was accompanied with the prince his son, and six dukes, six earls and eighteen barons, and in all, knights and squires, a nine hundred horse: then the king had on a short coat of cloth of gold after the manner of Almaine, and he was mounted on a white courser and the garter on his left leg. Thus the duke rode through London with a great number of lords, every lord's servant in their master's livery, all the burgesses and Lombards merchants in London, and every craft with their livery and device. Thus he was conveyed to Westminster. He was in number a six thousand horse, and the streets hanged as he passed by; and the same day and the next there were in London running seven conduits with wine, white and red. That night the duke was bained, and the next morning he was confessed and heard three masses, as he was accustomed to do: and then all the prelates and clergy came from Westminster church to the palace, to fetch the king with procession. And so he went to the church a procession, and all the lords with him in their robes of scarlet furred with minever, barred of their shoulders according to their degrees:[1] and over the king was borne a cloth of estate of blue with four bells of gold, and it was borne by four burgesses of the ports, as Dover and other;[2] and on every side of him he had a sword borne, the one the sword of the Church and the other the sword of justice; the sword of the Church his son the prince did bear, and the sword of justice the earl of Northumberland did bear, for he was as then constable of England, for the earl of Rutland was deposed from that office; and the earl of Westmoreland, who was marshal of England, bare the sceptre.

Thus they entered into the church about nine of the clock; and in the midst of the church there was an high scaffold all covered with red, and in the midst thereof there was a chair royal covered with cloth of gold. Then the king sat down in that chair, and so sat in estate royal, saving he had not on the crown, but sat bareheaded. Then at four corners of the scaffold the archbishop of Canterbury shewed unto the people how God had sent them a man to be their king, and demanded if they were content that he should be consecrated and crowned as their king. And they all with one voice said, 'Yea,' and held up their hands promising him faith and obeisance. Then the king rose and went down the scaffold to the high altar to be sacred, at which consecration there were two archbishops and ten bishops, and before the altar there he was despoiled out of all his vestures of estate, and there he was anointed in six places, on the head, on the breast, and on the two shoulders behind, and on the hands. Then a bonnet was set on his head; and while he was anointing, the clergy sang the litany and such service as they sing at the hallowing of the font. Then the king was apparelled like a prelate of the Church,

[1] According to the fuller text the dukes and earls had three borders of fur on their left shoulders, and the barons had two.

[2] This is the ancient right of the burgesses of the cinque ports. Froissart mentions Dover alone, but the translator has corrected him.

with a cope of red silk[1] and a pair of spurs with a point without a rowel: then the sword of justice was drawn out of the sheath and hallowed, and then it was taken to the king, who did put it again into the sheath; then the archbishop of Canterbury did gird the sword about him. Then Saint Edward's crown was brought forth, which is close above,[2] and blessed, and then the archbishop did set it on the king's head. After mass the king departed out of the church in the same estate and went to his palace; and there was a fountain that ran by divers branches white wine and red. Then the king entered into the hall, and so into a privy chamber, and after came out again to dinner. At the first table sat the king, at the second the five peers of the realm, at the third the valiant men of London, at the fourth the new-made knights, at the fifth the knights and squires of honour; and by the king stood the prince holding the sword of the Church, and on the other side the constable with the sword of justice, and a little above the marshal with the sceptre, and at the king's board sat two archbishops and seventeen bishops. And in the midst of the dinner there came in a knight, who was called Dymoke, all armed upon a good horse richly apparelled, and had a knight before him bearing his spear, and his sword by his side and his dagger. The knight took the king a libel, the which was read. Therein was contained, that if there were other knight, squire or any other gentleman, that would say that king Henry was not rightful king, he was there ready to fight with him in that quarrel before the king or whereas it should please him to appoint. That bill was cried by an herald in six places of the hall and in the town. There was none that would challenge him. When the king had dined, he took wine and spices in the hall and then went into his chamber. Then every man departed and went to their lodgings. Thus the day passed of king Henry's coronation with great joy and feast, which endured all the next day.

The earl of Salisbury was not at this solemnity, for he was in sure prison, and the king's council and divers other noblemen and the Londoners would that his head should have been stricken off openly in Cheap; for they said he had well deserved it for bearing of letters and credence from Richard of Bordeaux to the French king, and there to report openly that king Henry was a false traitor, which fault they said ought not to be pardoned. King Henry was more gentle than so, for he had some pity on him; for the earl excused him and said, that he did was by the king's commandment and by the setting on of the four knights that were beheaded. King Henry believed well the earl's words, but his council would not believe it, but said, and so did the Londoners, that he should die, because he had deserved death. Thus the earl of Salisbury was in prison in great danger of his life.

And sir John Holland, earl of Huntingdon, captain of Calais, was well informed of the whole matter, and how his brother king Richard was taken and in prison in the Tower of London, and had resigned his crown and all, and how Henry of Lancaster was king of England. This earl of Huntingdon, whatsoever displeasure he had for the trouble of his brother, yet wisely he considered the time and adventures, and saw well that he was not able to withstand all the power and puissance of the realm. Also the countess his wife, who was cousin-german to king Henry, said: 'Sir, it must behove you to pass your displeasure patiently and wisely, and do not that thing whereby ye shall have damage. For the king may do you much good, and ye see that all the realm inclineth to him: if ye shew any displeasure to himward, ye are but lost. Wherefore, sir, I require you and I counsel you to dissimule the matter; for as well king Henry now is your brother, as king Richard was: therefore, sir, stick and lean to him and ye shall find him your good lover; for there was never a richer king in England than he is; he may do to you and to your children great good.' The earl heard well the words of his wife and believed her, and inclined him to king Henry and offered him humble obeisance and promised him faith and troth. The king received him and had great joy thereof, and he did so

[1] 'There the king was apparelled in vestments of the Church like a deacon, and then they put him on shoes of red like a prelate.'

[2] 'Which was arched in a cross,' or by another text, 'which was arched in three.'

much with means of his friends, that the earl of Salisbury was taken to grace and his excusations accepted and was clean pardoned.

CHAPTERS CCXLII-CCXLIV [CCXLVI-CCXLVIII]

SUMMARY.—The news was brought to France by the lady of Courcy. The French thought to win over the cities of Acquitaine, which had been much attached to Richard, but these decided to remain English. An embassy was sent from France to see how the young queen of England did, and assurances were given that she would be well treated.

The earls of Huntingdon and Salisbury made a rising against Henry, with a priest called Maudeleyn to personate king Richard. They were attacked while lodging in the town of Cirencester and either slain or taken.

The French king gathered an army as if to invade England.

CHAPTER CCXLV [CCXLIX]

Of the death of king Richard of England; and how the truce between England and France was renewed; and also of the deposition of pope Benedict at Avignon.

It was not long after that true tidings ran through London, how Richard of Bordeaux was dead; but how he died and by what means, I could not tell when I wrote this chronicle. But this king Richard dead was laid in a litter and set in a chare covered with black baudkin, and four horses all black in the chare, and two men in black leading the chare, and four knights all in black following. Thus the chare departed from the Tower of London and was brought along through London fair and softly, till they came into Cheapside, whereas the chief assembly of London was, and there the chare rested the space of two hours. Thither came in and out more than twenty thousand persons men and women, to see him whereas he lay, his head on a black cushion and his visage open. Some had on him pity and some none, but said he had long deserved death. Now consider well, ye great lords, kings, dukes, earls, barons and prelates, and all men of great lineage and puissance: see and behold how the fortunes of this world are marvellous and turn diversely. This king Richard reigned king of England twenty-two year in great prosperity, holding great estate and seignory. There was never before any king of England that spent so much in his house as he did, by a hundred thousand florins every year; for I, sir John Froissart, canon and treasurer of Chimay, knew it well, for I was in his court more than a quarter of a year together, and he made me good cheer, because that in my youth I was clerk and servant to the noble king Edward the third, his grandfather, and with my lady Philippa of Hainault, queen of England, his grandam; and when I departed from him, it was at Windsor, and at my departing the king sent me by a knight of his called sir John Golofre a goblet of silver and gilt weighing two mark of silver, and within it a hundred nobles, by the which I am as yet the better, and shall be as long as I live: wherefore I am bound to pray to God for his soul, and with much sorrow I write of his death; but because I have continued this history, therefore I write thereof to follow it.

In my time I have seen two things: though they differ, yet they be true. I was in the city of Bordeaux and sitting at the table when king Richard was born, the which was on a Tuesday about ten of the clock. The same time there came thereas I was, sir Richard Pontchardon, marshal as then of Acquitaine, and he said to me: 'Froissart, write and put in memory that as now my lady princess is brought abed with a fair son on this Twelfth day, that is the day of the three kings, and he is son to a king's son[1] and shall be a king.' This gentle knight said truth, for he was king of England twenty-two year; but when this knight said these words, he knew full little what should be his conclusion. And the same time that king Richard was born, his father the prince was in Galice, the which king don Peter had given him, and he was there to conquer the realm.

[1] Or rather, 'he is son of a king.' In the succeeding passage the translator's French text was unintelligible to him owing to omissions and alterations, and therefore he attempted an emendation, writing 'son to a king's son,' because he did not know how Richard could be called 'son of a king.' In the

Upon these things I have greatly imagined sith; for the first year that I came into England into the service of queen Philippa, king Edward and the queen and all their children were as then at Berkhamstead, a manor of the prince of Wales beyond London. The king and the queen were come thither to take leave of their son the prince and princess, who were going into Acquitaine, and there I heard an ancient knight devise among the ladies and said: 'There is a book which is called *le Brut*, and it deviseth that the prince of Wales, eldest son to the king, nor the duke of Gloucester, should never be king of England, but the realm and crown should return to the house of Lancaster.' There I, John Froissart, author of this chronicle, considering all these things, I say these two knights, sir Richard Pontchardon and sir Bartholomew of Burghersh, said both truth; for I saw, and so did all the world, Richard of Bordeaux twenty-two year king of England, and after the crown returned to the house of Lancaster, and that was when king Henry was king, the which he had never been if Richard of Bordeaux had dealt amiably with him; for the Londoners made him king because they had pity on him and on his children.

Thus when king Richard had lain two hours in the chare in Cheapside, then they drave the chare forward: and when the four knights that followed the chare afoot were without London, they leapt then on their horses, which were there ready for them, and so they rode till they came to a village called Langley, a thirty mile from London, and there this king Richard was buried. God have mercy on his soul!

Tidings spread abroad how king Richard was dead: he tarried every day for it,[1] for every man might well consider that he should never come out of prison alive. His death was long kept and hid from his wife. The French king and his council were well informed of all this, and the knights and squires desired nothing but the war and that they might ride upon the frontiers. Howbeit, the councils, as well of the one realm as of the other, took their advice and thought it best to uphold still the truce that was taken before: they thought it more profitable than the war. And a new treaty was devised to be in the marches of Calais, because the French king was not in good case, nor had not been sith he knew of the trouble that king Richard was in: and yet his sickness doubled when he knew that he was dead, so that the duke of Burgoyne had the chief rule of the realm. And he came to Saint-Omer's and to Bourbourg, where the duke of Bourbon was, and sir Charles d'Albret, and Charles of Hangest and John of Chateau Morant, and of prelates the patriarch of Jerusalem and the bishops of Paris and of Beauvais; and on the English party there was the earl of Northumberland, the earl of Rutland, the earl of Devonshire and the lord Henry Percy, the earl's son, and Evan of Fitzwarren, and prelates there were the bishops of Winchester and of Ely. The Frenchmen demanded to have again delivered the young queen of England, but the Englishmen would in no wise deliver her, but said she should live still in England upon her dowry, and that though she had lost her husband, they would provide for her another, that should be fair, young and gentle, with whom she should be better pleased than with Richard of Bordeaux, for he was old; and this should be the prince of Wales, eldest son to king Henry. To this the Frenchmen would not agree; for they would not consent thereto without licence of the king her father, who as then was not in good point, for he was far out of the way, no medicine could help him. So that matter was laid apart, and the treaty of truce went forward in such wise, that by consent of both parties they sware and were bound to keep the truce twenty-six year more to the four years that it had endured; the which in all was thirty year according to the first covenant. And upon this writings were made and sealed by procurations of both kings. This done, every man returned to their own countries.

I have not as yet shewed you what became of the earl marshal, by whom first all

full text the meaning is clear: 'he is son of a king, for his father is king of Galicia. King don Peter hath given him that kingdom and he goes to conquer it.' As a matter of fact the prince of Wales did not set forth from Bordeaux till after the birth of Richard, and he never actually went into Galicia at all.

[1] Careless translation. The French is, 'et on n'atendoit tous les jours autre chose,' 'and nothing else was looked for.'

these tribulations began in the realm of England; but now I shall shew you. He was at Venice, and when he knew that king Henry was king and king Richard taken and dead, he took thereof so great displeasure and sorrow, that he laid him down on his bed and fell in a frenzy and so died. Such mischievousness fell in those days upon great lords of England.

And in the year of our Lord God a thousand four hundred, one less, pope Benedict at Avignon, who had been sustained long by the Frenchmen, was as then deposed: and in like wise so was the king of Almaine for his evil deeds;[1] for the electors of the Empire and all the dukes and barons of Almaine rose against him and sent him into Boeme, whereas he was king; and they chose another, a valiant and a wise man, to be king of Almaine, and he was one of the Baviers and was called Robert of Heidelberg; and he came to Cologne, where he was crowned with the crown of Almaine, for they of Aix would not open their town to him, nor the duke of Gueldres would not be under his obeisance. This new king of Almaine promised to bring the Church to a unity and peace; howbeit, the French king and his council treated with the Liegeois, who held with the pope at Rome, and they did so much by the means of sir Baudwin of Montjardin, who governed a great part of the bishopric of Liege, who was a knight of the French king's, so that by his means at the desire of the French king the country of Liege turned to become neuter; so that the Liegeois sent to Rome for all the clergy that were there of their country to come by a certain day, or else to lose all their benefices in the country. When they heard that, they returned from Rome and came to Liege. And pope Boniface, who lost much by that transmutation, sent a legate into Almaine to preach among them, to cause them to return again to his part; but the legate durst not pass Cologne, and sent letters to Liege. When those letters were read, the messenger was answered, that on pain of drowning he should no more come on such message, for they said: 'As many messengers as cometh with any such message shall be drowned in the river of Meuse.'

[1] The emperor Wenceslas, deposed 20th August 1400. As to pope Benedict, he was not effectively deposed till the council of Pisa in 1409.

FINIS TOTIUS FROISSART

Thus endeth the thirde and fourthe boke of sir Johan Froissart, of the cronycles of Englande, Fraunce, Spayne, Portingale, Scotlande, Bretayne, Flaunders, and other places adioynynge: Translated out of Frenche into maternall Englysshe, by Johan Bourchier knyght, lord Berners, deputie generall of the kinges towne of Calais and marches of the same, at the hyghe commaundement of our moost redouted souerayne lorde king Henry the eight, kyng of Englande and of Fraunce, and hyghe defender of the christen faythe, etc. The whiche two bokes be compyled into one volume, and fynysshed in the sayd towne of Calais the x. day of marche in the xvi. yere of our said souerayne lordes raigne. Imprinted at London, in Fletestrete, by Richarde Pynson, printer to the kinges moost noble grace, and ended the last day of August, the yere of our lorde god MDXXU.

Cum priuylegio a rege indulto.

GLOSSARY

THE references are to the chapters, but also, where necessary, to the pages: as a rule one reference is given for each meaning, but when the word occurs repeatedly with that meaning, 'etc.' is often added to the reference. It must be understood that many of the words mentioned are used also in their modern sense.

A, for 'have,' *e.g.* 'if he would a believed them,' i. 140, p. 113; etc.
Abandon, *complete control*, in the phrase 'in your abandon,' Fr. à vostre abandon, i. 9.
Abash, Fr. esbahir, *dismay*, i. 9, etc.
Abused, *deceived*, ii. 221.
Abusion, *deception*, 'abusion on,' *error on the part of*, ii. 215, p. 452 (but perhaps 'on' is a misprint for 'of'). The French 'abusion' means here rather 'scruple.'
Abye, *pay for*, i. 384, p. 259.
Achieve, *be accomplished*, i. 376, p. 246.
Addition, *title*, i. Pref.
Advance oneself (or one's body), *distinguish oneself*, i. 165, etc.
Advertise, *observe*, i. Pref.
Advice, *consideration*, i. 18, p. 18.
Advise, *consider*, *observe*, i. 18, etc.
Affectuously, Fr. affectueusement, *earnestly*, i. 8, etc. (often spelt 'effectuously').
Affiance, *confidence*, i. 231, p. 158.
Affrayed, *frightened*, i. 184, etc.
Again, *in comparison with*, ii. 198, p. 431.
Against, *to meet*, i. 7, etc.
A-high, *on high*, *aloud*, i. 160, 164.
Alan, *mastiff*, ii. 24, p. 323.
Aland, *on land*, i. 81, etc.
Alate, *of late*, ii. 37.
Aleft, *left* (verb), i. 26, p. 37 (unless it is for 'a left,' *i.e.* 'have left').
Alexandre *or* Alisandre, *Alexandria*.
Almain, *German*.
Almaine, *Germany*.
Ambassade, *embassy*, i. 15, etc.
Anger, *regard with anger*, i. 284 (end).
Apparel, *prepare*, i. 6, etc.: also intrans., i. 9, p. 8.
Appeal, *summon*, *challenge*, i. 243 (beg.), etc.
Archegay, *lance* (for throwing), i. 237, p. 177.
Armeny, *Armenia*.
Armoury, *armorial bearings*, i. 160: *heraldry*, ii. 213.
Arranged, *pitched* (battle), i. 3.
Assemble, *join battle*, *engage* (in fight), i. 422, etc.
Assised, *situated*, i. 17 (where the original edition has 'assysed to').
Assist, *support*, *accompany*, ii. 153, p. 383.
Assister, *supporter*, ii. 153, p. 383.
Assoil, *absolve*, i. 233, etc.
Ast, *Dax*.
Astonied, *stunned*, i. 163.
Attemperance, *self-restraint*, ii. 181, p. 408.
Attrap, *catch*, ii. 80, p. 363.
Austrich, *Austria*.
Availen, *avail* (3rd pers. plur.), ii. Pref.
Availing, *declivity*, i. 18, p. 21.
Avale, avail, *descend*, i. 131.
Avaunt, *boast*, ii. 137.
Aview, *view* (verb), i. 40.
Avise, *observe*, i. 39, etc.: 'to avise oneself of,' *to perceive*, *think of*.
Avoid, *leave*, *depart*, i. 25, 229, etc.: *dismiss*, i. 25.
Awork, *to work* (adv.), i. 59.
Aworth, *patiently*, ii. 239 (beg.).
Axe, *ask*, ii. 238 (end).

BAILIAGE, district under a 'baily,' ii. 197, p. 427.
Bailiff, *ruler*, i. 398.
Bails, Fr. baille, *barrier* (before the gate of a town), i. 38, etc.
Baily, officer set over a town or district, i. 349, etc.
Bain, *bathe*, ii. 27 : *bath* (noun), i. 325.
Baleine, *whalebone*, i. 419 (end).
Bandon (cp. 'abandon'), in the phrase 'in her bandon,' 'at her will'; but it is a translation of 'dans ses lacs,' 'in her toils': ii. 240.
Barded, *equipped with armour* (of horses).
Bascot, *bastard*, ii. 28.
Base, *low, lower*, ii. 28, p. 338.
Basenet, bassenet, *helmet*, i. 164, etc.
Bash, Fr. s'esbahir, *be dismayed*, i. 221, p. 149.
Bastide, *fortress*, i. 133, etc.
Battle, *division* (of army), *army*, i. 18, etc.
Baudkin, *fine cloth* (properly of Bagdad), ii. 153 (beg.), etc.
Beaten, see notes on pp. 372, 374.
Beaten with, *embroidered with* (arms), i. 235, p. 171 ; 270 (mid.).
Behated, *hated*, i. 229 (end).
Behest, *promise*, i. 399.
Behoveful, *advantageous*, i. Pref.
Beknown, to be, *to acknowledge*, i. 400, p. 274.
Belfry, *tower*, i. 109.
Believe, *trust*, i. 162, p. 126 ; etc.
Ben, *are*, i. Pref.
Beseen, *furnished*, in the phrase 'richly beseen,' 'in rich array,' i. 77, 166.
Besyne, Fr. besongne, *affair*, i. 7, etc. ; but 'besynes' and 'business' (sometimes spelt 'besynes') are difficult to distinguish in the translator's pages.
Bidaus, the name of a kind of light-armed soldier, i. 50, etc.
Bobance, Fr. boban, *confidence*, i. 399.
Boeme, *Bohemia*.
Bolsterer, *maintainer*, i. 350.
Bone, *good*, i. 399.
Boot, *help*, i. 87, etc.
Bounty, *goodness*, i. 406, ii. Pref.
Bourage (of Saint Peter), Fr. bourg, the so-called 'borgo,' *i.e.* the Leonine city, at Rome, i. 326, 346.
Bourder, *idle talker*, i. 343, p. 213.
Bourg, *bastard*, i. 229, etc.
Brabances, *men of Brabant*.
Brast, *were broken*, i. 356.
Bren, *burn*, i. 15, etc. (but 'burn' is also found).
Bretayne, *Brittany*.
Bricole, an engine for throwing stones, ii. 167, p. 402.
Brigand, *one of a band*, equivalent to 'companion,' i. 220, p. 145 ; etc.
Brigandine, a light vessel, ii. 167, p. 400.
Broach, *spit*, i. 126.
Bruit, *noise, rumour*, i. 18, etc.
Brulling, *disturbance*, i. 350 (title).
Brunt, *shock, violence of combat*, i. 44 : also of the sea, i. 91.
Bude, *Buda*.
Bulgary (spelt 'bowgery'), *heresy*, ii. 159, p. 395.
Burgoyne, *Burgundy*.
Burgoynian, *Burgundian*.
Bursa, *Broussa*.
Bushment, *ambush*, i. 375, etc.
But, *only*, i. 428 (mid.).
By, *except*, ii. 34, p. 346.

CALABRE, *Calabria*.
Can, *know*, i. 2, so 'could well the language,' i. 40 : also in such phrases as 'I can him thank,' *i.e.* 'I am grateful to him,' as translation of 'savoir gré.' In i. 344 'conde' is probably a misprint for 'coude.'
Canayr, probably for 'nacayr,' Fr. nacaire, *kettledrum*, i. 12.
Carol, *dance* (verb), ii. 156, p. 392.
Carolling, *dancing*, i. 344.
Carriage, *baggage*, i. 50, 231, etc., but frequently also in the sense of 'wheeled vehicle,' see note on i. 18, p. 24.
Cataloyne, *Catalonia*.
Cautel, *trick*, i. 235, 426.
Celler, *canopy*, ii. 153, p. 387.
Centenier, *head of a hundred*, i. 349 (end) ; 375, p. 243.
Certain, *inform*, i. 270 (beg.).
Cess (verb), *rate, tax*, i. 101.
Cessing, *levying* (taxes), ii. 159, p. 394.
Chafe, *heat*, ii. 184, p. 416 ; etc.
Challenge, *claim*, i. 164.
Chapeau, chapew, *cap*, i. 419 (end), etc.
Chare, *cart, carriage*, i. 162, p. 124 ; etc.
Charette, *carriage*, i. 17.
Chatelainy, *castelry* (district of a fortress), i. 22, etc. (sometimes written 'castlayne').
Cheap, in the phrase 'with good cheap,' as translation of 'à bon marchiet,' i. 16 (end) : 'good cheap,' *cheaply*, i. 403 (end).

Cheer, *countenance*, i. 81, etc.
Cinquantenier, *head of fifty*, i. 349 (end); 375, p. 243.
Clipse, *eclipse*, i. 130.
Closed, *fortified*, i. 39.
Closing, *close*, Fr. pourpris, ii. 221 (end).
Coast, *district*, ii. 197, p. 426.
Coast, *go by the side of, pass along by, accompany*, i. 159 (beg.), etc.
Comble (in heraldry), dimin. of 'chief,' i. 77 (end).
Comfort, *support*, i. 30, etc.
Comforter, *supporter*, i. 350.
Commise, *commit*, i. 12.
Commit, *desire* (?), i. 384, p. 259.
Commonty, *common people*, i. 140, p. 112; etc.
Compact, *compacted, bound*, i. Pref.
Companion, *one of a company, adventurer*, i. 215, etc.
Complect, *embrace*, i. Pref.
Compoin (oneself) with, *join with*, i. 243 (mid.); cp. 'compone.'
Condign, *well merited*, i. Pref.
Condition, *temper, disposition*, i. 4.
Confisc, *confiscate*, ii. 34, p. 346.
Conscience, *scruple*, i. 381, p. 251.
Constantine, *Constantinople*.
Contagious, *injurious*, i. 233, p. 163.
Contemplation, in the phrase 'à la contemplation de,' 'out of *regard* to,' ii. 26 (beg.).
Continue, *contents*, ii. 28, p. 337.
Convenable, *proper*, i. 170.
Conveniently, *properly*, i. 7.
Cordewan, *Cordova*.
Corogne, *Coruna*.
Counsels, *deputies, burgesses*, Fr. consauls, i. 64, etc.
Countersingle, *girth*, i. 18, p. 20.
Countervail, *atone for*, i. 139.
Countervenge, counteravenge, *avenge*, i. 44, 229, p. 155.
Courage, *heart, inclination*, i. 101, etc.
Cowardness, *cowardice*, ii. 33, p. 344.
Credence, letters of credence, *credentials*, ii. 215, p. 451; 228; etc.
Cresset, *light* (in a cup at the top of a pole), i. 400, p. 274.
Croisey, *crusade*, i. 27, etc.
Cry, *battle-cry, motto*, i. 31; ii. 25, etc.: *proclamation*, i. 18, p. 20; etc.
Cry, *proclaim*, i. 18, p. 20.
Cure-boly, Fr. cuir boulit, *boiled hide*, i. 109.
Currour, *scout*, i. 103, etc.
Curse, *excommunicate*, i. 229, p. 154.
Cursing, *excommunication*, i. 8, etc.
Custos, *guard*, i. Pref.
Cypre, *Cyprus*.

DAMAGE, *loss, pity*, i. 20 (end), etc. (sometimes spelt 'domage').
Damas, *Damascus*.
Danger, *difficulty*, ii. 215, p. 450, in translating the French phrase, 'à grant dangier.'
Deceived, see note on i. 231.
Defend, *forbid, stop, repel*, i. 8, 50, 161, etc.
Defiance, *challenge, declaration of war*, i. 15, etc.
Defoil, *violate*, i. 37: *maltreat*, i. 215, p. 141.
Defoiling, *violation*, i. 124.
Defy, *challenge to combat*, i. 25, etc.
Demain, *domain*, ii. 196 (end).
Depart, *separate*, trans. or intrans., i. 81, 91, etc.: *leave*, i. 375, p. 242: *distribute*, i. 231, p. 159.
Descrive, *describe*, ii. Pref.
Devoir, *duty*, i. Pref., etc.
Devotion, *pious desire*, i. 326 (beg.).
Dime, *tithe*, i. 170, etc.
Disanchor, raise anchors, i. 37 (end).
Discovered, *uncovered*, ii. 153, p. 383.
Discrease, *decrease*, ii. 229, p. 460.
Disdain, *displeasure*, i. 344, p. 215.
Disdainous, *disdainful*, ii. 42, p. 358.
Disherit, *disinherit*, i. 167.
Dislodge, *depart, break up camp*, i. 18, p. 20; etc.
Dispense, *expense*, i. 32.
Displeasant, *unpleasant*, i. 221, p. 148.
Dispurveyed, *unprovided*, i. 26, p. 36.
Dissimule, *dissemble*, i. 348, p. 224; etc.
Distance, *difference*, i. 357.
Distruss, *strip of baggage*, i. 57 (title).
Diverse, Fr. divers, *perverse, bad*, i. 4.
Diversely, *badly*, i. 6.
Done, *do* (3rd pers. plur. pres.), ii. Pref.
Doubt, *fear* (noun and verb), i. 18, p. 23; etc.
Douze-peers, *twelve peers*, i. 21.
Douzime, *twelfth*, i. 426 (end).
Drad, *dreaded*, i. 9, p. 7: also 'dread,' ii. 197, p. 428; etc.
Drapery, *cloth-making*, i. 123.
Dredge-box, *comfit-box*, Fr. drageoir, ii. 153, p. 387.
Dress, *set up, arrange*, i. 221, etc.

Dressing-board, *side-board*, ii. 153, p. 386.
Dunoe, *Danube*.

EASEMENT, *convenience*, i. 348, p. 225; 400.
Easily, *slightly*, i. 39.
Effectuously, Fr. effectuelment, probably the same as 'affectuously,' i. 24 (end).
Eke, *also*, i. Pref.
Embassade, *envoy*, ii. 215, p. 451; cp. 'ambassade.'
Embrase, *stir up*, *inflame*, ii. 181, p. 408.
Embushed, *ambushed*, ii. 208.
Embushment, *ambush*.
Engine, *genius*, ii. 198, p. 431.
Enherit, *make heir*, i. 231, p. 157; cp. 'inherit.'
Enlumined, *illumined*, ii. 197, p. 430.
Enquire, *seek after*, i. Pref.
Ensign, *teach*, *point out*, i. Pref., etc.
Ensure, *engage*, *promise in marriage*, i. 314 (end): *espouse*, i. 140 (title).
Enterprise, *undertake*, i. 229, p. 155; etc.
Entreat, *negotiate*, ii. 28, p. 337.
Entreator, *negotiator*, i. 314, p. 205.
Errand, *occasion for a journey*, ii. 27, p. 335.
Escault, *Scheldt*.
Eschew, *avoid*, i. 30, etc.
Escry, *observe*, i. 221, p. 148.
Estate, *retinue*, ii. 161.
Exhort, *exhortation*, ii. Pref.
Exile, Fr. exillier, *destroy*, *lay waste*, i. 26, p. 36; etc.
Expert, *gained by experience*, i. Pref.
Extraught, *extracted*, *descended*, i. 25, etc.
Eyen, *eyes*, i. 26, p. 37; etc.

FAIL, *miss*, i. 163.
Fain, *obliged*, i. 16, p. 16; etc.
Fain (verb), Fr. se faindre, *hesitate*, *decline*, i. 237 (end).
Faint, *feigned*, ii. 29, p. 338.
Fault, *fail*, i. 18.
Fauty, see note on i. 12.
Feeble, *grow feeble*, i. 379, p. 248.
Feeblished, *weakened*, ii. 181, p. 408.
Feintly, *for a feint*, i. 221, p. 148.
Felly, *angrily*, i. 146.
Felonous, *angry*, i. 384, p. 258.
Felony, *cruelty*, i. 7.
Fewe, *track* (of a deer), ii. 27, p. 335; probably connected with 'feute.'
Fiance, *espouse*, i. 140, p. 113.
Finance, *payment*, esp. for ransom, i. 239, p. 184; etc.: *sum of money*, ii. 28, p. 337.
Fode forth, *put off* (a person), *prolong* (the time), ii. 42, p. 356; 128.
Foin, *thrust*, i. 237.
Folly, *foolish*, ii. 26, p. 330.
Fondes, *Fondi*.
For, *instead of*, i. Pref., etc.
Force, *account*, *value*, in the phrases 'set less force in,' for 'esteem less,' i. 280; 'made no force of them,' ii. 229, p. 460.
Fordo, *do away with*, i. 21, etc.
Forenger, *forager*, ii. 33, p. 341.
Forfeit, *do wrong*, i. 235, p. 169.
Forfeit, *wrong* (noun), i. 431, p. 302.
Forth, *onward*, i. 162, p. 125; etc.
Forthright, *straight on*, i. 140 (end).
Fortravailed, *exhausted*, i. 18, p. 18.
Fouage, *hearth-tax*, i. 241.
Franchises, *liberties*, i. 26, 349.
Frank, *free*, spelt 'fraunches,' ii. 156, p. 389.
Fray, *fright*, *disturbance*, i. 87, 346 (mid.).
Frequentation, *habit*, ii. 198, p. 431.
Fresh, *lively*, ii. 156, p. 389.
Frise, *Friesland*.
Frisk, *lively*, ii. 156, p. 392; spelt 'frysco' or 'friscay,' cp. 'fresh.'
Frontier, *border*, *face* (*e.g.* 'on the frontier of the enemies' for 'in the face of the enemy'), i. 235, p. 171: 'frontier war' is war waged from fortresses on the enemy's border, i. 170, etc.
Fumish, Fr. fumieu, *obstinate*, i. 346 (beg.).
Furour, *fury*, ii. 213, p. 447.

GABELLE, *salt-tax*, i. 426 (end).
Galice, *Galicia*.
Garnish, *garrison* (verb), i. 26, p. 36.
Gascoyne, *Gascony*.
Gaunt, Gauntois, *Ghent*, *men of Ghent*.
Gedeours, *Jedworth*.
Genepar, *juniper* (but the French is genestres), i. 419.
Genes, *Genoa*.
Genetours, *men mounted on genets*, *i.e.* small Spanish horses, i. 236 (end).
Genoways, *Genoese*.
Gest, *exploit*, i. Pref.
Gested, *performed*, i. Pref.
Glaive, *spear*, i. 39.
Glint, *glance*, ii. 139.
Glose, *reflect upon*, ii. 197, p. 428.
Gonds, *hinges*, i. 426, p. 294.
Good, *wealth*, i. 383, p. 255.
Gossip, *fellow-sponsor*, ii. 240, p. 468: *familiar friend*, i. 280.

Graces, *thanks*, i. Pref.
Grapper, *grappling-hook*, i. 50.
Gre, gree, *favour*, *goodwill*, i. Pref., etc.
Grise, *gray fur*, properly fur of the gray squirrel, i. 381, p. 251.
Gurged, *collected* (of rivers), i. 1.

HACKNEY, *pony*, i. 18 (beg.).
Hainowes, *men of Hainault*.
Hamede (in heraldry), a fess made of three pieces which do not touch the border of the shield, i. 162, p. 124.
Hampton, *Southampton*.
Hardily, *boldly*, i. 231, p. 158.
Hardy, *bold*, i. 1, etc.
Harness, *baggage*, i. 18, p. 18: also in the sense of *armour*.
Harrow, *alas*, ii. 184, p. 417.
Herebefore, *before this*, i. 26, p. 35; etc.
Herse, *harrow*, i. 130 (beg.).
Hight, *e.g.* 'I hight,' *I am called*, i. 163.
Him, often for 'himself,' *e.g.* 'weening to him,' 'thinking to himself,' i. 20, p. 28.
Histographier, *historian*, i. Pref.
Ho, cry of *hold! stop!* ii. 138 (end).
Hobby, *small horse*, i. 128, etc.
Hocqueton, a kind of coat, i. 419 (end), etc.
Holmess, *knife* (?), i. 419 (end).
Hormyes, *horns* (?), i. 147, p. 116.
Hosting, *e.g.* 'at an hosting pace,' 'at a *rapid* pace,' as of an army advancing to battle, i. 237, p. 175.
Housel, *give communion to*, i. 18, p. 21: 'to be houselled,' 'to receive the communion.'

IMAGINATIVE, *ingenious*, i. 270 (end), etc.
Imagine, *consider*, i. 266, p. 194.
In, *get in* (harvest), ii. 22, p. 317.
Indurate, *hard*, i. 398, p. 270.
Infamed, *disgraced*, ii. 80, p. 363.
Inhabitable, *uninhabitable*, i. 26, p. 36; etc.
Inherit (a person), *make* (*him*) *heir*, i. 167, p. 36.
Intend, *endeavour*, *attend*, i. 51, etc.
Intent, *endeavour* (noun), i. 237, p. 176.
Inutile, *void*, ii. 196 (end).
Irk, *hate* (verb), i. Pref.

JACK, *coat*, ii. 184, p. 416.
Jangle, *jest*, i. 270, p. 196; etc.
Jangler, *jester*, i. 343, p. 213.
Jape, *jest*, i. 233, p. 165.
Jeopard, *risk* (verb), i. 18, etc.
Jolly, *gay*, *lively*, i. 229, p. 155; etc.
Journey, *day*, *battle*, *expedition*, i. 40, 42, 162, etc.
Joy of, *enjoy*, ii. 27, p. 334.

KERCHER, *kerchief*, ii. 28, p. 338.
Know, in the phrase 'to be known of,' *i.e.* 'to acknowledge,' i. 9 (beg.), etc.
Knowledge, *acknowledge*, i. 24, p. 33.

LARGESS, *liberality*, i. 14, etc.
Latten, *brass*, ii. 25, p. 328.
Laund, *glade in a wood*, *lande*, i. 406, p. 282; ii. 22, p. 317; etc.
Learn, *teach*, ii. 198, p. 431.
Lecto, *Lithuania*.
Legitive, *legitimate*, i. 229, p. 154.
Let, *hinder*, i. 239, etc.: *tarry*, i. 127, p. 101; 199.
Libbard, *leopard*, ii. 198, p. 434.
Light, *easy*, i. 23.
Lightly, *usually*, i. 38, etc.: *readily*, i. 239, p. 182.
Limit, *appoint*, *agree*, i. 24, p. 32; etc.
Limitee, *vassal*, ii. 206, p. 439.
List, *desire* (noun), i. 270, p. 196.
Livenges, *victuals*, ii. 198, p. 434.
Livery, *delivery*, i. 223, p. 151.
Livery, *inn* (?), ii. 156, p. 390.
Lodge, *lodging*, i. 18, p. 20; etc.
Loop, *loophole*, ii. 153.
Louage, *commendation*, i. 1.

MALLE, *mallet*, i. 419 (end), etc.
Mallorca, *Majorca*.
Maltote, *tax*, i. 170.
Many, *number*, ii. 24, p. 322.
March, *e.g.* 'if we did march near you,' 'if we had our borders near you,' i. 376.
Marches, *regions*, i. 235, p. 170.
Marish, *marsh*, i. 18, etc.
Marmoset, *favourite*, ii. 42, p. 357.
Martinet, an engine for casting stones, i. 120, p. 93.
Mastery, *difficult feat*, i. 403, p. 279.
Me, often for 'myself.'
Meddle, *manage*, i. 179: *mingle*, i. 222.
Meddling, *combat*, i. 81: *managing*, i. 179.
Meetly, *suitable*, i. 16 (end).
Melancholious, *melancholy*, i. 346 (beg.).
Memorial, *memory*, ii. 198, p. 434.
Mess, *dish*, ii. 153, p. 386.
Message, *messenger*, ii. 24, p. 323.
Mester, *craft*, i. 173.
Mete, *boundary*, ii. 197, p. 427.
Metelin, *Mytilene*.

Mid, myddes, *middle*, i. 32.
Miniver, *small fur*, i. 403, etc.
Modered, *moderated*, ii. 184, p. 412.
More, *moreover*, i. Pref.
Mulet, *mule*, ii. 24, p. 323.

NAMELY, *especially*, i. 18, p. 18.
Nazres, *Najara*.
Ne, *not*, ii. Pref.
Near hand, *nearly*, ii. 36, p. 351.
Neuter, *neutral*, ii. 229, p. 457.
Newelty, *novelty*, ii. 198, p. 433.
Nobless, *nobleness*, i. 146, p. 116.
Nother, often for 'neither.'
Noyful, *troublesome*, i. 356, p. 236.

OBEISANCE, *obedience*, i. 109.
Obeisant, *obedient*, i. 238, p. 180.
Occision, *slaughter*, ii. 208, p. 442.
Once, *in the first place*, i. Pref.
Only, *alone*, i. 40, etc.
Open, from 'ope,' *opened*, ii. 198, p. 431.
Or, *ere*.
Ordain, *set in order*, i. 18, p. 18.
Oreiller, *pillow* (in heraldry), i. 17 (end).
Orgulous, *proud*, i. 229, p. 155; etc.
Other . . . or, *whether . . . or*, i. 10, etc.; *either . . . or*, i. 146, etc.
Ought, *owed*, i. 241, p. 185.
Outrage, *deed of daring*, i. 384, p. 260.
Outrageous, *daring*, *savage*, ii. 181, p. 409; etc.; outrageoust, i. 137, etc.
Overlaid, *pressed* by an enemy, ii. 213, p. 443.
Oversee, *examine*, ii. 197, p. 428.
Overthrow, *fall over*, i. 270 (mid.).

PAIN, *attempt*, *endeavour*, i. 162, p. 124; etc.
Paliard, *worthless fellow*, i. 356, p. 235.
Pampelone, *Pamplona*.
Pane, *piece* (of a wall), i. 283.
Panel, *saddle-cloth*, i. 18, p. 20.
Part, *distribute*, i, 231, p. 161.
Party, *place*, *side*, i. 22: *match*, ii. 33, p. 344.
Patron, *fellow*, i. 381, p. 252: *shipmaster*, ii. 167, p. 400.
Pavis, *shield*: as verb, *cover with shield*, i. 109, etc.
Pease, for appease, ii. 188 (end).
Pelerin, *peregrine* (falcon), i. 406.
Pensel, *small pennon*, i. 237, p. 176.
Pentice, *penthouse*, i. 125, p. 98.
Periloust, *most perilous*, ii. 239, p. 465.
Perse, *Persia*.
Persevere, *continue*, i. 237, p. 174; etc.
Pight, *pitched*, i. 164, p. 129; etc.
Pike, *thrust*, i. 163.
Pile, *drive in* (piles), i. 403, p. 280.
Pill, *plunder*, i. 18, p. 18.
Piller, *plunderer*, ii. 24, p. 318.
Piment, *spiced drink*, ii. 153, p. 384.
Plain, *full*, i. 14, 229, etc.
Plancher, *plank floor*, i. 400, p. 275.
Planted, *striped* (in pales), i. 419 (end).
Plash, *pool*, i. 399, p. 273.
Plump, *group*, i. 357, p. 237.
Point, for 'appoint,' i. 109.
Point, *end* (noun), i. Pref.
Poister, *weigh down*, i. Pref.
Potent (in heraldry), ii. 198, p. 434: the cross potent or potencée is crutch-shaped at the ends.
Pregnable, *possible to be taken*, ii. 24, p. 323.
Prewe, *brave*, i. 1.
Prisonment, *imprisonment*, ii. 215, p. 449.
Profitable, *valid*, ii. 197, p. 427.
Proof, in the phrase 'to take with the proof,' *i.e.* 'to take in the act,' i. 152.
Provision, *preparation*, i. 35.
Pruce, *Prussia*.
Pucelle, *damsel*, i. 13, etc.
Pullen, *fowls*, i. 16 (end).
Purchase, *procure*, *endeavour*, i. Pref., etc.
Purchase (noun), *endeavour*, i. 37.
Pursue, *follow*, i. 229.
Purveyance, *provision*, *preparation*, i. 6, etc.
Puylle, *Apulia*.

QUAYRE, *Cairo*.
Quit, *set free*, i. 166.

RACK, *loss*, i. 124.
Rappease, *pacify*, i. 44, p. 57; etc.
Rascal, *common herd*, i. 18 (beg.); also as adjective, i. 229, p. 155.
Rash down, *pull down*, i. 147.
Ready, *dressed*, i. 18, p. 23.
Rearband, *rearguard*, ii. 141.
Recule, *retire*, i. 18, p. 22; etc.: *drive back*, ii. 140: also refl. 'reculed them aback,' i. 129.
Redress, *relief*, i. 18, p. 19.
Regaly, *royalty*, i. 15, etc.
Regard, as title the same as the Flemish 'rewaert,' *ruler*, i. 403, p. 279.
Rejoice, *enjoy*, ii. 197, p. 426.
Rejourn, *journey* (verb), i. 375, p. 243.

Relieve, *raise up*, or *raise oneself up*, i. 130, p. 104; etc.
Relong, *prolong*, i. 63 (end).
Rencounter, rencountering, *encounter*, i. 120, etc.
Reny, *renounce* (homage), ii. 181, p. 409.
Repoin, *feel sorry*, i. 130, p. 105.
Report, see note on i. 179.
Require, *request*, i. Pref., etc.
Resort, *appeal, right of appeal*, i. 242, etc.
Rest, *arrest*, i. 343 (mid.).
Retray, *retire*, i. 18, p. 23.
Ribaudeux, *pointed stakes*, carried by the Gauntois to make a defence, i. 399, p. 272.
River, *coast* (Riviera), i. 326.
Road *raid*, i. 18, p. 22.
Rout, *company*, i. 15 (end), etc.
Rutter, *routier, member of a company, adventurer*, i. 347, p. 221; etc.

SAD, *serious, respectable*, i. 140, p. 113.
Salet, *head-piece*, i. 128.
Savage, *wild*, i. 18, p. 19.
Say, *assay*, ii. 26, p. 332.
Scant, *hardly*, i. 18, p. 23.
Scot, *reckoning*, ii. 206, p. 438.
Scrimmish, *fight*, i. 18, p. 22; etc.: spelt 'skrymisshe,' a variation of 'skirmish.'
Scurrer, *scout*, ii. 142 (title), etc.
Scuse, *excuse*, i. 343.
Scute, Fr. escu, *crown*, i. 101.
Seignory, *lordship*, i. 27 (end), etc.
Seisin, *possession*, i. 223, p. 151.
Seized of, *possessed of*, i. 26, p. 35.
Sendal, *Indian silk*, i. 423, p. 290.
Seneschally, *district under a seneschal*, ii. 197, p. 427.
Seneschausse, same as the above, ii. 156.
Sentence, *meaning*, i. Pref.
Septentrion, *north*, ii. 207.
Servage, *bondage*, i. 381, p. 250.
Set by, *esteem*, i. 343, p. 213.
Sewer, *server of meat*, ii. 31, p. 339.
Siege, *see* (of a bishop), ii. 228.
Simple, *poor*, i. 399 (end).
Single, *simple*, ii. 184, p. 416.
Sith, *since*, i. Pref., also of time.
Sithe, *sight*, i. 18, p. 18.
Skrye, *sudden attack*, i. 18, p. 23; etc.
Slode for 'slid,' i. 270 (mid.).
Somer, *beast of burden*, i. 347, p. 222.
Sore (as noun), *difficulty*, i. 162, p. 125.
Sort, *set, company*, i. 130, p. 104; etc.
Sorts, *lots* (cast for magic), ii. 206, p. 439.
So that, *provided that, on condition that*, i. 270, p. 198; etc.
Soudan, *soldan, sultan*, ii. 206, p. 348; etc.
Sown, *sound*, i. 91, etc., but 'sound' is also used.
Sowter, *cobbler*, ii. 29, p. 338.
Sparkle abroad, *disperse, scatter*, i. 220 (end).
Spial, *watch*, ii. 34, p. 346.
Stale, for 'stole,' ii. 141 (end).
Stall, *stand*, i. 81.
Stole, given as translation of 'coiffète,' *headdress*, ii. 181, p. 409.
Strainable, *violent*, i. 356, p. 235.
Stuff, *supply* (verb), i. 343, p. 213; etc.
Supportation, *support*, i. Pref.
Surie, *Syria*.

TABLE, *plank*, i. 356.
Tail, *fasten behind* (of taking in tow), i. 91.
Taille, *tax*, ii. 24, p. 319.
Tapet, *carpet*, ii. 213, p. 446.
Test, *witness*, ii. 197, p. 427.
Thanken, *thank*, i. 420, p. 286.
Them, often for 'themselves.'
Thereagainst, *against it*, i. 348.
Therens, often for 'where.'
Thither-as, *whithersoever*, i. 431 (end).
Threat, *threaten*, i. 160.
Tice, *stir up, entice*, i. 347 (end).
Timbre, *drum*, ii. 167, p. 401.
Tittle, *talk to* (verb), ii. 24, p. 319.
To-torn, *torn in pieces*, i. 350, p. 229.
Trance, *state of suspense*, i. 343 (end).
Trandal, *camp-follower*, i. 17.
Travail, *trouble* (verb), ii. 33, p. 345.
Travailed, *wearied*, i. 18, p. 18.
Treatable, *pleasant, sociable*, ii. 196, p. 425.
Treaty, *treatise*, i. 347 (end).
Treizime, *thirteenth*, i. 426 (end).
Trencher, *slice*, ii. 26, p. 332.
Trespass, *pass away* (of death), i. 20, p. 27; etc.: *transgress* (trans.), i. 233, p. 163.
Trucheman, *interpreter, dragoman*, ii. 167, p. 402.
Truncheon, *piece cut short*, ii. 142 (beg.).
Truss, *pack*, i. 18, p. 18; etc.
Tryer, apparently a misprint for 'brywer,' *i.e.* 'brewer,' i. 402.
Try out, *pick out, select*, ii. 213, p. 447.
Tyeulle, *Tivoli*.

UNGRACIOUS, *wicked*, i. 182, etc.: also 'most ungracioust.'
Unhappy, *worthless, bad*, i. 399 (end), etc.

Unied, *united*, i. 381, p. 251.
Unprofitable, *invalid*, ii. 196 (end).
Up-se-down, *upside down*, i. 242, p. 190.
Utterance, *extremity*, ii. 24, p. 321.
Utward, *most distant*, ii. 156 (beg.).

VAIL, *avail*, ii. 181, p. 411.
Vale of Olives, *Valladolid*, i. 238, etc.
Valiance, *valour*, i. 165.
Valure, *worth*, ii. 34, p. 346.
Varlet, *servant*, i. 16, p. 15, etc.
Vessel of gold and silver, *silver and gold plate*, ii. 153, p. 387; etc.
Viage, *journey, expedition*, i. 124, etc.
Vidame, title of a feudal lord, as 'the vidame of Chalons,' i. 45.
Vigier, title of a magistrate, mod. Fr. 'viguier.'
Villain, *bondman, man of the people*, i. 381, p. 252; etc.
Villain, *villanous*, i. 233, p. 163.
Void, *leave*, i. 25.
Volve, *turn over*, i. Pref.
Voyage, *expedition, campaign*, i. 15, p. 14; etc.

WAGE, in the phrase 'kept field and wage of battle,' Fr. 'tint camp et gage de bataille,' *i.e.* 'gave decisions on questions of chivalry,' i. 238, p. 180.
Ward, *guard, division* (of army), i. 160.
Wealth, *benefit*, i. Pref.
Ween, *think*, i. 20, p. 28, etc.
Whereas, *where*, i. 10, etc.
Whither-as, *whither*, ii. 87, p. 368.
Winage, *duty on wine*, i. 29, p. 41.
Without, *unless*.
Withsay, *speak against*, i. 284, p. 203.
Wodehouse, *wild man, satyr*, ii. 188 (for 'wodewose').
Wood, *mad*, i. 383, p. 255.
Woodness, *madness*, i. 183.
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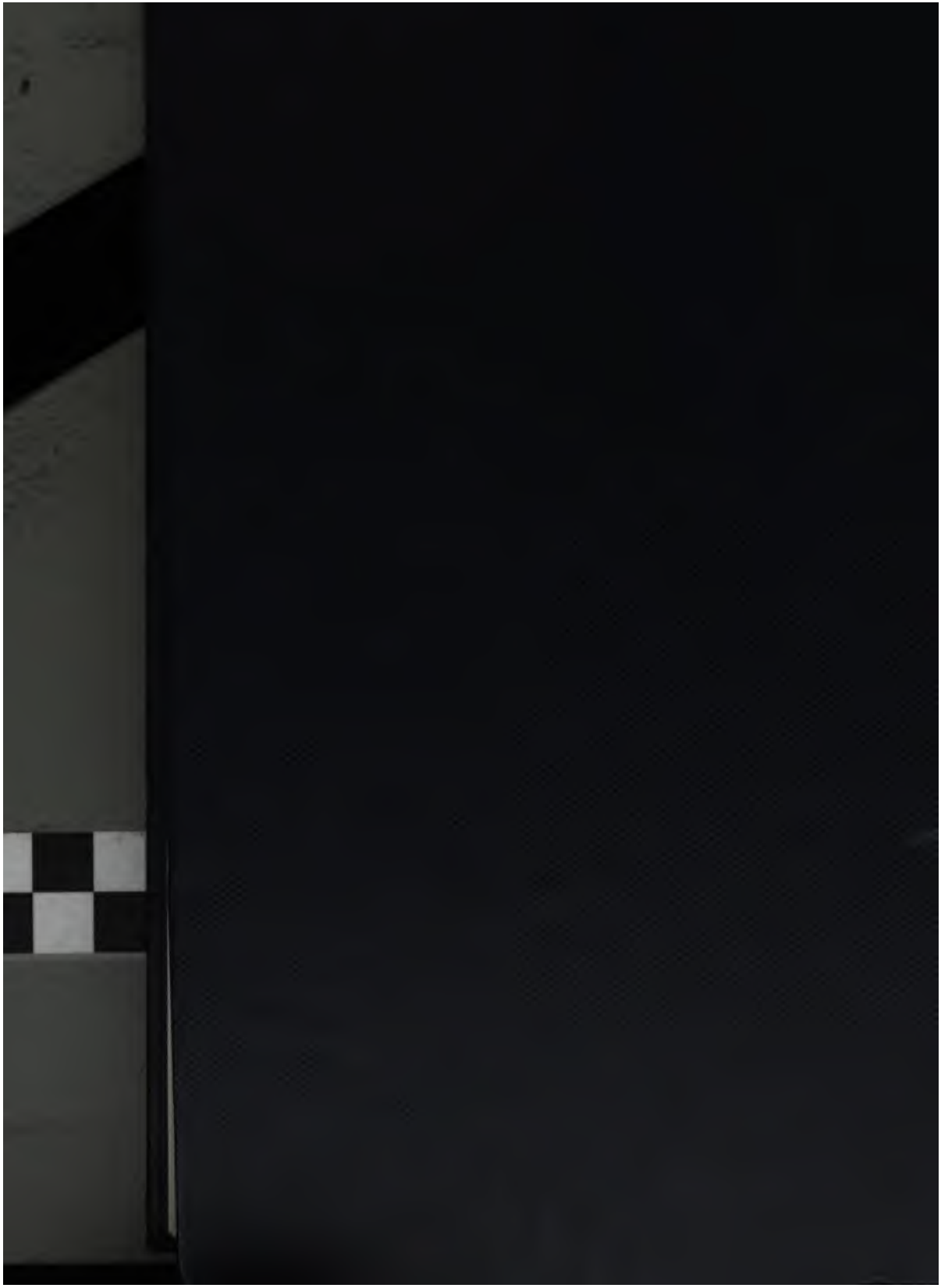
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